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SEVEN TREATISES,

Very neceſſary to be obſerved in theſe very bad Days

To prevent the Seven laſt Vials of God's Wrath,

that the Seven Angels are to pour down upon the Earth; *Revel.* xvi.

I. The Monſtrous *Murder* of the moſt righteous *King*; Paralel'd to the *Murder* of *King CHARLES the Firſt.*	*Act.* vii. 52.
II. The Tragedy of *Zimri*, that ſlew his *King*, that was his Maſter.	2. *Reg.* ix. 31.
III. God's War with the *wicked*, Rebels, Murderers, *&c.*	*Eſay.* lvii. 21.
IV. The lively *Picture* of theſe lewd times.	*Jeremy.* xiv. 10.
V. The four *Chiefeſt Duties* of every Chriſtian Man.	1. *Peter.* ii. 17.
VI. The *true Properties*, and *Prerogatives* of the true Saints.	*John.* x. 27.
VII. The *Chiefeſt Cauſe* why we ſhould love God.	1. *John.* iv. 19.

Whereunto is annexed

The DECLARATION *of the juſt Judgment of* GOD

1. Upon our late *King's Friends*, that neglected him.
2. Upon the *King's Enemies*, that rebelled, and warred againſt him.

I. The *perfideous Scots.*
II. The *bloody Iriſh.*
III. The *Anti-Chriſtian Presbyterians*, and Parliament, that killed the *two Witneſſes* of *Jeſus Chriſt*; *Moſes* and *Aaron*, Magiſtrates and Miniſters.

1. In general upon all the *Long Parliament*, and eſpecially upon the *Rump-Parliament*, ſo termed.
2. In particular, upon *many* of the moſt *wicked* Limbs of the *great Anti-Chriſt*, and the Members of that Parliament.

AND

The ſuperabundant Grace, and *great Mercy* of God ſhewed towards this good King, *CHARLES the Firſt.*

I. In his *Life.*
II. In his *Death.*
III. *After* his *Death:*
1. In his *Honour.*
2. In his *Children*, and Poſterity.
3. In all *his Friends* and loyal Subjects.

By *Gr. Williams*, Ld. Biſhop of *Oſſory.*

LONDON.

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BIBLIOTHECA LAMBETHANA

* AS133.WS

The Resolution of the Authour.

By the Grace of God, and the assistance of his blessed Spirit,

I will flatter no man.

I do fear none, nor any danger, but God.

I desire nothing of any man, but Love.

I covet no Preferment, but to keep what the blessed King, and my most gracious Master (at the Motion of my ever Honoured Lord, the *Earl* of *Pembroke*) hath given me. And,

He gave me all that I have, and to lose all for his sake, that gave me all, I never cared.

I can have no long time to live, being now full Seventy and four years old.

I will speak nothing, to my knowledge, but truth: and, if I perish, I perish; as *Qu. Hester* said.

Let God's will be done.

Jehovæ Liberatori.

GR. OSSORY.

TO THE

KING'S

Moſt Excellent

MAJESTIE,

And to the now-Convened PARLIAMENT, and all Poſterity,

The Humble Remonſtrance *of* Gruffith Williams, *Lord Biſhop of* Oſſorie.

Sheweth,

THAT he is moſt *ſtrictly* obliged, and indiſpenſably bound, as he is ſent a *meſſenger* from God to inſtruct his people, and called by His late *Majeſty*, his moſt gracious Maſter, and now moſt Glorious Martyr, *Charles the firſt*, of ever bleſſed memory, to be the Biſhop of *Oſſorie*, to declare, and make *Remonſtrance* unto Your *Majeſty*, to the now-Convened *Parliament*, and to all *Poſterity*, theſe few Subſequent things. As,

Firſt, that ever ſince 1625. I lived with my *ever-honoured* Lord, and Maſter, the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Mountgomery*, for the moſt part, in His *Majeſtie's* houſe at the *Cock-Pit*, about the ſpace of eighteen years together, and about ſeven years of that time, in

in His Majeſtie's ſervice; and in that reſpect I had fitter opportunity to obſerve His Majeſtie, and to underſtand the affairs, and Tranſ-actions of the Court better then moſt others of His Majeſtie's *Chaplains*, that waited only their accuſtomed Moneth, and then returned to their reſidence. And mine *Obligations* to His late Majeſtie are ſo many, and ſo great, that I cannot with the beſt of mine endeavours diſcharge the *Dimidium* of thoſe duties, that I ow to the bleſſed memory of that King; for he gave me all that I had, and all that I have, and had not the late Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury* provided, and commended to His Majeſtie a far better, and abler man every way then my ſelf, His Majeſtie intended to make me the Teacher, and Tutour to Your Majeſtie, as I heard it from His own mouth when my ever Honoured Lord, and Maſter, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and *Mountgomery*, brought me to examine His Son, and my Scholar, the Lord *Charles Herbert* before His Majeſtie. And therefore I conceive, that I am more obliged, and bound in Conſcience, to declare what I do *infallibly* know to be truth, to perpetuate the *underſtanding* thereof, unto Poſterities, and to undeceive the *Ignorant*, and *Simpleſt* ſort of people, that know not things aright, but, inhearing the lying reports of moſt *Malicious* men, do ſwallow down the ſame for truths; then many others of His late Majeſtie's *Chaplains*.

And I call the great God of *Heaven*, and the *Searcher* of all hearts to be my witneſs, that what I do, is neither out of *Envie*, *Hatred*, or *Malice* to any particular man; or to *Flatter*, and to *Inſinuate* my ſelf into the favour of any one, the greateſt man living; or for the hope, and expectation, of any benefit, or Preferment in the World; whereas I never did, nor ever intended, to deſire any thing of Your Majeſtie, or of any other, but onely to retain, and to enjoy what our late *Pious* King, and my moſt gracious Maſter, hath given me; becauſe that, although I was Plundered in *England*, and Plundered in *Wales*, and Sequeſtred of all my Means both in *England*, and *Wales*, and had not left me one *peny* of any *Eccleſiaſtical* Means, nor twenty Pound *per annum*, in all the World, to maintain my ſelf, and my Servants, of any *Temporal* Eſtate; ſo that I was forced for theſe twelve laſt years, and more, to live upon a little *Tenement*, for which I payed fifty ſhillings rent to Sir *Gr. Williams*, and four Pound land by the year of mine

own;

own, poorer then poor *Curates*, with *Oaten*-Bread, and *Barly*-Bread, and a little *Butter-Milk*, or *Glas-Door*, and ſometimes *Water*, being not able to keep any drop of *Ale*, or *Beer* in my houſe for theſe two *luſtra's* of years, and more, as all my Neighbours know; and to go attired in very mean Country Cloaths, and to do many ſervile works my ſelf, about my *Houſe*, *Garden*, and *Cattel*, for want of means to hire labourers; yet for all this my ſad condition, leſt I ſhould be *enſnared*, and hindred to diſcharge my duty, and my tongue entangled with ſuch Bird-lime, I reſolved to accept of no means, benevolence, or maintenance from the *Uſurpers*, *Rebels*, and the *Robbers* of the Church of Chriſt, and of their brethren, whatſoever they ſhould offer unto me, and how great ſoever my wants ſhould be; as, being contented, with the *Apoſtle*, with any ſtate, or condition, whatſoever, and hoping, that, as the *Poet* ſaid of *Pompey*,

Non me videre ſuperbum
Proſpera fatorum;

ſo——*Nec fractum adverſa videbunt.*

But what I ſay herein, I do it onely to demonſtrate the truth of things, not to thoſe, that knew His Majeſtie, which were needleſs, but to thoſe, that knew Him not, and upon mis-apprehenſion of His Majeſties action's, related by *Malicious* Adverſaries misunderſtood the ſame, and made a ſimple converſion of *White* to *Black*, and of Good to Evil. For,

As I ſhall anſwer for what I ſay, at the *Dreadfull* day of Judgment, I do here profeſs, that in all mine *Obſervation* of what I ſaw, and what I heard, of the Lords, and Gentlemen of His Court, in ſo many years, as they know I lived therein, which was, ever ſince King *James* died, till the Wars began, I knew neither Lord, nor Knight, nor Gentleman, nor any other man whatſoever, neither have I read in any Hiſtorie, *Greek*, or *Latine*, of any *Emperour*, or *King*, I will not except *Conſtantine*, nor *Theodoſius*, nor St. *Edward* of *Ingland*, that was a juſter King, a wiſer Governour, and a better man, then King *Charles*, that was ſo *Pious* in his Devotions, ſo *juſt* and *upright* in all His Actions, ſo *ſweet* in His Diſpoſition, ſo *loving* to His Friends, ſo *mild* to His Servants,

ſo *ready* to forgive His Enemies, and ſo free from all revenge for His greateſt wrongs, that when His own Subjects, and Servants, ſo Undutifully, and *Malicioufly*, Rebelled, and Warred againſt Him, and beſpotted His *Innocent* Converſation, and pure Life, with moſt falſe, and venomous Aſperſions, I heard him ſay, *I thank God, I can freely forgive all my Enemies, and I pray God, that God would forgive them*: and I dare boldly affirm it, and can juſtifie it, that He was as good a *Proteſtant*, if not the beſt *Proteſtant* in all the *Chriſtian* World, and, I am ſure, the beſt *Proteſtant* King, or Prince, that ever *England* ſaw; who, when I came unto Him, immediately after *Edg-Hill*-fight, and ſaid, that whatſoever otherwiſe, we wanted in our Abilities, yet our Prayers ſhould never be wanting, to beſeech the Almighty God, night and day, to bleſs Him, and to protect Him from all His Adverſaries, He anſwered, that He thanked us for our Prayers, and deſired us to continue our Prayers ſtill, as He hoped we would do, for Him; becauſe He ſuffered all this War, and whatſoever elſe ſhould betide Him, for our ſake, and for the defence of the true *Proteſtant* Religion, as it was Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, and for the preſervation of the known Laws of theſe Kingdoms: and all the while I lived in His Court, I never ſaw the man, *Clergy*, or *Laity*, that ſhewed himſelf ſo punctually profeſſing the *Proteſtant* Religion, and ſo *zealouſly*, and *regularly*, obſerving the true ſervice of God, as His gracious Majeſtie.

What other *Character* I ſhould give to this moſt excellent Prince, for a loving *faithfull* Husband to His Queen, and for a dear *indulgent* Father to all His Children, His goodneſs therein is very very far beyond my ability of Expreſſion; as it is indeed in all the other particulars: ſo that the praiſe, and Eulogie, which *Homer* gave to *Achilles*, and *Ulyſſes*, *Virgil* to *Æneas*, *Xenophon* to his *Cyrus*, *Euſebius* to *Conſtantine*, and *Oſorius* to *Emmanuel* King of *Portugal*, I may truly aſcribe to Him, or rather what the Prophet *Jeremy*, and the Son of *Sirach* ſaith of the good King *Joſias*, or the *Scripture* of King *David*, that he was a man according to God's own heart, ſo I hope, and believe, that I may ſay with out miſtake, without offence, that King *Charles the Firſt* was a man according to God's own heart, and though, as Chriſt *non dimidiavit dies ſuos*, ſo God did ſoon bring this good King to His *death*, that He might be ſoon

delivered

delivered from the contradictions of Sinners, and ſoon brought to enjoy the glorious Crown of Eternal life, yet was He moſt bleſſed, both in His life, and death, as hereafter I ſhall more fully ſhew unto you. And therefore I had rather ſay no more, then to ſay too too little, as I ſhall, when I ſay my beſt of this moſt *gracious*, and now moſt *glorious* King, *Charles the Firſt.*

And though he was ſo good, ſo gracious, and ſo pious a King; yet this good, gracious, and incomparably pious *Proteſtant* King, the *gentleſt*, *meekeſt*, and of the *ſweeteſt* diſpoſition of all the men I ever ſaw, was, as you well know, moſt *rebelliouſly* Warred againſt, moſt *Judas-like* ſold, moſt *treacherouſly* betrayed, and moſt maliciouſly, *Barbarouſly*, and, for the ſpiteful miſcheivous manner thereof, moſt *Jewiſhly*, and unexpreſſably Murthered; and many more *Noble-men*, and *Gentle-men*, *Clergy*, and *Laity*, Murthered in *like manner*, onely for His ſake, and for the truth of their *Loyalty* unto Him, and their *Fidelity* unto God, as I have *Myſtically*, and yet fully ſhewed in my Book of *The great Anti-Chriſt revealed*, and in theſe Treatiſes following.

And can any thing ſo fowly defile the Land, and ſo highly provoke the *Wrath*, and *Indignation* of God againſt his people, as the ſhedding of ſo much *Innocent Blood*? or ſhall we think, that the juſt God will reſt ſatisfied, and contented, to have his Wrath appeaſed (eſpecially, if we conſider what he ſaith to the three ſons of *Noah*, *Gen.* ix. 5, 6. and of the *Bloody ſins* of *Manaſſes*, 2 *King.* xxiv. 4. and to *Ahab* for letting *Benhadad* to eſcape, 1 *King.* xx. 42.) when he ſeeth the *pretious Blood* of ſo Good, ſo Gracious, and ſo Pious a King, His own *Vicegerent*, and the Blood of ſo many faithfull *Chriſtians*, Noble-men, Gentle-men, and other loyal Subjects, that have loſt their lives, for their conſtancie in profeſſing the true ſervice of God, the right Faith of *Chriſt*, and their duty, and loyalty to their true, and lawfull King, left unexpiated, and according to the Law of juſtice, unrevenged, and unpuniſhed?

The truth of God ſaith, Not ſo: therefore His now gracious Majeſtie, leſt His *filiall* affecton to ſo good, and ſo loving a Father, and His anger, and *indignation* againſt ſuch monſtrous Murtherers might ſeem to *tranſport* Him with Paſſion to be overpartial, too rigid, and too ſevere, in His cenſure, againſt theſe Murtherers,

Murderers, did, moſt wiſely, religiouſly, and Chriſtian-like transmit the Judgment, and Puniſhment of theſe *tranſcendent* Malefactours to his *Parliament*, who, as he knew, had infinitely ſuffered moſt unſpeakable Detriment, and Dammage, as well, though not near the like, nor ſo much as himſelf, in the loſs of their ſo good a King.

And the *late Parliament*, that was, The Keepers of the Liberties of *Ingland* by the Authority of our Parliament (and you may compute, what Number of Arithmetical Letters this name contained) and had very many of the King's Enemies in it (and therefore likely not to do all things ſo well, as they ſhould do) yet hath it moſt gallantly, religiouſly, and juſtly ſentenced many of them to death, and the juſt God, without Queſtion, doth moſt propitiouſly accept, and approve of all thoſe their doings, which are juſt according to his own Precepts.

But though herein, they have done very well; yet do you think, that they have done ſufficiently well? I will not preſume to teach them, that, in State Affairs, are better able to be my Teachers, then I to adviſe their Wiſdoms, what they ought to have done; yet, as I am ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, I muſt humbly crave leave to ſet down, what I conceive to be the juſt Will of God herein; and that is, that all, and every one, that had any hand, or finger in that good King's Death, or in the death of any of thoſe His good Subjects, that were unjuſtly, and illegally ſentenced to death, (I do not ſpeak of them, that were killed in the War; becauſe, as the Poet *Lucan* ſaith, *Pharſal. lib.* 1.

Victrix cauſa Diis placuit, ſed victa Catoni.

And as the Prophet *David* ſaith, *The Sword devoureth the one, as well as the other*: but of thoſe, that in cold blood, by *uſu ping* Judges, under the Colour of *Law*, were contrary to the *Laws*, both of God, and of the Land, moſt unjuſtly condemned unto death) ſhould, for that their unjuſt Proceedings, be juſtly queſtioned, and legally tryed for their former Offence; the ſame being of ſo high a Nature, as I ſhewed to you before.

But you will ſay, many of them, as blinde *Bartimæus* might eaſily ſee, that acted very highly againſt the *laſt* King, and, as it is con-

conceived, had their hands *deep* in his death, were as *active*, as any others, and moſt ſpecial Inſtruments, to bring His now Sacred Majeſty unto His *Right*, whereby, they have fully expiated their *foul* offence, and deſerve rather to be *well rewarded* and honoured, as ſome ſay they are, then *any* ways queſtioned, as their *Adverſaries* would have them to be.

I anſwer, that His Majeſty is wiſe, as the Angel of God, and knoweth *beſt*, what he ſhould *beſt* do; and the *Policy* of State, is far beyond the *Sphere* of mine *Intelligence*, and their doings therein ought highly to be commended, and deſerve not meanly to be rewarded; though, as *Will. Sommers* told King *Henry the Eight*, that ſuch a Gentleman threatned to *kill* him, and the King anſwered, that, if he *killed* him, he would have him *hanged* for it; *Will. Sommers* replied, Nay good King, let him be *hanged* before he kil's me, or elſe, his *death* will not preſerve my *life*, and his *hanging* will do me no good: ſo I heard ſome ſay, that they would have had the *Enemies* of the *laſt* King firſt puniſhed for their *Rebellion*, and the *Murder* of Him; and then rewarded for their *good Service* to His now gracious Majeſty, or elſe, *reward* them well for their *good* Service done to our *now* gracious King, and then queſtion them, and puniſh them anſwerable to their *Deſerts*, for their *Diſloyalty*, and *Treachery* to our *late* King; as I read it in the *Turkiſh Hiſtory*, and in ſome other *Hiſtorians*, of ſome very wiſe Kings, that did ſo to the like Offenders; becauſe, we may believe it for a *truth*, that they, which have proved *falſe*, to their own true, juſt, and lawful Prince, will ſcarce ever prove faithful to any Prince, nor ſeem to be, but either for *hope*, ſtill to reap the fruit of their *Subtlety*, to turn, when the *Winde* turns, or for *fear* to be daſh'd in Pieces, if they turn not their *Sayls* to eſcape thoſe *Rocks*; which they cannot *otherwiſe* avoid; and *no thanks* to ſuch men for *any good* they do, when they do it *perforce*, and therefore ſhould be truſted *perchance*.

And it may be, many of the very *Murderers*, both of the *good* King, and of his *loyal* Subjects, have robbed, and ſpoyled, not the *Ægyptians* of their *Jewels*, but the *Iſraelites*, their Brethren, of their Goods, Lands, and Poſſeſſions, which they have gotten into their own hands, and thereby became *exceeding rich*, and *enabled* themſelves to match their Sons, and their Daughters to

great Families, and to beſtow large Gifts, that do blind the eyes of the wiſe, on others, to make to themſelves Friends of their unrighteous *Mammon*, to preſerve them from ther juſt deſerts, and to pull down the *Wrath*, and *Vengeance* of God on others, for this their *obſtructing* of the ſtraight rule of Juſtice, that teacheth us to do otherwiſe.

Or, if it were not ſo, many men do wonder, how ſo many men, as were conceived to have been active, and moſt of them to have their hands *embrued* in the good King's Blood, and were likewiſe *guilty* of the death of His *innocent* Subjects, ſhould eſcape *uncenſured*, and ſo few of them ſentenced, to *expiate*, and appeaſe the Wrath of God for ſuch horrible, *unparallel'd*, and tranſcendent Murthers: for I knew eight perſons executed at *Dublin* for the Murther of one ordinary Traveller, and is it not ſtrange, that we ſee no more brought to their Trial for ſuch a *Slaughter*, as was done upon our good King, and His *innocent* Subjects, ſo *judicially*, and yet ſo *illegally*, and altogether *unjuſtly* ſentenced to death? or ſhall we think, that no more were *guilty*, then were condemned? or not rather, that the *guilty* Murtherers, by their *Wealth*, *Subtlety*, and *Friends*, made many others *guilty* of God's anger, and the pulling down of God's *vengeance* upon many more, for their *excuſing*, *covering*, and *clearing* ſuch abominable Transgreſſours: for I would have all men to conſider duly, how deſtructive Murther is to mankinde, and how odious, and hatefull it is to God, above all other ſins whatſoever, eſpecially, when an *innocent* man is *judicially*, and *illegally* Murthered, as you may rightly finde the truth hereof fully proved in the fifth *Chapter* of the firſt *Book* of *The Great Anti-Chriſt revealed*, and in theſe *Sermons* following.

And I would the *Protectours* of the King's Murtherers would rightly weigh what the people ſayd to King *David*, that His life was worth ten thouſand of the lives of the *common* people; and how the Lord puniſhed the whole houſe, and poſterity of *Saul*, and all the Kingdom of *Iſrael* until his wrath was ſatisfied, for the innocent death of the *Gibeonites*, that were but a poor contemptible people, but killed without cauſe; 2. *Sam.* xxi. and eſpecially, that there be not any more, but two ſins, that I can finde, in the whole Book of God, that the Lord

ſaith

ſaith, *cannot be pardoned*, and obliterated, without their due puniſhment, and they are,

1. The *high Abuſe* of God's *Meſſengers*, and *Publiſhers* of his Will.
2. The *unjuſt ſhedding* of *innocent Blood*. For

Of the Firſt the Spirit of God ſaith, that when the Lord God ſent his *Meſſengers* unto the Children of *Iſrael*, and they *mocked the Meſſengers of God, and deſpiſed his words, and misuſed his Prophets, the wrath of the Lord aroſe againſt his People, until there was no Remedy*; as if he had ſaid, For other ſins of theſe *Iſraelites*, ſome ways, and remedies might have been found out, as *Moſes*, and *Aaron*, by their *prayers*, and *cenſers* appeaſed the wrath of God, to turn away the *Puniſhment* of them; and *David*, and *Ezra* did the like from the *Jews*: but when they *mocked* his *Meſſengers*, *deſpiſed* his *Word*, and *misuſed* his *Prophets*, which were the *onely Salve*, or *Medicine*, that could *heal* their *ſickned* Souls, when they refuſed, and caſt away theſe Remedies from them, then there was *no Remedy* in the World for them, to preſerve them from their juſt deſerved Puniſhment; and therefore ſaith the Text, *The Lord brought upon them the King of the* Chaldees, *who ſlew their young men with the Sword, in the Houſe of their Sanctuary, and had no Compaſſion upon young Man, or Maiden, old Man, or him, that ſtooped for Age; he gave them all into his Hand*; for that *there was no Remedy*. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16, 17.

And of the Second the Spirit of God ſaith, that the Lord ſent againſt *Jehoiakim bands of the* Chaldees, *and bands of the* Syrians, *and bands of the* Moabites, *and bands of the Children of* Ammon, *and he ſent them againſt* Juda *to deſtroy it, and to remove them out of his ſight for the ſins of* Manaſſes, *and for the innocent blood that he ſhed*, (for he filled *Hieruſalem* with *innocent blood*, as the *Judges* of the *Rump-Parliament* did fill *England*) *which the Lord would not pardon*, 2 Reg. xxiv. 4. as if he had ſaid, though the Lord God might have been perſwaded by Prayers, and Tears, and Sacrifices to pardon all other Sins; yet this ſin of *ſhedding innocent Blood*, eſpecially, when it is *judicially* ſhed, the Lord will *no ways*, nor by *any means* pardon it, and, though men would fain pardon it, yet God *will not pardon it*; becauſe God, which is the God of *truth*, and Truth it ſelf, hath ſaid it: and, that we ſhould

not

not doubt of it, he hath ſaid, *Surely, your blood of your Lives will I require; at the hand of every Beaſt will I require it, and at the hand of man, at the hand of every man's Brother will I require the life of man.* And, *Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed: for in the Image of God made he man,* Gen. ix. 5, 6. and ſee how fully, and how energetically the Lord hath ſaid, and the Scripture hath ſet down, all theſe things, *againſt the pardoning of them, that ſhed innocent blood.*

And then, theſe things being duly weighed, as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaid to *Theodoſius, Quod inconſulto feciſti, conſultius revocetur,* ſo I believe, that, if any man hath *inconſideratly,* either through ignorance, corruption, or partiality cauſed, or *conſented* to let any *Agag* to eſcape, whom the *Juſtice* of God hath deſigned to death, he would aſſuredly, *conſultius errorem corrigere,* amend His former errour, and not let the death of ſuch a King, as was worth ten thouſand of us, and the Blood of ſo many of His loyal Subjects, as were *judicially,* and unjuſtly condemned to death, paſs away unpuniſhed, and unqueſtioned, whenſoever any of the Authours, or Contrivers of their death ſhould be found out; or at leaſt wiſe, he would be ſatisfied, and not blame others, for doing, if they do, what he ſhould have done: It is no matter when; (better late then never) for *Nunquam ſera eſt ad Juſtitiam via,* The way to do Juſtice is never too *far,* nor the time too *late*; and God *deferreth* his Judgments for many years together, when we finde Murderers *flouriſhing* in all *Pomp,* and *Power* a *long* time, as I have ſhewed it at large in the Tragedy of *Zimri*; and yet at laſt, to come to taſt of their *juſt* deſerved Puniſhment; as *Pilate,* and *Herod,* and the *reſt* of the Murderers of *Jeſus Chriſt,* were not apprehended by God's Juſtice, ſome of them in fourty years after they had *condemned* their *juſt,* and *lawful* King; and many more *ſuch Murderers* you may finde in Dr. *Beard's* Theatre of God's Judgments, and in other Authours to have lain ſecure, and to have ſlept in their ſins for a *long Seaſon,* before the hand of Vengeance hath rouzed them up: and yet after many Ages to pay *Death* for *Death.*

And therefore, though the *Parliament,* and *Parliaments* have *paſſed over,* and perhaps *pardoned* thoſe, whom God ſaith, he *will not pardon*; yet I conceive, that whenſoever any of them, that

that had their hands *imbrued*, or the leaſt finger *ſtayned*, in our King's Blood, or in the Blood thoſe, His loyal Subjects, that were *judicially*, unjuſtly *condemned*, ſhall be found out, and made known to be ſuch, they ſhould be brought unto their Trial; eſpecially when we conſider, that *Juſtice* done upon ſuch *tranſcendent* Malefactours, that do now, as yet (as it is conceived) wallow in thoſe *innocent* Bloods, that they have ſpilt, and do jet up and down, moſt proudly, in the ſpoils of their *Slaughtered*, and *Beggered* Brethren, would, as the *Scripture* teſtifieth, *purge* the Land from the *ſtain* of that innocent Blood, which they have ſo plentifully loſt, and doth ſtill crie, like *Abel*'s Blood, for *Vengeance* againſt them, *appeaſe* the Wrath of God for our former neglect of doing *Juſtice*; increaſe the King's Revenues, by the Forfeited eſtates of theſe Transgreſſours; ſatisfie the Friends of thoſe Murthered *innocents*; terrifie all other Rebellious hearts from ſuch horrible attempts, and all other *Judges*, from abuſing the Laws, and perverting *Juſtice*; and be an excellent Example of a juſt, and unpartial proceeding againſt *Traitours*, for the *Foreign* Kings to applaud it, and for their Subjects to fear it, if ever the like thoughts ſhould enter into their hearts of doing ſuch things, as were done by theſe Murtherers.

And truely it hath often grieved me, to hear the vulgar people ſo generally complaining, that they ſee divers of the late King's Enemies, and Rebels, that they ſuſpect guilty, ſome way, of the Kings death, ſo much favoured in the World, and ſo domineering over others, jetting up and down in Pride, ſo *glorioufly* trimmed with the ſpoils of the loyal Subjects, and ſome of the King's Friends, and faithfull Servants, ſneaking up and down, wholly dejected, ſo as if there were an *Act* of *Oblivion* paſt of the King's Friends, and an *Act* of *Indempnity* for His Adverſaries.

To whom I have often anſwered, that our King is wiſe, as the *Angel* of God, and He knoweth beſt what He hath to do, far better then the beſt of us all, and they ſhould rather remember what the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith; *Fret not thy ſelf becauſe of the ungodly, neither be thou Envious becauſe of the wicked doers: for they ſhall ſoon be cut down like the Graſs, and be withered like unto the green Herb*; eſpecially when their Iniquitie, their Treaſons, and Treacheries, that as yet are hidden from the Eyes of men, ſhall be found out, and be made apparent unto the World.

And therefore, though I ſay all this, that I ſaid before, as from the *ſtraight*, unpartial rule of *ſevere Juſtice*; yet, as I am a *Biſhop* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and a *Meſſenger* of the God of *mercy*, that takes no *delight* in the blood of his Brethren, nor *deſireth* the death of any one; I am obliged moſt humbly, and earneſtly to pray, and beſeech Your *gracious* Majeſty, to be *ſtill* gracious, as You have *demonſtratively* ſhewed Your Self to be hitherto, unto theſe *ungracious* Offenders; and when the Law of *Juſtice* hath decreed their *Deſert*, to ſtretch forth unto them the *right Hand* of *Mercy*, and to do with them, as the *Wiſdom* of the moſt *merciful God* ſhall direct Your Majeſty.

Secondly, The *next* thing, that I am bound to declare, and to remonſtrate unto Your Majeſty, and to all others, is, (leſt Your Majeſty ſhould be *misinformed* concerning me, as I underſtood by Mr. *Secretary Nicholas*, I have been *misrepreſented* in Your Majeſtie's Court,) moſt humbly to beſeech Your Majeſty, to give me leave, to make that Remonſtrance to the World, which I hope no man can contradict: as,

That I was Your Father's *Chaplain*, and waited on His Majeſty ſix, or ſeven years at leaſt, in the Moneth of *December*, and when the Wars began, though my ever honoured Lord, and Maſter, the *Earl* of *Pembroke*, and *Montgomery* was mis-led, contrary to his Childrens deſire, to adhere unto the Parliament, which fault can no ways be excuſed, though I could ſay very much to leſſen it; becauſe I knew the Uprightneſs of that Noble Perſon, that was hoodwinked by the Subtlety of his Adherents: yet, my ſelf, according to my duty, ſtuck to his Majeſty, and perſwaded ſome of his Children, that were my *Scholars*, to do the like; and I wrote my firſt Book againſt the Parliament, which is intituled, *The Grand Rebellion*, and, being fetched by a Troop of Soldiers, was carryed Priſoner to *North-hampton*, where the *Committee* had *The Grand Rebellion* in their Hands, and had not God moſt mercifully, and very ſtrangely turned away their eyes, from looking on it, to *preſerve* me, I looked for no other end, then to be utterly ruined; but the Lord preſerved me, and delivered me out of their hands: and the next Winter, being in *Oxford*, I printed my *Diſcovery of Myſteries*, or, The *Plots* of the *pretended Parliament*, to overthrow both *Church*, and *State*; and

on

on that *very* day, that I was preaching in Saint *Marie's* before the *Parliament*, then ſitting in *Oxford*, the Soldiers from *Northhampton* came, and *plundred* my *houſe*, and all my *Houſhold-ſtuff*, and about eight milch Kine, and all that I had in *Abthorp*, where my Wife, and Children reſided, and ſequeſtred my Lands to the uſe of the Parliament: yet this *Breach* could not *break* my *Loyalty* to my King, or my *Heart* in my Body; but by the next Winter after, I had written my third Book, intituled *The Rights of Kings, and the Wickedneſſes of the pretended Parliament*, &c. And according to my poor Ability, out of the Means I had from *Wales*, I gave unto His Majeſties own Hand every Winter, for three years together, the *Teſtimony* of my Loyalty, and Affection, to the *uttermoſt* of my Power; and His *gracious* Majeſty did, like a *moſt gracious King*, moſt *favourably* accept of that *Mite*, which I offered Him, as Sir *Bryan O-Neal*, and others do very well know.

And when *Major General Mytton* came, and ſubdued our Country of *Wales*, though the *Arch-Biſhop* of *York* was my *ſingular* good Friend, and very *earneſtly* perſwaded me to ſubmit unto the Parliament, and, to uſe his own words, ſaid, that I ſhould fare *no worſe* then he did, but ſhould ſail in the ſame Boat, and ſo *ſink*, or *ſwim*, and ſo be ſaved, or deſtroyed together; yet I anſwered, that I would never *truſt* them, that they would be *true* to me, that *wrote* ſo many Books againſt them, when they were ſo *falſe* unto their King, that had been ſo *gracious* unto them: and therefore I went, and gave ten pound to a Parliament *Captain* to let me paſs into *Ireland*, by a moſt *deſperate* Attempt; under the *hands*, and through the *Pikes* of mine Enemies, that would have *deſtroyed* me, had they but *known* me: and there how *faithfully*, and *freely* I have often preached for *Obedience* to his Majeſty, and againſt both the *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, and the *Iriſh* Rebels, the moſt Honourable *Duke* of *Ormond* his Grace, and all the *reſt* of the Council at *Dublin*, can ſufficiently teſtifie.

And when the moſt noble *Marqueſs* could not poſſibly preſerve *Ireland* any longer, but was fain to yield it up unto the Parliament, and I had the *Benefit* of the Articles of *Ireland* confirmed, and allowed unto me, under the Hands of all the Commiſſioners, that ſigned them, I was taken at Sea in my Paſſage

into

into *Wales*, and *pillaged* of all that I had, my Books, Goods, Money, and Cloaths, to the full value of an Hundred Pounds, and then, coming to the *Parliament* for to have the *performance* of the ſaid Articles, one *Scot*, ſince executed for a *Traitour*, demanded, if I wrote not *The Grand Rebellion*, and the other Books, that I had *written* againſt the *Parliament*, and, I confeſſing the *truth*, he asked, if I *deſerved* not rather to have my *head cut off*, then to have the *benefit* of any Articles; ſo I was feign to make mine Addreſſe to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who very *honourably* wrote two *Letters* (which after I ſhewed them, I got againe, and do ſtill keep them, as a memorial of his *juſt*, and *great* favour unto me) *one* to the *Committee* of *North-hampton*, who *preſently* reſtored me to all the Lands I had in that County; the other to the *Committee* of *Angleſey*, who, though they were my near *Kinſmen*, and ſome of them deſcended from the *Houſe* of *Owen Tydder*, the *Grand-Father* of *Henry the Seventh*, as well as my ſelf; yet very *unjuſtly*, and *unfriendly*, they denied to *reſtore* me to my Means in that County: ſo that I was feign to make my ſecond Addreſs to his Excellencie Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who again, as *honourably* as formerly, wrote to *Major General Mytton*, to put me into all my Poſſeſſions; but, before I could come to *General Mytton*, *Angleſey* was revolted from the *Parliament*, and beſieged by *Mytton*, and the Means of the *Deanerie*, that belonged unto me, was *Alienated* from the Church, and taken quite away, and ſo ever ſince I was forced to live upon leſs means, then twenty pounds *per annum*, though my ever honoured *Lord* the *Earle* of *Pembrook*, and *Mountgomery*, offered, to procure me a Living, in *Lancaſhire*, worth 400.*li* *per annum*, ſo I would ſubmit my ſelf to the *Parliament*, which, with many thanks unto his Lordſhip for his favour, I utterly refuſed; and, though other Biſhops accepted, and received, each one, 100. pounds a year from Mr. *Henry Cromwell*, that offered the ſame very courteouſly unto me, yet, knowing how unjuſtly he had power to beſtow it, and how I ſhould be fettered if I accepted it, I *refuſed* to take it, and reſolved to accept of no *Salarie*, Gratuity, gift, or Benevolence from any man to this very day, but to be very well contented with the poor eſtate, that God had left me; and when as divers *Royaliſts*, and other *good Chriſtians*, ſeeing my mean eſtate, and conſidering my much Sufferings, did offer

offer me, and ſent unto me divers ſums of Monies, I refuſed them all, and was faine, before they left ſending to me, to deſire them publikely in the Pulpit at *Dublin*, to offer no more of their gifts, and benevolence unto me (for whoſe love and good will I did moſt heartily thank them) becauſe I Preached not in expectation of any reward, but reſolved to refuſe the ſame, in hope that they would the rather beleive the truth of my *Doctrine*, as I thank God, I ſaw many of them did, though many others were much offended with me, ſo that I was forced to leave *Dublin*, and ſo fell to my *Prayeres* and *Studies* more, and more, to diſcover *The Great Anti-Chriſt*, comforting my ſelf herein, that, if I was not mightily *miſtaken*, in all my readings, of the ſence and meaning of the *Holy Ghoſt* touching the coming of that *Anti-Chriſt* within three *years and an half* after both the witneſſes were ſlaine, that is, the *King* killed, and all the *Biſhop's* ſilenced, and ſuppreſſed from the *execution* of their *Epiſcopal Function*, which is their *Spiritual* killing, I ſhould, if I ſhould live ſo long, ſee, both Your *Majeſtie* Reſtored, to Your *Kingdom*, and the *Biſhop's* Elevated, to their former *Dignitie*, as, bleſſed be God, now both are fully come to paſs, according to mine expoſition of that Propheſie.

And this *Prophetical* expectation, of the *Reſurrection*, and *Reſtauration* of theſe two *witneſſes*, the *King*, and the *Biſhops*, according to the true *ſence* and *meaning* of the *Holy Ghoſt* I made known, and ſhewed it to *very many*, both in *Dublin*, in *Wales*, and in *London*; and though ſome of them, that ſaw *mine expoſition* of thoſe Propheſies, that I thus explained, did but *laugh* at them, and others thought it but a *Fancie*; yet, bleſſed be *the God of Heaven*, that *Revealeth ſecrets unto his Servants*, as *Daniel* ſaith, we ſee the *truth* of mine Explication, in all things accordingly *fulfilled*, and the *confidence*, that I had in the *aſſurance* of their fulfilling, *ſtrengthned* me, to be ſo bold in my *Sermon* before the *Judges* of the general *Aſſizes* at *Conwey*, to ſpeak for Your Majeſties *Reſtauration* when You were comming towards *Worceſter*, that, Collonel *Carter*, now Sir *John Carter* (a man then *vehement* againſt Your Majeſtie, and now *loyal* to Your Majeſtie as many others are, that cannot otherwiſe chooſe) told me, as ſoon as ever I had done it, but that he would not ſeem to be *uncivil*: he would have pulled me down by the Ears, out of the *Pulpit*,

and the Governour of *Beumareſh*, Collonel *Courtney*, was reſolved to have clap'd me up in Priſon; ſo that I was faign *preſently* to *fly* away to ſave my ſelf; and the like boldneſs, I always uſed, in all the many Sermons, that I preached at *Dublin*, as moſt of that loyal City can bear me witneſs; ſo that, ſometimes I was forced, to take *Sea*, and to *fly*, as I did at *Conwey*, to eſcape, as ſoon as ever I had *finiſhed* my Sermon. *Sic multum terris jactatus & alto.*

And now being reſtored to my *Biſhoprick* by the great *goodneſs* of God, and the happy *Reſtauration* of Your *Sacred* Majeſty, I do moſt humbly crave leave to *remonſtrate*, that as ſoon as I arrived in *Ireland*, I went about my *Dioceſs*, in my *Viſitation*, from one end to the other, that I might underſtand the *State* of the *Church*, and the *Condition* of the *Country*, where I was *exceedingly* welcomed by all the *old Proteſtants*, as they are termed, in every place; and when I had ſworn *Church-Wardens*, and *Sides-men*, or *Aſsiſtants* in *every* Pariſh, I gave them ſome *Articles* to be inquired after, and a *convenient* time, to return their *Anſwer* into the Court.

And when they had *anſwered* to thoſe *Articles*, I found *thereby* (and by what I *ſaw* with mine own eyes in the Country) that the *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, and the other *fanatick* Limbs of the *Beaſt*, the Members of the *Great Anti-Chriſt*, and the falſe *Prophet*, that I have ſo *amply* deciphered, in my *laſt* printed Book of the *Anti-Chriſt*, had *ſuffocated*, and *ſuppreſt* the *whole uſual*, and *accuſtomed Service* of God; and as they had done in *Ingland*, to his deareſt Servants, ſo in *Ireland*, they had *beheaded* moſt of the *Churches* of *Chriſt* within my *Dioceſs*, the *Roofes* of them, both Slates, and Timber, being *quite* taken off, and converted to their own uſe, and the *Walls* of very many of them, *thrown down*, even to the Ground; and of above an hundred *Pariſhes*, I ſaw not ten *Churches* ſtanding, nor half ſo many *well* repaired; they had as the *Prophet* ſaith, ſo deſtroyed, *all the Houſes of God in the Land*, as being loath that God, which gave them all they had, ſhould have a *Houſe* for his Servants, to *meet* together, to *praiſe his Name*. And the great, and *famous*, moſt *beautiful Cathedral Church* of Saint *Keney*, they have utterly defaced, and ruined, thrown down all the *Roof* of it, taken a-

way

way five great, and *goodly* Bells, broken down all the Windows, and carryed *away* every bit of the Glaſs, that, they ſay, was worth, a very great deal; and all the doors of it, that the *Hogs* might come, and *root*, and the *Dogs gnaw* the Bones of the dead; and they brake down a moſt *exquiſite Marble Font*, (wherein the Chriſtians Children were *regenerated*) all to pieces, and threw down the many *many* goodly *Marble Monuments*, that were therein, and eſpecially, that ſtately, and coſtly *Monument* of the moſt honourable, and noble Family of the Houſe of *Ormond*, and divers others, of moſt rare, and excellent Work, not much *inferiour* (if I be not much miſtaken) to moſt of the *beſt* (excepting the King's) that are in Saint *Paul's* Church, or the *Abby* of *Weſtminſter*: and, when I deſired Mr. *Connel* my *Regiſter*, to begin to repair ſome places of that Church, and to ſet up ſome Benches, and Formes, to let the people to underſtand, that we intended, and hoped (though it ſhould coſt two thouſand pounds) to have all the Church repaired; ſome of the *Anabaptiſts* (as we have *good reaſon* to think ſo) came in the *night* time, (the Church having *no doors*) and with *Axes*, and *Hammers*, or *Hatchets*, brake them down, and carryed them quite away, and did other *unſeemly Abuſes* beſides.

And for the Preachers, and Miniſters of God's word. *The Great Anti-Chriſt* had ſo filled the Country with his falſe *Prophets*, Weavers, and Taylors, and the like Preachers, that there were when I came *thither*, but three lawfully *ordained Miniſters*, in all the *Dioceſs* of *Oſſory*. Mr. *Baskervil*, Mr. *Kearney*, and Mr. *Deane*. The Labourers were ſo *few*, though the *Harveſt* was very great, eſpecially if we hoped to *root up* thoſe very many ſtinking *Weeds*, that the *falſe Prophet* hath ſowed amongſt us; and for the *Biſhop's Houſe*, the *Slates*, *Roof*, *Timber*, *Windows*, and *Doors*, all carried quite away, and *very much* of the very Walls, thrown *down*, and ruined: *Et ſic periere ruinæ*: ſo that it coſt me above thirty pounds *already*, to fit a Room, or two, for me to lay in.

And for the Lands of the *Biſhop*, the *beſt* of them are pretended to be *Fee-Farmes*, and a Trifle reſerved to be the *Biſhop's Rent*, ſcarce worth the looking after; and thoſe *pretended Fee-Farms*, with moſt other of the *beſt* Lands, contrary to all the directions of *Cromwel*, that, in all his *Commiſsions*, excepted all the *Church-Lands*,

Lands, from the *Souldiers* Lots, were by the *Anabaptiſt*'s Commiſſioners, notwithſtanding their *grand* Maſters Prohibition, given to the *Collonels* and *Captains* for their Arrears, and they do *abſolutely* deny to reſtore them unto the *Church*, until they be ſatisfied with Repriſals, and ſo the Biſhop hath not any thing from them.

But if the Biſhops be ſo ſtill kept from their Means, how ſhall we be able to do our Duties, and to diſcharge the Service, that we owe both to God, to our King, and to the Church of God, when the Soldiers divide our Lands, as formerly they did the Coat of *Chriſt* among themſelves; and yet *Pharaoh*-like require of us the full Tale of Bricks, though they take away the Straw wherewith we make them.

But the *mountainous* Lands were onely ſet *annually* to Tenants, and others, who by reaſon of their *high Rents*, and greatneſs of their *Taxes*, were feign to leave the ſame, and the Rents of ſome, a *year*, and of others, two *years* unpaid; and ſo the Lands in many places, became *waſte*, when no other Tenant durſt enter upon them, for fear of the *Exchequer Writs*, to diſtrain their Cattle, for the Arrearages of Rents, as they had diſtrained, upon *divers* of the under-Tenants of them, that had run away; And for the *Lands*, and *Houſes* of the Biſhop, in, and about *Kilkenny*, that are a ſpecial part of the Biſhops Revenue, the Soldiers took them all, either for their *Arrears*, or of the *State* for Rent, into their hands; and the *Recuſants*, being all driven out of the City, the poorer ſort of them remained in the *Iriſh Town*, and built *Cabbins*, and *Cottages* upon the Biſhop's Lands, and Gardens, and were *forced*, to pay their Rent unto the Soldiers, that had the ſaid Lands, and Gardens from the State; and when I ſent to demand my Rent from thoſe Tenants, the Soldiers *preſently* diſtrained their Goods; and the poor men running unto me, to *complain*, and to know what they ſhould do, I willed them to pay their Rents unto the Soldiers, though they were *due* to me; becauſe, that rather then I would have the *faces* of theſe *poor* men grinded betwixt the Mill-ſtones of two *pretending* Land-Lords, or that I ſhould undertake ſo many *Suits* in Law, with ſo many *Sword-men*, as do now hold the *poor Biſhop*'s Lands, I thought it *better* to be without my *Biſhoprick*, if no other redreſs could be afforded me.

And

And whereas the *Iriſh* Town, that was without Walls, and altogether without the Walls of the Citie of *Kilkenney*, did belong to the Biſhop of *Oſſory*, as being his Mannour of *New-Court*, and paid a very *conſiderable* Rent unto the Biſhop, which was a *ſpecial* part of his Revenue, *Cromwell* finding them *Roman Catholicks*, and *involved* in that *unnatural* Rebellion, and *Un-Chriſtian* Plundering of the *Proteſtants*, burnt moſt of their houſes, and demoliſhed them to the ground; ſo that where *formerly* there were whole ſtreets of goodly houſes, and rich Trades-men inhabiting, and paying, ſome of them, great Rents, and all of them, ſome chief Rent, unto the Biſhop, the Biſhop now hath never a penny, but onely ſome *plats*, and *patches* of waſte ground, to tread upon; when as the *Poet* ſaith,

——*Jam ſeges eſt ubi Troja fuit*:

And theſe few houſes, that eſcaped the Tyrants, and fire, the men, of the 49. years to whom Your Majeſtie beſtowed the Citie of *Kilkenney*, with other places, for their *Arrears*, have ſeized upon them, and ſo left nothing, but the name, unto the poor Biſhop of *Oſſory*: for under that pretence of having the Citie of *Kilkenny*, they do let, and ſet all the houſes that did belong to the Biſhops Mannour; and, as it is moſt true, that *ne Hercules contra duos*, ſo, how I ſhould conteſt with ſo many men I cannot tell; onely this I can tell, that if they do thus take away the Lands of the Churches, and detain them from the right owners, I know not, which is more *Sacrilegious*, either theſe fair-ſpoken *Royaliſts*, or the foul-mouthed *Cromwelliſts*, or the Rebellious *Papiſts*: becauſe each of them do take them away from the Church, and *involve* the Church-men in more troubles, to recover them, then they are like to get by them while they live; ſuch is our miſerable condition to deal with theſe many men; I dare not ſay, that they are the Limbs of the *Beaſt*, but they doe the ſame things, that the *Beaſt* did, and if they will take them, and detain them ſtill from the Church, I being full ſeventy four years old, am not able to conteſt with ſo many men of arms, but I do hereby cite them, to appear to anſwer ſuch things, as I ſhall alleadge againſt them, before *Jeſus Chriſt*.

And whereas Your Majeſtie's *gracious* pleaſure was, moſt *graciouſly* to grant unto every *reſpective* Biſhop the *Fee-Farms*, and *Leaſes* of the Lands, that are now *veſted* in the *Crown* by the *forfeiture* of the Rebels in fourty one; ſave thoſe, that ſhould be reſtored to their former Poſſeſſours, upon the informationof his *innocencie* Your Majeſtie, (being *mis-informed*, as I conceive, as the *beſt*, *wiſeſt*, and *juſteſt* King may be *mis-informed*, as King *David* was, in the caſe of *Mepboſheth*) hath reſtored the moſt rigid, and ſtiff *Roman Catholick*, that was always with, if not of, the *Supreme Councel*, and the *Pope's Nuncio*, at *Kilkenny*; and, as I am informed, a violent Plunderer of the poor *Proteſtants*, and a Captain of Horſe among the *Rebels*, and had taken Lands in *Connagh* for his Eſtate in *Lemſter*, unto all the Lands, that he held in the County of *Kilkenny*, and to the beſt *Lord-ſhip*, that belonged unto the *Biſhop of Oſſory*, and the onely Lands, and *Lordſhip* of any note, that was held by any of the *Roman Catholicks*, and now veſted in the Crown by that Rebellion, in all the *Dioceſs* of *Oſſory*; ſo that this *Lord-ſhip*, called the *Upper-Court*, and *Freſhford*, beingreſtored unto the former Poſſeſſour, the Church of *Oſſory* receiveth not any great benefit by that Your *Gracious* favour unto the Church; but her Lands, and Revenues herein ſtand like the Body of the *Nightingale*, that is *vox præterea-que nihil*, and that hath much *feathers*, and little *fleſh*, or, as the *Poet* ſaith,

Magni nominis umbra;

ten pound yearly for that, which is worth near two hundred pound.

And therefore Your Petitioner humbly prayeth, that Your Majeſtie would be graciouſly pleaſed to cauſe, upon this informamation, that thoſe *Lands*, and *Lordſhip* of *Upper-Court*, ſhall be reſtored, according to Your moſt gracious Grant, unto the Church. And, as Your Petitioner hath already beſtowed the whole laſt years Rent, all that was due to the Biſhop, (and more then he received as yet) from the *Tenants*, for the repairing of the *Chancel*, and *Quire* of Saint *Keney*, and the Biſhop's *houſe*.

(*As the Rent of,*

Captain *Joiner*	8 *l.*	Colonel *Dillan*	24 *l.*
Captain *Mainzor*	24 *l.*	Mr. *Feak*	20 *l.*
Captain *Eliot*	25 *l.*	Lievtenant Col. *Wheeler*	7 *l.*
Colonel *Redman*	33 *l.*	Mrs. *Bolger*	20 *l.*
Mr. *John Graſe*	29 *l.*	*The Miller*	5 *l.*

Which is all the Rent, and Revenue of my Biſhoprick for the laſt year, becauſe the *Parliament* having got our Lands at an eaſie rate, onely for taking it, did in like manner let it as eaſily, for leſs then half the worth of it, which made in all an hundred ſeventy three pounds, whereof your Petitioner laid out for the repairing of the *Chancel*, and *Quire* of Saint *Keney* Church, one hundred, and fifty pounds, and for repairing the Biſhop's houſe, that was all ſo extream *ruinous*, above thirty pounds) So he doth hereby promiſe, and oblige himſelf, to God, and to Your Majeſtie, moſt *faithfully*, and *freely* to diſpoſe of it all, for the reparation of the body of the *Cathedral* Church of Saint *Keney*, that Your Majeſtie may ſee, Your Petitioner doth not ſo *earneſtly* proſecute the *recovery*, and *reſtoring* of thoſe Lands, and Lordſhip of *Upper-Court* unto the *See* of *Oſſorie*, for the enriching of himſelf, that, bleſſed be God for it, hath enough both for himſelf, and his, but for the benefit of the *Houſe*, and *Church* of God.

Or if Your Majeſtie think not well to continue Your former *gracious* Grant thereof unto the Church, Your Petitioner humbly prayeth, You would be pleaſed to further Your Petitioner to recover from *Robert Shee*, the former Poſſeſſor, to whom it is now reſtored, the twenty years Rent, that is unpaid, and is due to your Petitioner, ever ſince the *Rebellion* began, and before; and which amounteth to two hundred Pound, beſide the *forbearance* of them: the which, Your Petitioner *conceiveth* to be moſt juſt, and agreeable to all *Law*, *Equity*, and *Conſcience*.

And for the *reſt* of the Miniſter's *Livings*, through what *fate*, or by what *means* I know not, but through the *juſt* Judgment

ment of God, that *diſpoſeth all things wiſely*, ſo it is, that very many of the *poor Proteſtants*, which were *robbed*, and *plundered* by the *Iriſh Rebels*, are not *one jot* the better, by the ſubduing of the *Rebels*, and *Diſplantation* of the *Romane Catholicks*; but with the *Iriſh*, and like the *Iriſh*, do live moſt *poorly*, and have as hard a *Task* to get their own former Eſtates out of the *Soldier's* hands, as to pull the *Club* out of *Hercules* his hands, as it appeareth by their dealing with my ſelf; when, upon my Petition unto the Houſe of Peers, to be reſtored unto the Biſhop's Lands, that my Predeceſſor dyed ſeiſed of, I had an order of the *Lords* unto the *Sheriffs*, to put me into the Poſſeſſion of it, which was ſo totally *detained* from me, that I had not ſo much Lands left me about *Kilkenny*, as would feed a *Gooſe*; and when the *Sheriffs*, according to mine Order, came, to deliver me Poſſeſſion of it, a *Captain* of the Long Parliament, that had it given him, as he ſaid, for his *Arrears*, ſtood before the Sheriffs, and told them, they ſhould not tread upon his Lands, until he had his Repriſal for it, and becauſe I knew him to be a *Member* of the Houſe of Commons, I adviſed the Sheriffs to let him alone, and by no means to intrench upon their Privilege, conceiving, that hereby he hath more affronted the whole Houſe of Lords, in withſtanding their Order, then he hath done me, and if *they* paſs by ſuch an *Affront*, I may far better do it; and if the Soldiers deal thus with me, that am their *Biſhop*, and a *Member* of the Higher Houſe of Parliament, how hardly, think you, ſhall the other *poor Proteſtants*, and the reſt of the *Country Gentlemen*, that have been theſe many years kept out of their Eſtates, get their Lands, and Poſſeſſions out of their hands? let *Blackwel's* Caſe be for inſtance.

Yet truly I muſt needs confeſs, that the *Temporal* Lords, both of the *Roman* Religion, and the *Proteſtants*, at all times have, and do ſhew themſelves moſt faithful, and loyal *to Your Majeſty*, and both *favourable* unto our *Church*, and, without any ſuperciliouſneſs, *very friendly* with us, that are their Biſhops, and moſt *willing* to further us to *all our Rights*, and to grant us any *lawful favour*, and eſpecially to *aſsiſt* us, to root out thoſe weeds, that diſturb us in the Government of God's *Church*, and the reſtoring, and ſetting forward the *true Service* of God amongſt our People.

But

But the *Colonels*, and *Captains*, and the reſt of the *Soldiery*, that ſubdued the *Rebels*, have the moſt part of the Kingdom in their *Poſſeſſion*, and are very *tenacious* of what is in their Hands, and do live gallantly, and very fairly; and yet, in *many* places, the Country is left *un-inhabited*, and the beſt parts but *thinly* peopled, and the ground lying *well nigh* waſte, for the moſt part, *untilled*, and *ill-ſtocked*, ſo that the Livings, which *formerly* were worth an hundred pound a piece *per annum*, are *now* ſet for little more then twenty pounds a piece; as mine own Rectory of *Rath-Saran*, and *Rath-downy*, that, before the Rebellion, were reputed to be worth above an hundred pounds *per an.* were ſet the *laſt* year for twenty ſix pounds, and the Lands of *Biſhop's-Logh*, that my Predeceſſour did ſet to his own Son for eighty pounds *per annum*, was this laſt year, and before, ſet to Mr. *Feak* for twenty pound, and the like; by reaſon of which ſlender means, and tenuity of the Livings, I found, that the *Commiſſioners* for ſetting the *Tythes*, and ſetling Miniſters to *preach* unto the people granted to one Mr. *Kearny*, that had three *Pariſhes* before, 7, or 8. *Pariſhes* more, and yet all thoſe *ſcarce* able to make him a *reaſonable* Maintenance of an hundred pound *per annum*; ſo they granted ſix to one Mr. *Brooks*, though he was no lawful ordained Miniſter; and Mr. *Blake* had ſix *Pariſhes* given unto him by the *Mayor*, and *Burgeſſes* of *Waterford*, and all not worth above twenty pounds *per annum*, as appeareth by his Preſentation, and this ſubſequent *Letter* unto my ſelf.

HONOURED SIR,

WE the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens, of the City of WATERFORD, having in our Power, by Charter from King CHARLES the Firſt of ever bleſſed Memory, and before by his Anceſtors,

the Preſentation of a Miniſter to the Vicarages of KILLCULLEHENE, RATH-PATRICK, BALLYGOREN, KILLMAKEVOY, MACKOLLY, and WHITCHURCH, with the Donation thereof, all which amounts to twenty, and one Pounds, or thereabouts, per annum, and having by conſent in Council preſented RICHARD BLAKE, Clerk, to the ſame; VVe earneſtly pray, that if your Lordſhip have any in your Diſpoſe, that lyeth contiguous thereto; that your Lordſhip would pleaſe to favour him therein, and it will thankfully be acknowledged by us, and what you pleaſe to command, that is in our Powers, you may freely command,

Your LORDSHIPS

affectionate Friends,

and Servants.

Waterford the 20.th November. 1660.

DAVIES *Mayor.*

Sam. Brinsmead. } *Sheriffs.*
Sam. Brown. }

The

The *Cauſe* of which Sterility of Fruit, and *Scarcity* of Means, and the *thinneſs*, or *fewneſs* both of Houſes, and Inhabitants, I conceive to be, that the *Adventurers*, and *Soldiers* have got the moſt part of the *Lands*, of the *Biſhops*, and *Proteſtants*, that the *Iriſh* drave away, and all the Lands of the *Rebels*, and *Roman Catholicks*, into their own Hands, and are neither *willing* to part with it, nor *able* to till it, manure it, and repleniſh it with Tenants, and Husbandry, as it ought to be.

Indeed I do confeſs, and it is *moſt true*, that, if the *Iriſh Rebels*, *Popiſh Prieſts*, and *Romane Catholicks* had had their *Wills* neither *Proteſtant Biſhop*, nor any other *Proteſtant* ſhould ever have had any *foot* of Land in all the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

And you know what *Lex talionis* ſaith to them, but that we ought to be more *merciful*, and to write our wrongs in the *Duſt*, and not in *Marble*.

And therefore, we are all obliged, as *ſpecially* to Your *Sacred Majeſty*, that brought our *Peace*, and *Reſtauration* to all, that we have; ſo *Secondly* to the *Adventurers*, that laid out their Moneys, and to the Soldiers, that ventured their *Lives*, and endured hardſhip, to *reſtore us unto our Rights*.

But if they adventured, either *life*, or *money*, to drive out the *Rebels*, and to get both their Lands, and ours, that never offended, unto *themſelves*, as many of the *Soldiers* do about *Kilkenny*, then we owe them *no thanks*; and they do no better, then as the *Thieves* robbed us, ſo they rob the *Thieves*, not for the love of *Juſtice*, to make *Reſtitution* to the Owners, but to *enrich* themſelves, and how God likes of this keeping the *right Owners* from their Lands, and Houſes, let the *Adventurers*, *Soldiers*, and *Buyers* of them, *judge themſelves*, the Lord will *judge* it at another Day.

All which, and many more *Diſtempers*, that might be *ſeen* in that unſettled Kingdom, and the Diſtreſſes of many unrelieved pillaged *Proteſtants*, that are continued, through the *unbridled Fury* of the *Presbyterians*, and the blinde *illimited Zeal* of the *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, and other *Sectaries*, that have ſwarmed in this place, as appeareth by this Catalogue of them, that were preſented by the *Church-wardens* of *one* Pariſh, for their unlawful *Conventicles*.

That

To the KING,

That is to say,

William Burgeſs of *Kilkenny* Eſquire.
Thomas Wilſon, Eſq;
Thomas Fox, Gent.
Thomas Fonyver, Merchant.
John Ball, Merchant.
Francis Mitchel, Merchant.
Thomas Newman Eſq;
Richard Inwood, Innkeeper.
William Hays, Gent.
John Beaver, Merchant.
Edward Evans, Tanner.
William Waters, Taylor.
Francis Hamblyn.
George Dawſon.
William Mitchel, Gardiner.
Charles Duke, Gent.
Thomas Collins, Gent.

I thought it my *Duty* in all *Humbleneſs*, and *Fidelity*, to *declare*, and *remonſtrate* unto Your Majeſty, and to Your moſt *Honourable* Parliament, and all *others*, that deſire to be *informed* herein: leaving it to Your Majeſtie's moſt *wiſe*, and *pious* Conſideration, and their *religious Care* of God's *Service*, and *Servants*, to do, what to Your Majeſty ſeemeth *beſt* herein; and moſt *humbly* craving *Pardon*, if, in theſe things, I have done *any* thing, that in the leaſt way might *offend* Your Majeſty, whom I ſo truly *honour*, and will ever as *faithfully* ſerve, as any Subject within Your Kingdoms, not onely, as You are *my King*, but eſpecially as You are the *gracious Son* of ſo *glorious* a *Father*, as is that bleſſed King, *CHARLES the Firſt*, whoſe *Name*, and *Memory* ſhall ever be like the Compoſition of the moſt *pretious Oyntment*, that is made by the Art of the *Apothecary*. So I reſt.

Your MAJESTIES
moſt loyal, faithful,
and obedient Subject,
and Oratour,

GR. OSSORY.

THE FIRST TREATISE.

Acts 7. 52.

Which of the Prophets have not your Fathers perſecuted? And they have ſlain them which ſhewed before of the coming of the Juſt One, of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers.

THE *occaſion* of this our meeting and congregating our ſelves together at this time in Gods Houſe, is to confeſs our *Great* ſins, to declare our *Sorrows*, and to teſtify our *Humiliation*; as for all *Other* our tranſgreſſions, ſo *Eſpecially* for the high *Rebellion*, and malicious *Deliberate* murder, which our *Fathers*, our *Brethren*, and the *Reſt* of the people of theſe Dominions, have committed, againſt their *Own* moſt *Pious*, *Juſt*, and *Lawfull* King, CHARLES the *Firſt*. And I know not *any* waies, how to do the ſame *better*, then by parelleling the *Tranſcendent* murder of our King, with that *Unexpreſſible* murder of the *King* of the *Jews*, and our bleſſed *Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt.

For the performance of which *Duty*, I ſhall deſire you to give *Attendance* to the Word of God, which you may find written in *Acts* 7. 52.

Theſe *Words* that I have read unto you, are the *Words* of the proto-Martyr, Saint *Stephen*; the firſt Witneſs, that loſt his *Life* for Preaching the *Truth*, and teſtifying the *Faith* and death of *Jeſus Chriſt*: And they do contain a *three fold Act*, or three ſpeciall ſteps, deſcending *down-wards* towards hell, which, with the aſſiſtance of God, I intend to handle, not to *direct* you the way thither, but to *divert* all men from thoſe dangerous pathes, whoſe *ends* muſt be ſo *dolefull* unto them, without end: And they are,

Three parts.

1. *Perſecutio Prophetarum*; the perſecution of the Prophets.
2. *Occiſio Prædicatorum*; the killing of the Preachers.
3. *Perditio & interfectio juſti Regis*; the betraying and *murdering* of a moſt juſt, and the moſt righteous King, the King of the *Jews*. The three *fowleſt* facts that could be acted by any men, and would never have been done by any, but by *Jews*, or worſe than *Jews*.

1. The *wiſeſt* amongſt the ſons of men ſaith, *Surely*, that you need not

 doubt

Eccles. 7. 7. doubt it, *oppression maketh a wise man mad*, and therefore likely it maketh *simple* men and fooles more mad; and *oppression*, which the Grecians call, καταδυναστεία, is nothing else but *violenta pressura*, a violent pressure, and a pinching of their *bodies*, or a sore pressing upon their *estates*, and impoverishing them, by *Taxes*, impositions, and services, more than by the *Laws* ought to be imposed, or that they be well able to bear.

And yet, as the Poet saith,

Clamitat ad Cœlum ——————
Vox oppressorum, mercesque retenta laborum.

Psal. 9. 9. Prov. 22. 23. Amos 5. 21. This *oppression* of the poor *crieth loud* in the eares of God, for vengeance against the *oppressors*; and God promiseth *to be a refuge for the oppressed*, and *He* threatneth to *punish* all the oppressors of the poor; yea, and *to spoyle the soul of those that spoyle them*: and therefore, the *great* men of this world should take heed, that they *oppress* not the poor, the fatherless, and the widow, that have *least* shelter to preserve them from oppression.

But if *Oppression* be so haynous a vice, and so loud a crying sin, what shall we think of *Persecution?* for *persecution*, that is derived of *persequor*: παρακολουθέω, which signifieth, *ad extremum usque sequi*, to follow and pursue his desire to the *uttermost* execution, is of a far *higher* strain, and a *close* following after the person of any one, to do him some *great* and apparant mischief, either to take away his *Liberty*, or to bereave him of his *Life*, as Gen. 4. 8. 1 Sam. 13. 14. *Cain* did to *Abel*, and as *Saul* persecuted *David*, and hunted after him, even *as a Patridge is hunted upon the mountain* from place to place. And thus did the *Fathers* of these *Jews persecute* the Prophets: For the better understanding of which point, I humbly beseech you to observe these three things.

Three things observable in the 1. part. i.e. The persecution of the Prophets.

1. The persecutors, *their Fathers.*
2. The persecuted, *the Prophets.*
3. The extent and generality of their persecution, *Quem Prophetarum?*

1. The persecutors. 1. The *persecutors* are said to be οἱ πατέρες their fathers; and πατὴρ *dicitur quasi* παιδῶν τηρῶν, *ex se genitos servans*, the keeper and preserver of those that are begotten of him; And therefore it is the duty of all Fathers, *Filios colere, quasi propriæ vitæ propaginem, & proprio exemplo optimè regere, tanquam membra*, saith *Marcilius Ficinus*; To love and to *delight* in his Children, as in the *issue* and the offspring of his own flesh, and the *Continuance* of his life; and to *guide* them and instruct them by his own proper example, as he doth guide the members of his own body. And the Poet very divinely saith,

Marcil. Fic. l. 3. Epist.

Nil dictu fœdum visuque hæc limina tangat,
Intra quæ puer est; procul hinc, procul ite puellæ,
Lenonum, & cantus pernoctantis parasiti;
Maxima debetur puero reverentia: si quid
Turpe paras, nec tu pueri contempseris annos,
Sed peccaturo obsistat tibi filius infans.

Let no *unseemly* act or unsavory speech be seen or heard, where thy Children are, and if thou intendest to do any *lewd* prank, or to speak any *immodest* thing; forget not the years of the young Youths, but when thou art about to do it, let the consideration of thy *Children* refrain thee, that thou mayst not teach them to be evill and wicked by thine example.

And it is the duty of *Children* to love and honor their Fathers, as those that gave them their very *being*, and all the things wherein they delight; that

that is, themselves; as *Diogenes* said to one that he saw *despising* his Father: And they ought to imitate and to follow their Fathers, in all the good things that they see they do.

But *who* were those Fathers of those *Jews*, that *persecuted* the Prophets; that we may understand whom this *Martyr* meaneth? For they boasted very much, that they were *the Children of Abraham*, and very proud they were, that they had *Abraham* to be their Father; because, as the Poet saith,

Vera quidem res est, patrem sequitur sua proles,
Et leviter sequitur filia matris iter.

The Children are, like *Apes*, apt to imitate, and to follow their Fathers waies, whether they be good or bad, and to become like their Fathers both in respect of body and mind; because, as another saith,

Scilicet est olim vis rerum in semine certa, *Martil. Poet.*
Et referunt animos singula quæque patrum;
Nec leporem canis Æmathius, timidámve columbam
Notus hyperboreo falco sub axe creat.

Children commonly like their Parents.

There is a certain *power* and strength left by God in the *seed* of things, and each severall thing doth shew the *nature* of his begetter, as the *Æmathian* Dog begets not a Hare, nor the Northen Hawk a fearfull Dove, but, as *Horatius* saith,

Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis
Est in juvencis, est in equis, patrum
Virtus; nec imbecillem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam. *Horat. 4. Carm. 4.*

The *strong* creatures beget *strong* breed, as we see in Beasts, in Bullocks, and in Horses the strength and stature of their Sires; and the *fierce* Eagle begeteth not a *silly* Pigeon.

So *commonly*, good and godly Fathers, have good and gracious Children; and for the most part valiant and heroicall men, beget valiant sons; as *Jupiter* begat *Hercules*, *Æacus Achilles*, and *Anchises Æneas*. And the Apostle saith that Children are *beloved of God, for their Fathers sake*; and therefore questionlesse, *à Principibus nasci præclarum est*, It is a most excellent grace and honor, to be born of honorable parents. Rom. 11. 28.

And S. *James* saith, that *Abraham* was called *the friend of God*: and God himself giveth this testimony of *Abraham*, that *he knoweth Abraham would command his Children, and his Houshold after him, that they should keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment*. James 2. 23. Genes. 17. 4.

And therefore it cannot be otherwise, but that this should be a great deale of *Honor*, and *Glory* unto the *Jews*, that they were of the seed of *Abraham*, and the sons of *Israel*, who wrastled with God, and would not let him go, untill he blest him. But, though all *good* Fathers do take *special* care to make their Children good, and say with the Poet,

Disce puer virtutem exme, verumque laborem, *Hen, bene ut ille illud dictitant reste, probum Patrem ab improbo, non posse nasci filium.* Euripides.

Learn to be good, and to serve God by *mine* example; yet experience sheweth, that the *best* Fathers have not alwaies the *best* Children; for, as what *Euripides* saith, is seen *commonly* true,

Φεῦ, φεῦ! παλαιὸς αἰὼν ὡς καλῶς ἔχει!
Οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χρηστὸς ἐκ κακοῦ πατρός.

That a *towardly* son doth seldom spring from an *untoward* father; because, as the Proverb is, Κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ὠόν, An evil Crow brings forth an evil Egg: and, as *Theognis* saith, Οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ σκίλλης ῥόδα φύεται; The *rose* riseth not from *shrimps*, nor * thorns of thistles. So it is often seen, that a *good* and a godly father, hath a very *lewd* and an ungodly son; as, faithful *Abraham* had a persecuting *Ismael*; religious *Isaac*, had a prophane *Esau*; dutiful *David*, had an undutiful *Absolom*; zealous *Ezechias*, had an Idolatrous *Manasses*; and the good Prophet *Samuel*, had very *bad* sons; as were the sons of *Eli*. And the prophane Stories do record the *like* Progenies: For *Caius Caligula*, the worst of that time, was the son of *Germanicus*, the best of that Age; and *Commodus*, that became a *lascivious* sword-player, was the son of *Mar. Antonius*, that was a Sage Philosopher: So *Chrysippus* was the son of *Gabrias* the *Athenian*; *Carinus* was the son of the Emperour *Carus*; & *Licinius Galienus*, was the son of *Cornelius Licinius Valerianus*, very *bad* sons of very *good* fathers. And I believe you may remember some *fathers* in your own time, that were *good* men, and very *loyal* subjects, and their sons proved to be *arrant* rebels; and some *godly* Bishops that had sons *little better* than the Rebels.

* Mat. 7. 16.

Children not alwayes like their Parents.

And therefore it is most true, which *Ovid* saith,

Ovid. de ponto l. 1.

——Non census nec clarum nomen avorum;
Sed probitas magnos ingeniumque facit.

To be vertuous is more noble, than to be born of Noble Parents.

It is not our *Progenitors*, nor the having of *Abraham* to be our father, that *adds* any thing to our felicity, or encreases our glory, unless we approve our selves *faithful* in our calling, and *dutiful* to our God, as *Abraham* was, and our good fathers were:

Nam genus & proavos & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco ——

The famous deeds, and the worthy exploits of our Ancestors, are none of ours: and, as the Poet saith,

Nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus,
——Hac nobilis Hector,
Alcidesque fuit ——

It is our *own* vertues and goodness, and not the vertues of our *Fathers* that makes us glorious and acceptable, both with God and Men.

And therefore, seeing it is the *imitation* of their fathers *vertues*, and religious carriage, and not their *procreation* from their fathers *seed*, that makes the children to be both loved and honoured; and that so, their own *proper vertues* only, and not their *Ancestors*, makes them glorious: I had rather be, as *Juvenal* saith, the son of *Thyrsites*, a base coward, and to imitate the exploits of *Achilles*, the most valiant Heroick; than to be the son of *Achilles*, and to behave my self like *Thyrsites*. And I would choose sooner to be a faithful *Jonathan*, the son of persecuting *Saul*, than a rebellious *Absolom*, the son of godly *David*.

But

But, as *Horace* saith, and we have seen it true, that

Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem.

Horat. 3. Carm. 6.

The *Progeny* is worse than the Progenitors; our *Fathers* worse than our Grandfathers; and we far worse than our *Fathers*; and our children like to be worse than we are, a Progeny *most* vitious, when as the off-spring still proves worse and worse: and, as *Euripides* saith, Thou shalt scarce find *one son* amongst many, Ὀλίγος ἐστι μὴ χείρων πατρὸς, which is not *worse* than his father: which made a certain poor *Widow* most earnestly to pray for the long life of her *oppressing* Landlord that was a most *wicked Tyrant*, and her grievous persecutor: and being demanded the *reason*, why she did so *zealously* pray for him, that never did her any good, but had heaped upon her very *many* intolerable wrongs: she answered, It was because she knew his *Grandfather*, and he was a very *bad* man, and an unjust Oppressor of his poor Neighbours; and his *Son*, this mans father, proved *worse* than he; and *This* man is far worse than them *both*; and, if he were dead, I fear his son will be the *Devil* himself.

Euripides in Heraclid. generatim hanc sententiam ad omnes mortales retulit.

The poor womans prayer for her cruel Landlord.

So these *Jews*, though they were *originally* descended from *Abraham*, the friend of God; yet the *posterity* of *Abraham* degenerating, and the *Progeny* still growing *worse* than the Progenitors, *angring God in the Wilderness forty years together*, and killing his *Prophets*, when they enjoyed the promised Land, S. *Stephen* tells them they were now the children of *Persecutors*, and of murderers; and our Saviour saith, They were the children of their father the *Devil*; because he was *a murderer from the beginning*.

How children degenerate from their Parents.

John 8. 43.

And, as then it happened with the posterity of *Abraham*, the *Jews*, to grow worse and worse, from Gods *friends*, to be the Devils *children*: So I fear it is *now* with the whole World, and with all the posterity of the *first* good Christians, to grow *worse* and *worse*, and instead of being a *faithful* people, to become a *faithless* and a stubborn generation, *a generation that setteth not their heart aright, and whose spirit cleaveth not stedfastly unto God*: For in the *Primitive* times, the Christians continued with *one accord* in the Temple praying and praising God, and had *Cor unum & animam unam*; but in the *succeeding* times they degenerated, and *the love of many did wax cold*: and iniquity so far, and so *fast* increased, that *Linacrus* reading the 6. and 7. chapters of S. *Mat.* threw away his Testament, and said, *Certè, aut hoc non est Evangelium Christi, aut nos non sumus Christiani*; Certainly, either this is not the *Gospel* of Christ, or we are not *Christians*, that are so far from doing what he *teacheth*, and commandeth us to do.

Acts 4. 32.

What *Linacrus* did.

But when we find our *Fathers* to have *degenerated* from their *good* Fathers, and, instead of being *faithful* Christians and good Subjects, to become *Rebels* and Murderers or Idolaters, and the like; to *rob* their neighbours, and to *resist* their King, to *renounce* their Baptism, and to *prophane* the Chuches, to countenance the *wicked* here on earth, and to despise the *Saints* that are in Heaven, as some of our *Fathers* lately did all these things, and did much more *horrid* acts than any of these: then ought we not to *imitate* them, and to walk in the wayes of our *Fathers*, as these *Jews* did, and, as the Prophet *Jeremy* saith, *have done worse than their Fathers*: for we ought not to observe the Statutes of *Omri*, nor walk in the wayes of *Jeroboam*, nor do the wickedness that our Fathers did: but we ought to do as the Lord adviseth us by his Prophet *Ezechiel*, saying unto us as he said unto the Jews; *Walk yee not in the Statutes of your Fathers, neither observe their judgements, nor their ordinances, nor defile your selves*, by walking in their wayes, and doing the like *wrongs* as they have done, or confirming and continuing those *injuries*, which they acted against their neighbours.

Jerem. 16. 12.

Ezech. 20. 18.

But

What, good children ought to do.

But, if they have made any *Laws*, and given any *Judgements*, to take away the *goods*, or the lands and possessions of any man *unjustly*, be he of what *Nation*, or of what *Religion* soever, when he hath done nothing worthy of *censure*, and much lesse of *disinheriting*; as I am sure, and you may be sure of it, they have done to very many in these Dominions, and especially in this Kingdom: Then do not ye *justifie* those doings, and make *good* their judgements, and *continue* the wrongs and oppressions that they have done, and so *sin with your Fathers, and worse than your Fathers*, by making your selves, not only the *partakers* of their sins, but also the *Patrons* and *Protectors* of all their unjust proceedings: But do ye *confess* the iniquities of your *Fathers*, and say with the Prophet, *That they have done amiss, and dealt wickedly*; and so do ye shew your selves *sorry* for their sins, and *recede* from their unjust doings, and *rectifie* what they have done amiss: And if we *thus* return unto God, then God promiseth that *He will return unto us*, and he will blesse us.

Zach. 1 2. Malac. 3. 7.

But when we have *Abraham* to our father, and are the sons of *Jacob*, the children of *such* fathers, as *feared* God, and walked in his wayes, relieved the *poor*, and built and beautified *Churches*, and spent their dayes in *praying*, and doing all other *pious* deeds, and wronging *no man*, either in word or deed; then ought we not to say, with our *new Saints*, They were *superstitious* and ignorant, and walked in *darkness*, by thinking to *merit* heaven by their works, and have therefore *merited* to be sent to hell; which is a most *ungodly*, and uncharitable censure, of most *ungracious* children, that delight rather to *spit* in their fathers *faces*, than to commend and to *imitate* their *Vertues*. But we ought to honour the *memories* of our forefathers, that have most *faithfully* served God, and procured the *blessings* of God to those children that will serve God, as they have done; because God *loveth*, and hath promised to *blesse* the good children that will walk in the wayes of their godly fathers, *for their fathers sake*, that had formerly served him, and taught their *children* to do the like: even as you may see, how the Lord saith unto *Isaac*; *I am the God of* Abraham *thy father, and I will blesse thee, and multiply thy seed, for my servant* Abraham's *sake*.

What good children ought not to do.

That God blesseth the good children for their godly fathers sake. Gen. 26. 24.

And you may *be sure*, they are more to be *commended*, and more accepted of God, that, in the night of *ignorance*, of blindnes, and superstition, have done the good works of the *day*; as the *pious* works of building and beautifying Gods *House*, and the *charitable* works of relieving the *poor*, and erecting alms-houses, than those men, that, in the day-light of *knowledg*, and such *cleer* preaching of the Gospel as we have had, do the works of *darkness*, and the very deeds of the *Devil*: as are, the persecuting of the Prophets. *Quia melior est fidelis ignorantia, quàm temeraria scientia.*

August.

2. Having heard of the *persecutors*, their *Fathers*; we are now to speak of the *persecuted*, and they were the *Prophets*: for, Τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; *Which of the Prophets have not your fathers persecuted?* saith this holy Martyr. The *Prophets* were men sent from God, to declare his *will*, to teach his *people*, to bring them unto God; and it was their *own* desire, that God would reveal his *will* unto them by *men*, that were like themselves, and not by *Himself*, whose Majesty was so *glorious* and so terrible, that their weakness was not *able* to endure it: for when God descended upon Mount *Sinai*, to talk unto his people, and to deliver his *Statutes* and Ordinances unto them, and all the people saw the *thunders* and the *lightnings*, and the noise of the *trumpet*, and the mountain *smoaking*, they all *removed and stood afar off*; and they said unto *Moses*, *Speak thou with us, and we will hear*; *but let not God speak with us, lest we die*: for this *great fire* will consume us, and if we hear the voice of the Lord our God, we shall die: and therefore go thou *near unto God, and hear all that the Lord our God shall say, and speak thou unto us*, all that the Lord our God shall speak unto

2. Who were persecuted.

Exod. 20. 19.

Deut. 5. 25, 26, 27.

unto thee, and *we will hear it and do it*; and the Lord heard the voice of their *Words*, and yielded to their *desire*; and, as the Prophet *Amos* saith, he revealeth his *will and his secrets unto his servants the Prophets*, and he sent them early and late, to *reveale* the same unto his people; And, as *Jehosaphat* said unto *Juda*, and to the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*; *If they believe in the Lord their God, they shall be established*; *and if they believe his Prophets, they shall prosper*; and if they will not believe them, then surely, saith the Prophet *Esay*, *they shall not be established*, they cannot be blessed.

Amos 3. 7.

2 Chro. 20. 20. Esay 7. 9.

And therefore, not only, *not to believe* these men, that are thus, and to this end, sent from God, but also to *persecute* them, is an *offence* beyond mine ability of expression: for to render *good for evill*, and to do *good* to them that *hate* us, is *charity*; and to do as Christ adviseth us; and to render *evil* for *evil*, is *iniquity*: and to do what God forbiddeth us, who saith, *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay for the evil that is done*; But to render *evil* for *good*, and to persecute and destroy them that would *preserve* us, is a *devilish* sin, and a degree beyond all ingratitude; which is but the *retention* and deniall of the *thanks* that we owe, and not the *reddition* and offering the *evil* that we owe not; and should no waies be rendered to any one. And, besides this *unkind* requitall of the great good, that the *Prophets* and publishers of Gods will do unto the people, with such *great* evil, as is, the *persecuting* of them; to *persecute* the Prophets, and Messengers of God, is a *breach* and a transgression of a *special* precept of God; who doth *peremptorily* say to *every* one, *Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophets no harm*; And how then dares any man to *persecute* them, which is so *high* a degree and so *large* a measure of harm?

Deut. 32. 35.

1 Chro. 16. 22.

But here you must *observe* with some diligence; *What* Prophets, and *whose* Prophets, we must not *harm*; for the Lord saith not this in *general* of all Prophets, but *do My Prophets no harm*; and therefore we must examine *what* and *whose* Prophets they were, whom their *Fathers* persecuted; For the Scripture maketh mention of two sorts of Prophets.

What Persecution is.

1. The *one* sort is of *false* Prophets, such as were the Prophets of the *Groves*, and the Prophets of *Baal*; and of the *Beast*, that you may read of in the *Revelation*.

That there are two sorts of Prophets.

2. The *other* sort is of the *true* Prophets, such as were *the Prophets of the Lord*, and these God owneth, and calleth them, *my Prophets*; and bids every one to take *heed*, that they do them *no harm*; and saith further, that *Whosoever toucheth them, toucheth the apple of his eye*.

Zechary 2. 8.

And for the first sort, that is, the *false* Prophets, as the Poet saith, that

Sæpe sub agnina latet hirtus pelle Lycaon;
Subque Catone pio, perfidus ille Nero.

The Wolf doth often lurk under the *Lamb*-skin: So our Saviour tels us, that these *false Prophets* will come to us *in sheeps cloathing*, but inwardly *they are ravening Wolves*: and the Holy Ghost saith, that the *false Prophet*, signified by the *Beast*, that arose out of the *Earth*, had two horns *like a Lamb*: that is, although *every* truth is from God, which is the God of all *truth*; and truth is truth, as well from *Simon Magus*, as from *Simon Peter*; from *Plato* the Philosopher, as from *Paul* the Apostle; yet because the Heathens' *truths* are mingled with some *errors*; and those *false* Prophets, either have not the *Wit*, or will not take the *Pains*, to sift the wheat from the chaff, and the *truth* from their *errors*, therefore they will have nothing but the *two horns of the Lamb*, the Two *Testaments*, which are the *strength*, to uphold the Christian Religion, as *Cornelius à Lapide*, rightly expoundeth them, and yet he *spake like the Dragon*; to shew unto us the *true properties*, and practice of your

Apoc. 13. 11.

The very practice of the false Prophets.

Corn. à Lapid. in Apoc. c. 13.

your *false* teachers, to alleadge nothing but the *pure Scripture*: the very words of the *Old* and *New Testament*; and yet in their *Expositions* and *Applications* of them, to speak *the words of the Dragon*, that is, *falshoods* and *lies*: As the Dragon did unto *Eve*, when he told them they should be *like gods*, and he made them *like Devils*; and so the *false Prophets*, though they *pretend* to bring down *fire from heaven*, that is the *same fire*, which our Saviour saith, he came to bring upon the earth, which is the *fiery zeal* of Gods glory, and fervent charity among neighbours; yet, in very *truth*, as the Poet saith of *Ibis*,

Luk. 12. 49.

Ovid. in Ibin. *Tincta Lycambæo sanguine tela dabunt.*

Their *sword* is dipt in *blood* and eats the flesh of *Innocents*, and they will give you poyson in a *golden* cup, and deceive you even with *Scripture Phrases*; when, as *Claudian* saith *de voluptate Stiliconis*,

Claudian. de volupt. l. 2. Stilic.

Blanda quidem vultu, sed qua non tetrior ulla,
Interius fucata genas, & amicta dolosis
Illecebris ——

So their Doctrine hath the *Countenance* of truth, and the *shews* of a great deale of piety and charity, but you can not see so far, as the *further* end of their intention, or at least of *his* intention that sets them on this course; which *is*, to *divide* the seamless coat of Christ, to bring *sects* and *divisions* into the Church, and to break the *two staffes*, wherewith the Church of Christ is guided and subsisteth, *Beauty* and *Bands* (*i.e.*) the pure *Doctrine*: and the discreet *Discipline* of the Governors of the Church; that these Governors being *suppressed*, and their discipline *destroyed*; and the *bands*, which are the *Fences* of Gods Vine-yard, being *broken* all to pieces; the wild *Bore* out of the Forrest, and all the *Beasts* out of the Field, may destroy the *Vine-yard* at their pleasure, and make the *Church* of Christ to become the *Synagogue* of Satan, and the *House* of God a *Den* of thieves.

And therefore, when any of these *false* Prophets should arise, and seek to withdraw Gods servants from the *Truth* and true *God*, the Lord commands his people *to put that Prophet to death*: and so *Elias* caused all the Prophets of *Baal* to be slain, and *Jehu* did the like: and though our Saviour Christ be not so *severe* in the New Testament, as God was in the Old Testament, to command us to put the *false* Prophets to *death*; yet he doth most *seriously* advise us *to beware of them*; and the Holy Ghost calleth them *Dogs*, barking dogs, of whom the Apostle biddeth us *to beware*, lest they bite us: And *truely* we have the *greatest* reason in the world, to *beware* of them; because these *false* Prophets, that seduce the people, with their *smooth* Preaching, and with the *Words* of God, are worse then any other wicked men, that destroy none but *themselves*, and they bring *thousands* after them out of the *right* way, and from the *right* service of God.

Deut 13.5. 1 Reg. 18.40. Apoc. 22. 15.

And yet, these *false Prophets* were the *only* Prophets, whom the *Jews* magnified; and the *true Prophets* of God, they persecuted; for *Jezabel* fed 400. of these *false* Prophets, at her own Table, which was a pretty company for one woman to maintain; and for *Elias* which was the *true* Prophet of the Lord, she *swore*, that she would be the *death* of him, as you may see in 1 *Reg.* 19. 2. And the rest of the People of the *Jews* walked in the same waies.

1 Reg. 19. 2.

And therefore the Lord saith, *If a man, walking in the spirit and falshood, do lie*, or walk with the *wind*, and lie *falsly*, *he shall even be the Prophet of this people.*

Micah 2. 11.

And this hath been the *Common* course of the world in all ages; For all *wicked*

wicked men, and all *worldlings*, that would notwithstanding *seem* to be Religious, and pretend to serve God as well as the *best*, and rather then the *best*, will therefore have *Preachers* and *Prophets* to instruct them in the *way* of God as they *pretend*, but it is indeed to *cover* and to *cloak* their *Hypocrisie*; and therefore their *Preachers* must be like *Jezabels* Prophets; Prophets like themselves, that will Prophesie *what they please*, and serve what *god* they please, and with what *service* they like best. And such *Prophets* and *Preachers*, as will do so, to follow their *directory*, they shall want *no preferment*, they shall have *annuities* and *pensions*, and *augmentations*, and eat at *Jezabels* Table. Thus did the *Jews* lay down a *pattern* to magnify the *false* Prophets; and now the Christians *follow* them.

But how did they deal with the *other sort* of Prophets, that were *the Prophets of the Lord?* the Prophet *Esay* tels you, *To the Seers, they said, see not, and to the true Prophets they said, Prophesy not to us right things:* and because the *true* Prophets, that the Lord owned to be *His* Prophets, would not *dissemble*, and smooth them up, by sowing *pillows* under their elbows, and propheſying *placentia*, deceits and pleasing things unto them; therefore, the Holy Ghost tels us, they *mocked these Messengers of God, and despised his words*, that is, the Words of God, that were spoken to them by his Messengers, and they *misused his Prophets*, as you may see in 2 *Chron.* 36. 16. And, as S. *Stephen* saith, they *persecuted* them from *time* to *time*, and from *place* to *place*. And thus did the *Jews* use, or rather abuse, the *true* Prophets. Esay 30. 10. 2 Chr. 36, 16.

And have we not seen the *like* dealings in our own time, and the people *imitating* these *Jews* to a hair? Persecuting all the *Reverend* Bishops, and all the *grave* Preachers, and spoyling them of all their *Livelihoods*, to make them the very *scorn* of the World, as we have been above these two *Lustra's* of years; and yet, in a *deep* Hypocrisy, to magnify and to advance the *false Prophets*, and those *young* novices and Preachers, that *commended* their waies, and walked after their *steps*; though *now*, the tide being turn'd, the most of them cry *Peccavi*, and say with the *Jews*, *We have sinned with our Fathers, we have done amiss and dealt wickedly*; to let you see, what *kind* of Prophets they were, and what you should conceive of their *extorted* confession: but enough of this, that sheweth you, *what* Prophets, and *whose* Prophets their *Fathers* persecuted, the *true Prophets* of the Lord. Yet here is one point more, and that is

3. The *Generality* of their persecution; for *Quem Prophetarum*, saith the Martyr, *Which of the Prophets have not your Fathers persecuted?* Can you name any one of *Gods* Prophets, that hath *escaped* their persecuting hands? And is it not strange, that there is no *Bound* nor *Measure* of their malice, but it must *extend* and reach to *all* Gods Prophets? Surely no: For the Devil is Gods ape, and as in *many* things else, so he would fain imitate God *herein*. As God would have *all* the Prophets of *Baal* destroyed, that there might not be a *false Prophet* left to seduce his people; so the Devill would have *all* the Prophets of the *Lord* destroyed, that there might not be one *true Prophet* left, to instruct Gods people: and therefore he crieth out unto his instruments; *Down with them, down with them even to the ground*, and let the *foundations* be cast down, that their building may be *quite* demolished, like the re-edifying of *Jericho*, whose builder should be accursed, and should lay the *foundation* thereof in his *First born*, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son, as it hapned afterward unto *Hiel*, the *Bethelite*. So would the instruments of Satan, deal with all *Gods* Prophets, as *Jehu* did with the Prophets of *Baal*, and as it hapned to *Segub* and *Abiram*, the sons of *Hiel* after the re-edifying of *Jericho*. 3. The Generality of the Persecution. Τίνα τῶν προφητῶν; The Devil is Gods ape. Josh. 6. 26. 1 Reg. 16. 34.

And did not the *Long-Parliament* take the same course, to root out *all* the *Bishops*, all the *Hierarchy*, and all *Episcopall* men? *all* must down, *root*

and *branch*, and not one of them must be left.

Alas, alas, were they all wicked? or did *some* offend, and must *all* be condemned for the offence of *few*? or will they shew themselves like the *implacable* goddesse, which, as the Poet saith,

——*Exurere classem*
Argivûm, atque ipsos voluit submergere ponto,
Unius ob noxam, & furias Ajacis Oilei.

destroyed *all* the Navie, and drowned *all* the *Argives* for one mans fault. This is to condemn the *righteous* with the wicked; and the Lord saith, the Deut. 25. 1. Judges should justifie the *righteous*, and condemn the *wicked*, and not to condemn the *righteous* for the wicked, nor with the wicked; for the Poet speaking of *some* lewd women saith,

Parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes,
Spectetur meritis quæque puella suis.

Though *some* be loose and wanton, yet must you not for this, blame those that are honest; so, though *some* of the Bishops might *perhaps* be found unworthy of so *high* a calling, Is that a sufficient argument to destroy them *all*? Yet such hath been the Devils *Logick* to perswade his *late* Schollars, to make their distruction as universal as *Noahs* deluge, to take them all away.

And so much shall serve for the first point, which is, the persecution of the Prophets: The next point is,

2. The killing of the Preachers.

2. *Occidio prædicatorum.*

i.e. The progression of these persecutors in their wickedness.

And that is their *progression*, and their going forward in their wickedness *more* and more. As the Sun goeth higher and higher unto the perfect day; so do they go from *one* sin unto *another*, & still from the *lesser* unto the *greater:* for they have not only *persecuted the Prophets*, saith this holy Martyr, but they have also *slain them which shewed before of the coming of the just one*, that is, the Preachers of *Jesus Christ*; wherein you may behold as in a glasse, the lively *perfect* picture of all wicked men, and the innate *inseparable* condition of all malicious persecutors; that is, to proceed from *bad* to *worse*, from *one* step to another, from *one* degree of evill to a *viler*, untill at last they fall into the *bottomlesse* gulph of all the most *horrid* wickedness; and, as the Poet saith,

Flumina magna vides, parvis de fontibus ortu:
Plurima collectis multiplicantur aquis.

From a small fountain thou maist see *great* flouds to arise, and *many* waters to make great *Seas*; so from the *small* seeds of these mens malice, their sins ascend to the *top* of intolerable mischief, or rather descend to the *bottomlesse* gulf of their own *unavoidable* destruction: for so *Cain* at first was but *angry* with his brother because the Lord *accepted* him, and liked better of his *sincerity*, than of the others *hypocrisie*; then *Acrior ad pugnam redit, & vim suscitat ira*, he began to *hate* and to maligne him; after that, *malitia excæcavit eum*, his malice moved him to *persecute* him; and last of all, most inhumanely to *kill* him. So *Pharaoh* first *envied* the prosperity of the children of *Israel*, because he thought, that

Fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris,

God blessed them, and all that they had, better then he blessed him; then, *vim & injuriam intulit*, he began to *oppresse* them, by laying hard taxes, and most cruel labours upon them; and then he *killed* their children, and in all

all likelyhood, would have killed them, if God had not *delivered* them out of his hands.

And the *reason* of this their progression in wickedness, is truly rendred by *Seneca*, *Quia omne scelus majori scelere tuetur*, every *hainous* and most wicked deed, can never subsist and be upheld, but by a *more* wicked deed: and therefore the *Lyar* will swear and forswear himself to justifie his lye, the *robber* will kill the honest traveller for fear he should accuse him; and the *Rebell* that riseth to *resist*, and to *warre* against his King, and the *Traytor* that betrayeth his King, never thinks himself *safe*, untill he can be the *death* of his King; so the *Heretick*s maintain their heresies and errors with far *greater* heresies, and the *Presbyterians* that oppose and refuse to be directed by their *Diocesans*, think themselves never satisfied, untill they see the Bishops *wholly* suppresst and destroyed. The reason why the wicked grow from bad to worse.

And so the *Jewes* walked in the *same* steps, and dealt after the same manner with Gods Prophets.

And so likewise, ever since, the wicked *worldlings* deal with the *true Preachers* of *Jesus* Christ; for the whole companie of Gods *children* knowes what χάσμα μέγα, great gulph, and a huge distance and difference, (not in *nature* originally, *figmentum unum*, when as all men are made from the *same* lump, but in *generality* and condition) there is, and hath been ever seen, betwixt the *Lay* Commonalty, and the *learned* Clergy of any Land; and how, as *Ismaël* that was born after the *flesh*, persecuted his own brother *Isaac*, that was born after the *Spirit*; so the Lay-worldlings do ever *maligne* and persecute unto death, all the right *spiritual* Clergy-men. And *this persecution* we of the Clergy have felt now of *late*, to the very height, when very very *many* of the very *best* of them, that did *feed daintily*, even with the Kings dishes, were, as the Prophet saith, *left desolate in the street*, and glad to sustain their lives with a little *Barley* bread, and *Glass-door*, and they that were clad in *Scarlet*, were driven to embrace the *dung-hills*, and be clad in *rags*, and with *Joshua*, the high Priest, *to be clothed with filthie garments*, and so were made the scorn and *Table-talk* of their neighbours, and blamed that they did not *live*, and go, according to their *degrees* and calling; when, as the Proverb is, *ultra posse non est esse*, none is able to do beyond his *ability*; and he *onely* that weares the *shooe*, knoweth where it pincheth him. Jerem. 4. 5. Zechary 3, 3.

And as the *Jews* not only persecuted the *Prophets*, but also slew the *Preachers*; so, *many* of us were slain, some with the *sword* of these merciless men, and *many* more with hunger and *want*, when their *hearts* were broken with the *extremity* of grief; and the *weight* of those miseries that were laid upon these good men, were far heavier then the pillars could support. Zechar. 3, 3. 1.

And so *this* persecution thus proceeding, did far exceed all *former* persecutions beyond *Nero's* tyranny, and *Diocletians* cruelty: and was of the *same* kind, but of a *higher* strain than *Julians* stratagems, which was not only to suppresse *Presbyteros*, the Priests, but also to root out *Presbyterium*, the very Priesthood of *Jesus* Christ, and so to extinguish the *Christian* religion out of the world; for these men *imitating* him, sought to supress not the *then Bishops* that *perhaps* might be found to have offended, though that was never *proved*; but *Episcopacie* it self, and the discentive *succession* thereof, which we received by *prayers*, and the *imposition of hands* even from the *Apostles* time; from those that are yet *unborn*, and have, I am sure, done neither *good* nor *evill*, and yet have received *this evill* from these men, to have the *Calling* that they were to enjoy, *suppresst*; their honours *buried*, and their undubitable Rights and Means *alienated* from them, *Prob scelus nefandum, quod magnum est & mirum!* a most *wonderfull* thing, that wickedness should have *no bounds*, no stop, *no reason*, nor moderation in its progression; but like a stone tumbling *down* a hill, never leave tumbling till it comes to the *bottome*; or like a right *Apollyon*, and a blind smiter, that Our late persecution worse then *Julians* persecution.

will slay the *righteous* with the *wicked*; or rather destroy the *righteous*, because they will not be *wicked*.

And yet, this is not *all*, we are not yet come to the *height* of these persecutors *wickedness*, or to the *depth* of their *abomination*: but, as the Lord saith unto the Prophet *Ezechiel*, *turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations*; so from the Lord, I will shew to you *greater abomination*; and the *greatest* that ever was committed here on earth: For

Ezek. k. 13 15.

The third part; the betraying and murdering of the just King: Touching which, three things are considerable.

3. They have not only *persecuted the Prophets, and slain the Preachers* and foreshewers of the coming of *Jesus Christ*, but they have also, saith our Martyr, *betrayed and murdered that just one*. For the *fuller* and more perfect understanding of which point, I shall desire you to observe these three things.

1. *What* they are, and how they are *styled* by the holy Ghost that did this deed, *Traytors* and *Murderers*.

2. Of *whom* they are the *Traytors* and *Murderers* which is here expresst by that *Just One*, and we shall find him to be,

1. None of the *Plebeians*, or common sort of men; but a *King*, the *highest* and the chiefest man in all the Kingdom.

2. Not an *alien*, as were *Cæsar* and *Herod*; but their *own* King, originally and *lineally* descended from the Jews.

3. Not an *Usurper*, as was *Jeroboam*, and many others of the Kings of *Israel*, and *Athalia* among the Jewes, and *Rich.* the third, and the late *Cromwell* amongst us; but he was their *own* lawfull King, without question, *lawfully* descended from the Royall line.

4. Not an *unjust* or tyrannical King, as were *Pharaoh*, *Dionysius*, and *Nero*; nor yet a *lascivious* King, as were *Sardanapalus*, *Belshazzar*, and *Heliogabalus*; but a most *just*, perfect, and pious King: No *better* King under heaven.

3. *Who* they were, that the holy *Martyr* meaneth by these *Traytors* and *Murderers*, of their King; and we shall find them to be the *Lords* and *Commons*, the People, the Elders, the Scribes, and Pharisees, and the *whole Council* of the Jewes.

Part. 1. Their style and denomination which is twofold. 1. Traytorss.

1. They that have put this *just King* to death are here *styled*, and shall ever be justly termed *Traytors* and *Murderers*.

1. *Traytors*; that is, to their *King*: for the word προδότης, which the Holy Ghost useth in this place, and is derived of προδίδωμι, or παραδίδωμι, which signifies *prodo*, or *trado*, from whence the word *Traitor* cometh, doth properly, and most usually signifie, both in *prophane* Authours, and in the *Ecclesiasticall* and Civil writers, the *illegal* and undutiful *demeanour*, and the rebellious behaviour of *Subjects* toward, and against their *King*: and as the most *curious* criticks, and best searchers of the Scriptures do observe, this word προδότης, a Traytor, is never applyed to any *King*, for any act, be it never so *illegall*; so foul, so barbarous, or so bloudy, that the King commits against his *Subjects*. when as we find not *one* text in all the book of God the holy Bible, (that speaks of *many* wicked, idolatrous, and tyrannical bloudy Kings) where any *one* of those Princes or Kings, is signified by *this word*, or called by *this name* of Traytor.

And therefore this word, *Traytors*, that the Martyr useth, doth sufficiently shew, that he meaneth thereby, to prove Christ to be *King*, and the *Traytors* that killed him, to be his *Subjects*, as I shall further declare unto you hereafter.

2. Murderers.

2. They are *murderers*, because he was *unlawfully* put to death; for otherwise, a *lawful* Judge may *lawfully* put a malefactor to death and be *no murderer*; because God commandeth *Idolaters*, and sorcerers, and others the like malefactors, to be put to death: and they that *legally* put such men to death, are never termed *murderers*: but when the party executed *is innocent*

nocent, and the Judge condemning him not vested with *lawful* authority, the man, *so* put to death, is truly said to be *murdered*, and his executioners *murderers*. And *such* was the death of *Christ*, because he was *most innocent*, and the Judge had neither *lawful* authority, nor a *just* cause to condemn him; and therefore they that *crucified* Christ and put him to death, are rightly termed *murderers*: and because Christ was a *King*, as I shewed you from the word προδῶται, traytors: they were no *ordinary* murderers, of plebeians, and of the *common* sort of men; but, that which is the *highest*, and the worst of all murders, they were the murderers of their *King*: and therefore the *words*, Καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας, which the Martyr useth to expresse the death of the *fore-shewers* of the coming of Christ, and the *words* of the Husbandmen which they said together, of the King's Son, Δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτὸν, καὶ λάβωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπέκτειναν; and the word φονεῖς, that comes of φονεύω, *Occido*, used here to signifie the *death* of this King, ought properly to be translated, either by *killing* or *slaying*, or *murdering*, as our last Translation renders the Martyr's words most rightly, that they were his *murderers*.

And so was the death of King *Charles*.

προδῶται.

Marc. 12. 7. & 8.

But here, it may be, the Jews will *object*, and say, That *Man*, or that *King* cannot *justly* be said to be *murdered*, which is brought to a publick Trial, and hath

1. His *Charge* given him to answer.
2. The *Witnesses* ready to prove the Charge.
3. A *Lawful* Judge to pronounce sentence against him.

Three things seeming to palliat and to disprove the murdering of this King, discussed.

And *all* this was used against Christ, the *King* of the Jews, (and against *Charles* the King of *England*, saith the long Parliament) therefore neither the *one* nor the *other* can justly and properly be said ἀποκτεῖναι, to be *murdered*; but they are *unjustly* taxed, and this heavy Crime of *murdering* them is not *justly* laid upon them, that brought these *Kings* to their *just* deserved deaths: Therefore, to justifie their *deaths* to be *murders*, and to clear St. *Stephen*, from this *unjust* taxation laid upon him by the Jews; we are to examine the three *foresaid particulars*, how far they can *justifie* the Jews or any others in the like case, from being *murderers*: and first for the *Charge* that was laid against him, we find the same pretended to be *twofold* and as I conceive, very *like* the Charge that was laid against King *Charles*:

1. The Charge unjust.

So King *Charles* was charged with the same Crimes.

1. The abridging of their *Liberty*, and betraying the same unto the *Romans*: for so they say, If we let this man alone, *all the World will run after him, and the Romans will come, and take away our Dominion from us.*

2. The corrupting of their *Religion*, by abolishing their *old* Rites, and *Traditions* of the Elders, and teaching *new* Points of Doctrine, to prophane the *Sabbath*, to communicate with *Sinners*, to justifie their *slovenly* eating with unwashen hands; and the like *looseness* and liberties that the *precise* Pharisees could not endure, he *allowed* unto his Disciples and follower, in the *service* of God.

This was the *pretended* Charge that they laid against their *King*, and against S. *Stephen*, as you may see *Acts* 6. 13, 14. and that his adversaries laid against our good King. But this *pretended* Charge was most *false*, whenas he neither abridged their *Liberty*, nor corrupted their *Religion*; but most divinely *cleared* the same, and purged it from the *false* glosses of the Scribes and Pharises. But the *true cause* indeed, whatsoever they *pretended*, why they *killed* him, was, because he was their *King*: for S. *Luke* saith, that when they led him to *Pilate*, they began to accuse him, saying, *We found this fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give tribute unto* Cæsar, *saying, that he himself is Christ a King*: and when *Pilate* asked them, *Shall I crucifie your King?* (a thing that was *never* known among the Heathen, that *Subjects* should desire to crucifie their *King*, and especially, that they should so *solemnly and judicially* condemn him to death) they answered

The Jews murdered Christ; because he was their King. Luc. 23. 1.

ed him flatly, *We have no King but Cæsar*, whom notwithstanding, they loved no *better* than they loved Christ, but hated him in their hearts, as their *often* rebellions against him do *sufficiently* testifie. And when *Pilate*, the Judge (and therefore knew *best* the Charge laid against him) wrote his *Title*, and fixed it upon his Crosse, as shewing unto all that saw him, the very *cause* why they put him to death, which was, *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews*: They came presently unto *Pilate*, and desired him to *alter* the Superscription, and not to say, He was *their King*, but that *he said*, He was their King: But *Pilate* herein, like a resolute Judge, that knew the *truth*, and their *dissembling*, answered them stoutly, according to the *truth*, ὃ γέγραφα, γέγραφα, *What I have written, I have written.*

So *K. Charles* was murdered by his adversaries, because he was their King, and would have ruled them as their King: when as they desired to be Kings themselves, and to rule as they did, after they had killed him.

And therefore, this *Charge* being so *unjust*, to kill him, because he is their *King*, whose *life* they are obliged to defend, with the hazard of their own *death*; S. *Stephen* may *justly* call them *murderers.*

2. The witnesses are false. Math. 26. 59, 60.

2. For the *witnesses*, it is plainly said, that *they sought many*; yet found they *none*; but at last, there *came two*; they could get no more: and of them two, it is said,

John 2. 19. v. 21.

1. That they were *false witnesses*, and that is apparent, when they *add* unto his words, and *change* his meaning: for he said no more, but λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, *Destroy this temple*, and ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτὸν, *in three dayes I will raise it up*: and he spake this of the temple of his *body*, as the Evangelist testifieth: but their witnesses avouch, that they heard him saying, *I will destroy this Temple, that is made with hands, and within three dayes I will build another made without hands*, that is, another *material* and magnificent Temple, which Christ never *meant*, and never *spake* of it, nor of the temple of his *body* as they testifie; for he said not, λύω nor λύσω, *I will destroy this Temple*; but λύσατε, *Do you destroy this temple, and I will raise it up.* You shall do the *evil*, and bring destruction, as you use to do; and I will do the *good*, and bring resurrection to them that are fallen.

Marc. 14. 58, 59.

Marc. 14. 59.

2. It is said, that these *false witnesses*, which did both *add* unto his words, and *change* his meaning, did not *agree* together; for the one said, he heard him saying, *I will destroy this temple, that is made with hands, and within three dayes, I will build another, made without hands*; yet the other could not testifie that he said so, but that he said, *I am able to destroy the temple of God, and build it in three dayes*: and there is a great deal of difference betwixt, *I will destroy thee*, and, *I am able to destroy thee*; when I am *able* to do many things, that I will *not* do. Even as *God is able* of these stones to raise up children unto *Abraham*, but will not raise them: And therefore, seeing these two witnesses cannot *agree* together, they *destroy* one another, and must needs be invalid to condemn an *innocent* man, and much less to condemn their *King*, that was *more* innocent than any man. But they were *resolved* to have done it, whether they had *witnesses* or no witnesses; for they said among themselves, *What need have we of witnesses?* Then all of them, as they had *formerly* resolved, did presently vote him *guilty* of death; not, as it seems, for the *testimony* of the witnesses; but because their *malice* thought him worthy of death.

Cap. 14. 58. Δύναμαι καταλῦσαι τὸν ναὸν τὸν θεῖον. Math. 26. 61.

Math. 26. 65. Marc. 14. 63, 64.

So *K. Charles* was condemned without witnesses. Joh. 18. 31. Math. 26. 4. Marc. 14. 1. And was not K. *Charles* by craft and subtilty brought to his death?

Yet they confess, ἐκ ἔξεστι, It is not *lawful* for us, that is, they had no *lawful* authority, to put *any* man to death; and, for all that, S. *Mathew* tells us, they *consulted* how they might take him by *subtilty, and kill him*: and S. *Mark* testifieth as much; that they *sought how they might take him by craft*, and put him to death.

And therefore, when *Traytors* have conspired, and *resolved* to kill their *King*, witnesses are but *shadows*, and the formalities of their proceedings are but *cloaks* to palliat and cover their wickedness, and to *blind* the eyes of the *vulgar* people, whom they would perswade to *believe*, that they do all things *right*; when they do the *greatest* wrongs, and do commit such *horrid* murders, as to murder their *own King*.

3. For

3. For the *Judge*, our Saviour seemeth *tacitly* to yield, that by the *permission* of God, not his Commission, *Pilate* through the power of the *sword*, and according to the Laws of the *Conquerors*, had power and *authority* granted unto him to be the *Judge* both of life and death: but according to the Laws of the *Romans*, that had then subdued the *Jews*, and committed this power unto *Pilate*, none were to be condemned to *death*, except he were *proved* guilty of the *Crimes* that should be laid to his charge. And this *Judge* ingenuously, and *openly* confesseth, that although, like a *good* Judge herein, he had examined the matter *throughly*, and sifted him and his cause *ad amussim*, to the uttermost; yet he could find *no fault in him worthy of death*; and therefore, being desirous to *free* him, whom he found *so innocent*, by a fair excuse, and to quit himself from pronouncing so *unjust* a sentence against a *just* man, he advised his adversaries, to take their *King*, and to *judge* him *according to their Law*; that is, if they had any *Law*, to crucifie their *King*, that was so *just*, and had offended *no Law*; because the *Romans* thought such proceedings of Subjects against their *King*, very strange, and therefore had *no* such Law, neither in their 12. *Tables*, nor in any of the *Acts* and Decrees of their Senate, whereby he might *justly* condemn him, and justly *answer* it, if he were questioned for it.

3. The Judge was corrupt.

John 18. 38.

And herein also, this *Judge*, by this *fine* device, shewed himself *witty*, and his counsel *honest*, as it aimed at a *good* end, that is, to free the party accused; but afterwards, becoming the *Judge* of Christ, not by the *Roman* Law, which, as himself confessed, gave him *no authority* to condemn *any* innocent person, but by the *importunity* of the *rebellious* Subjects, and malicious enemies against their *King*, that thirsted after his blood, he *forgets* his duty, and contrary to his own *conscience*, and contrary to the *Roman Law*, and to all other Laws, he doth most *unjustly* condemn that *Just King* to death. And both the Evangelists, S. *Mark*, and S. *Luke* tell us, He did it to content the *people*, and to satisfie the *High Priests* and the *Elders*, that had over-perswaded him to become his *Judge*, and over-ruled him to adjudge him unto death.

So was King *Charles* condemned to death, to satisfie the Parliament, and the people, that still cryed, Justice, Justice. Mar. 15: 15. Luke 23. 24.

And therefore, the *Charge*, laid against this King being *unjust*, the *witnesses* being both *false*, and *disagreeing*, and his *Judge* thus *corrupted*, and compelled, and so, as it were, *newly* made by the clamor of the people, condemning him, contrary to the *Roman* Law, which was then the Law of their Land, to please the people: it is apparent to all the World, as I conceive, that both the *Judge*, and *Witnesses*, and all the *Complotters*, and Contrivers of this Kings death, and all the whole *Parliament* and Council of the Jews, that *approved* and rejoyced at his death; yea, and all the people that *cryed* to have him put to death, are *justly* meant by S. *Stephen*, and by him here rightly termed *murderers*; because, as I take it, the Law saith, that in *murder*, there can be no *accessary*, but all, and every one, that hath any hand in it, are deemed *principalls*. And how far *murderers* are to be pardoned, I leave it to him that pardoneth *all sins*, to be determined. But if God will pardon *murderers*, I wish he would not *prefer* them to places of Trust and *Authority*, lest the Woolf lett-go, still *continue* a Woolf, to vex the Lambs: And as it is said of the Devil,

Dæmon languebat monachus tunc esse volebat;
Dæmon convaluit manſit ut ante fuit.

2. Having spoken of the *style* and denomination of these *Persecutors* of the Prophets, that they were *traytors* and *murderers*; we are now to consider of *whom* they were the *traytors* and *murderers*, and the Martyr tells us, it was *of that Just One*: and I told you, that we find him to be,

2. Of whom these Traytors were murderers.

1. Of a King proved.

(1.) A *King:* and so proved to be divers wayes; as,

1. By his Birth.

1. At his *birth*, when the *Wise* men that came from the East, worshipped him as *King*, while he was in his *swadling* clouts; and they are, by the *constant* course and order of the Church *annually*, on the twelfth day after the day of his *birth*, commemorated, and commended for it.

2. By the ministration of his Office.

2. In the *ministration* of his kingly office, when he entred *Jerusalem*, as *Kings* use to do, in a *Royall*, and a *pompous manner*, and *his disciples*, and a *great* multitude of his followers did him *obeysance*, and gave him *royall* honour, as to their *King*, by cutting down the *boughs*, and spreading their *garments* under his feet, and crying, *Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord*, and the childrens crying *Hosanna*, as we use to do, *God save the King*; and when the chief Priests and Scribes were *displeased* at this acceptation of him for their *King*, and bad him to *rebuke* his disciples for this attempt; Christ told them *plainly*, that if these should hold their *peace*, the stones would *immediately* cry out, that is, to proclaim him *King*, and to do him all *Royal* homage.

Luke 19.38. Matth. 21.15.

3. At his arraignment.

3. At his *arraignment*, when he was to lay down his soul to be a *ransome* for our sins, he avouched himself to be a *King:* for, *Pilate* demands the question, *Art thou a King?* and *Pilate* understood not any *kingdome* in this question, but of a *temporal* kingdome, when *as*, *in* his conception, to speak of a *Spiritual King*, or kingdome, was but a vain fancie, and a meer *Chimæra*; and therefore, *ad mentem interrogantis*, to satisfie the demand of *Pilate*, Christ answereth without *dissimulation*, æquivocation, or mental reservation, *that he was a King*, *Matth.* 27. 11. or if he did not so, he made no answer unto *Pilate*, which, as the Evangelist saith, he did.

Mark 15.2.

4. At his death.

4. At his *death*, he had it written upon his *Crosse*, who he was: *Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews*; so that when they took away his *life*, they could not deprive him of his *right* unto his kingdome.

5. At his burial.

5. At his *burial*, he had his grave sealed, as a *King*.

2. They were the murderers of their own King.

(2.) We find this *just one*, whereof this Martyr speaketh, to be not only a *King*, but also the *King of these Jews* that murdered him; for he was not a King of *Egypt* that oppressed them, nor the king of *Syria* that sought to subdue them, but their *own* King, *the King of the Jews*; for so the wise men testifie, *Where is he that is born king of the Jews?* And so *Pilate* the *Roman* Deputy testifieth, —— *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jewes*..

3. They were the murderers of their own lawful King.

(3.) This their *King* was not like *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat* starting aside, and stepping in over the *right* Kings head, nor like Queen *Athalia*, that usurped the *Regal* throne, by suppressing the *lawful* King, but he was their own *lawfull* King *lineally* descended from King *David*, both in respect of his *Putative* Father and his *Mother Mary*, as both Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Luke* do testifie, and sufficient reasons may be produced to prove that by *hereditary* right, which is the best and the most *undubitable* right unto the Crown, he was born *the King of the Jews*.

4. They were the murtherers of a just King.

(4.) And this their *King* was not like *Rehoboam* the son of *Solomon*, that is, a foolish, or at least an *undiscreet* son of a most sage and a *wise* Father, but he was the *wisdom* of God, as saith the Evangelist, that his wise answers to all the *subtile* questions of his adversaries, and the *malicious* objections and remonstrances of his persecutors, satisfied all *wise* and indifferent men, and stopped the mouthes of many of his *greatest* adversaries, when they admired his *worth*; though they persecuted his *person*, and hated him the more, yet were they driven to confesse, *that never man spake as he did.*

Luke 11.49.

John 7.46.

Neither was he like *Manasses*, an Idolatrous and a *bloody* King, nor yet like *Ahab*, an *unjust* tyrannical intruder of himself into his subjects possessions; but he was a most *pious*, and a religious *King*, going in his own *person* unto the Temple, and scourging all *prophaners* out of Gods house; and he

was

was so *pitiful*, so merciful, and so mild, that, as *Cicero* saith of *Pompey*; and the Historians say of *Titus* the son of *Vespasian*, that, for his courtesies, was termed *deliciæ generis humani*, never man departed *unsatisfied* and discontented from them; so did this *good King* never deny the *just* request of any Petitioner that ever came, or *sought* unto him: but *he went about doing good*, healing *all* that had infirmities, and releasing *all* that were possessed of the devill. Mat. 10. 13. 8.

And for his own *integrity*, and the uprightnesse of his *life*; he could not only say with *Samuel*, *Whose Oxe have I taken? or whose Asse have I taken? or whom have I defrauded, and I will restore it?* but he could *justly demand* of his *greatest* adversaries, and the most *malicious* priers into his actions, *Which if you can rebuke* me, or reprove me, *of sin?* for they that thirsted *most* after his blood, must needs confesse that he was of an *incomparable life*, *in whose mouth was found no guile*, and in whose heart *was no deceit*. So spotlesse he was in *all* his actions, that the holy Martyr might *justly* call this King, *that Just One*. 1 Sam. 2. 3.

And yet they say, with *Martial*,

Non amo te, Princeps; nec possum dicere, quare:
Hoc tantum possum dicere; Non amo te.

We love the note, O King; but why, we cannot tell thee:
But this we can assure thee, that we do not love thee.

And therefore, notwithstanding all that I have said, that he was, 1. *A King.* 2. *Their own King.* 3. Their lawful king: And 4. A just and pious King, that desired *onely* their good, the preservation of their *Lawes*, and the maintenance of the *true* service of God amongst them for the salvation of their souls; yet their love is so *little*, and their hatred is so *great*, that they must take away his life, and *kill* him, and that in the most *barbarous* manner, and the most odious kind of killing, they must *murder* him.

And thus they murdered King *Charles*; that was. 1, a King. 2. Their own King. 3. Their own lawful King. 4 Their just, wise, and most religious King.

And he that murders a *Christian King* commits a fourfold murder, saith our Chronicler *Speed*.

1. *Homicide.*
2. *Parricide.*
3. *Christicide.*
4. *Dei-cide*, because the *King* is Gods annointed, and his *Vice-gerent* here on earth; therefore *David* killed the *Amalekite*, because he had killed a *King*, though that King was most wicked, and none of his own King. 2 Sam. 1. 16. 16

And you may conceive what a *devellish* and hellish fact this is, beyond *all heathenish* abomination, for *subjects* to murder their *own* King. For *Pilat*, that was but a *heathen*, and a very *corrupt* Judge, hearing them so *fiercely* crying out, to have him *crucified*; and being amazed at such an *execrable* voice, saith, *Shall I crucifie your King?* As if he had said, Is it *possible*, that you should desire me, to crucifie your *King?* for *Reason* and *Nature*, and the Lawes of God, and of *all* Nations will *condemn* you for this fact, and *detest* you for base Traytors, and the *bloody murderers* of your King. John 19. 15.

But the old Murtherer, that hath been a *murderer from the beginning*, hath furnished his Schollars with two *strong*, but *deceitful* arguments, to justifie the *killing* of their King. John 8.

1. From the *Law* of *Nature.*
2. From the *word* of God.

1. *Nature* teacheth us to defend our *selves*; and to *kill* any one, rather then to suffer our selves to be *killed* by him: because every thing in nature is, *sui conservativum*; and therefore to study for a *self-preservation*, is an inbred Law 1. From the Law of Nature.

of Nature, *Quam non didicimus sed exhausimus ex natura*, which we need not *learn*, when as *Nature* teacheth the same, saith *Cicero*. And therefore these *Jews* do conclude, It is expedient that this *King* should be killed, lest the *Nation*, if they let him alone, should be *Destroyed*: (*i.e.*) rather then they should *Justly* perish, he must be *Unjustly* murdered; this is the reasoning of *Flesh* and *Blood*.

But to this the Apostle answereth in generall, that the *Wisedom* or the reason *of Worldly men is foolishness with God*: and; *the Naturall man receaveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him.* And more particularly we say, that the Holy Scripture is the *best* interpreter of the Law of *Nature*; and then I desire you, as our Saviour advised the *Jews*, *to search the Scriptures*, and go through the whole Book of God; and tell me, if you find not *Subjection* to our *Kings* every where injoyned; and *Resistance*, even against the *Worst* Kings, every where prohibited? And then shew me, where you find the *least* Print of any *Precept*, or *Counsell* given to any Subject, to put their *King* to death! Or where any Subjects, mentioned in all Gods Book, did ever alleage any *Text* of Scripture, or produced any good *Example* from the Scripture; to warrant, or to excuse such a fact.

1 Cor. 1. 20. and chap. 2. 14.

I am sure, *Saul* was a Tyrant and a *Bloody* murderer, a Demoniak and Prophaner of Gods service; *Unrighteous* and Irreligious, and sought the life of *David* every way, and in every place; and though he was but the *First elected King* of the *Jews*, and no Heir by *Inheritance* to the Crown, and was rejected by Gods Spirit; and *David*, by Gods own appointment, was to *Succeed* him in that Kingdom, and was anointed by *Samuel* to be King in his stead; which was very much: Yet this *Good* Subject, when *Saul* was put into his *Hands*, and his servants perswaded him to take the *Advantage* of that good opportunity, and to do justice upon that *Wicked* King, he would by no meanes be *advised* by them, nor suffer them to *Rise* against his King; and when *Abishai* told him, that *God* had delivered his enemy (*i.e.*) *Saul*, into his hands, and therefore desired; that, if *David* would not do it himself, he would suffer *Him* to smite him; *David* answered, No by no means; and he yeelds this reason, *Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords anointed and be guiltless?* And he addeth, *The Lord shall smite him, but God forbid that I should stretch forth mine hand against him*; Nay more then this, when *David* took the *Speare* and the cruse of water from *Sauls* boulster, and then went a great way from them, he cried unto *Abner*, and said, *Wherefore hast thou not kept thy lord the King?* ——*As the Lord liveth, ye are worthy to die, because you have not kept your Master the Lords anointed*; Where you see, *David* sweareth a *Great* oath, *As the Lord liveth*, and therefore he jesteth not. They are worthy to die, not they *Alone* that *Kill* their King; but they *also*, that hazard not their own lives, to *Protect* and preserve the life of their *King*; be their King never so *Wicked*. I am sure in *Davids* judgment, this is *True* Divinity.

1 Sam. 10.

1 Sam. 16. 1. & 13.

1 Sam. 24, 24.

1 Sam. 26. 9, 10, 11.

Vers. 16.

Yea, more then all this, when *Saul* had fallen upon his *own* sword, because he would not fall into the hands of his *uncircumcised* enemies, and, being in extream anguish, desired a young *Amalekite*, that was passing by to *rid* him out of his pain; and the young man, in *favour* to him, performing his request; and out of his respect to *David*, that was to succeed him, he brought the *Crown* that was upon his head, and the *Bracelet* that was upon his arm unto *David*, that the *enemies* might not have them; and to shew, that he took no *pleasure* in the death of *Saul*, he came in a very *mournfull* manner, with his *Cloathes* rent, and *Earth* upon his head; and likewise to shew his *Loyal* respect unto *David*, he fell to the *Earth* and did *Obeysance* unto him; and though he was a stranger, and *Subject* neither to *Saul* nor to *David*, therefore owed *no service* unto either of them; yet, because he took

away

away the *Life* of *Davids* King, the *anointed* of God, and his Vicegerent here on earth, *David* caused one of his young men, to fall upon the poor *Amalekite*, and for his *mistaken* curtesie unto *Saul*, and *unwelcome* service unto *David*, to smite him that he *died*. So *dear* was the life of this *Wicked* King unto this *Godly* man, that was a man *according to Gods own heart*, the *best subject* that ever we read of, and therefore was honored by God to become the *best King* that ever *Israel* had; So that in the *Genealogie* of Christ the King of Kings, he is preferred before *Abraham* as S. *Matthew* sets it down, *The book of the Generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.* 2 Sam. 1. Matth. 1. 1.

And is it not *Strange*, that these *Jews*, that were given so much to read the Scripture, and had them more readily then our Puritans have them, at their fingers end; and could tell how many *Affirmative*, and how many *Negative* precepts were in all the Bible, and how *many* times, every word was therein mentioned; and yet, that they would not now consider that *Job* saith, *Is it fit to say to a King, Thou art wicked?* and that God himself saith, *Touch not mine anointed*; and the wisest amongst the sons of men saith, *Where the Word of a King is, there is power; and, Who may say unto him, What doest thou?* Or that they could not remember, how *fearfully God* destroyed those *Rebels* that rose against *Moses*, that was a *King in Jesuron* and destroyed the posterity of *Jehu*, because he had destroyed his own King *Ahab*, and stirred the people to slay *all them* that had slain *Amon*; though he was a most *wicked King*. Job 34. 18. Psal. 105. 15. Eccl. 8. 4. Numb. 16. Deut 33. 5. Hos. 1. 4. 2 Reg: 21. 24.

But the truth is, that the *Old* Serpent, the Prince of darkness teacheth his *Schollers* to reject the *Old light*, and now to stand altogether for *New lights*, new Revelations, and new Divinity; therefore S. *Augustine* speaks most truely of these Scripturists, that they had the Bible *In manibus*, but not *In cordibus*; and they had the truth in *Codice*, but not in *Capite*; for now *Caiphas*, contrary to all the *Old* Scripture, hath a *New* Revelation that it is expedient, *Pro salute populi*, that *One man should dye for the people*; therefore Christ their *King* must needs be *Killed*, and all the people cried out for justice, and double their crie, *Crucify* Him, *Crucify* Him. *Salus Populi* doth require it. Joh: 18. 14.

2. To prove it *Lawfull* to put any *King* to death, *Pro salute Populi*; he that hath all Scripture *ad unguem*, can furnish you with a Text of S. *Peter*, that affirmeth the *Kingly* office to be κτίσιν ἀνθρωπίνην, an *Humane* Ordinance or creature; therefore the people, being the *maker* of the King, they may destroy their *Own* creature, if he failes in the *End*, for which he was created; 2. From the Word of God. 1 Pet. 2. 13. Ob.

To this our *True* Divines have oftentimes most truly answered.

1. That the *Jews* held their *Royal* Government to be θεοκρατίαν, *Immediate* from God, and to be in force without the *Election* of Ordination from man; and all other dominions and rule to be κτίσιν ἀνθρωπίνην, a *Humane* Ordinance, because God had determined, and set down the Plat-form of their Government, which he had not done to other Nations; *that*, as the Prophet saith, *had not the knowledge of his Laws*; and therefore S. *Peter*, writing here to the *Jews*, tels them, that although the *Kingly* office should be but, as they held, an *Humane* Ordinance; and not, as theirs was, a θεοκρατία, a *Divine* Rule; yet his *Precept* was, that they should *Submit* themselves thereunto for the Lords sake; (*i.e.*) though the Governours were *Heathens*, and their Government *Heathenish*; yet, *Obedience*, and not *Resistance*, is due unto them for the Lords sake, by whom *All* Kings, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, do bear rule. 1. Sol.

2. That although the *Jurisdiction* of Kings for *Extent*, in some *Part*, and in some *Degree*, might be said to be *Humane*, from men; yet the power of the *Sword*, which hath *Potestatem vitæ & necis*, is simply and absolutely 2. Sol.

Divine, from God. For who can give power over the *Life* of man, but he that *gave* life to man? Therefore when *Pilate* said to Christ, that he had power to *Crucify* him, and power to *Release* him; our Saviour answereth directly, that he could not have *This power* against him, *Except it were given him from above.* And so S. *Paul* plainly saith, that *This power of the Sword* which is in the *King*, as Supream, as S. *Peter* saith, *is from God:* and so this is no κτίσις ἀνθρωπίνη, whether you place it in the *Jew*, or in the *Gentile*; in the hand of a *Godly Constantine*, or a *Bloody Diocletian*: but it is the *Immediate* Ordinance of God; and can not issue or flow from man, but from the *Living* God, that is the Author and hath the *Soveraign* power both of *Life* and *Death*. And therefore, in the *Restauration* of the World after the flood, God Almighty,

Joh. 19. 10. Vers. 11. Rom. 13. 1.

1. Re-iterates the *Blessing* and favour which formerly he had bestowed upon *Adam* and *Eve*, in bidding them to *Increase* and *Multiply*, and so to produce and continue the *Life* of man.

Gen. 9. 1.

2. He confirmeth that *Former* Soveraignty, which he had granted unto *Adam*, over all the inferior creatures.

Vers. 2. & 3.

3. He establisheth the *Civil* Government, that was to be *Observed* amongst all the future Generations of *Noah*; and therein, as if he now called to mind the *Murder* of Innocent *Abel*; to prevent the like, he doth *Explicitely*, and plainly challenge to himself the *Power* of punishing the shedding of mans blood to death; saying, *Surely the blood of your lives will I require, at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man, and at the hand of every mans brother, will I require the life of man.* Where you see, the Lord three times repeats, *I will require it*, and prefixeth the word, *Surely*, that you should not *doubt* it.

Vers. 5.

And lest any man should think, that God meant to punish that sin *Immediatly* by his *Own* hand, and not rather by his *Substitute*, and Vice-roy, the Lord addeth, *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed again*, which is the *right* reading of the words, fuller then the *Vulgar* Translation, that saith no more, but *Quicunque effuderit sanguinem hominis, fundetur sanguis illius*: and plainer then the Septuagint, that saith, Ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, as the Learned Arch-Bishop of *Tuam* sufficiently proveth.

Vers. 6.

Dr. *Maxw.* pag. 50.

And the words being *Thus*, as our English Translation *rightly* hath them; you see the *Soveraignty* of the punishing the *Slayer* of man, is immediatly invested in Gods *Deputy*, by God himself; that is, in *Him*, whom God *Appointeth* to do it, and in none other.

For I hope no man will conceive it so, that *Any man whatsoever* is invested with *This power*, to shed the blood of him that sheddeth mans blood; because this would be such a *Disorder*, and produce such confusion, as that nothing could be more *destructive*, and pernitious to humane kind, and more repugnant to Gods *Nature*, that is the God of *Order*, as well as of *justice*.

And therefore, as this *Soveraign* Power of *Life and Death* doth *Principally* and *Properly* belong to God, so God *Gives* this power, not to the *Community*, to all, nor to *Every* one that will, or would have it; but to some *Particular* Deputy, whom he doth *Immediately* invest therewith, to punish death with *Death*.

And, as this *Soveraign* power over life, which is the *Head* and chiefest part of *Civil* Government, is *Immediatly* given by God unto his *Deputy* to be executed; So all the *Parts* of Governments (when as all are *Homogenous*, that is, *In indivisibili posita*, things *Indivisible* in their nature, such as can no more be distracted and severed, then a Crown can be a *Crown*, when *any* part thereof is taken away) they must be in like manner granted to be *Immediatly* from *God*, and not from *Man*.

3. Were

3. Were the *Kingly* office, an *Humane* creature, that is, of mans Ordinance; yet the *Person* of the *King* is Gods creature: and therefore, were their *false* Exposition of κρίσις ἀνθρωπίνη, *True*; yet could they not infer any more from thence, then the dethroning of *Him*, whom they had exalted; and not the killing of *Him*, whom God had created. 3. Sol.

But, *Quo jure, quâque injuriâ*, let others look, and let him be *whose* Creature he will; and his Kingly *Office* be from *Whom* you will, of God or of men; they are resolved to *Kill* him. And yet they will, as the Evangelist saith, do it most *Subtilly*; and seem to give him a *Fair* Triall, that the *Vulgar* people (which know no more then what is *put* into their heads, and, as the *Centaures* embraced a cloud for *Juno*, so do they take *Shadows* for the *Substance*) might believe he was *Justly*, and legally condemned, and not, as he was indeed, *Maliciously* murdered.

But *Why* will they *Murder* Him, and draw his *Innocent* blood upon their wicked heads? For they had Him in their *Own* hands, He was their *Prisoner*, and they could have Him and hurry Him where they would; from *Pilate* to *Herod*, and from *Herod* to *Pilate* again. Why might they not have sent Him, and detained Him with S. *John* the Evangelist, in the *Isle* of *Patmos*, or secure his Person still in *Prison* with S. *John Baptist*.

It may be answered, *Nefandum scelus majori scelere adimpletur*, every haynous offence secures it self by a *More* haynous crime, as *Seneca* well observeth; as the Thiefe that *Robs* for love of money, will often *Murder* the poor Traveller for fear to be *Discovered*; and the *Lewd* woman, that fears to be *Shamed* for her lewdness, will not fear to *Murder* her own Child; so the *Cevetous desire* of having what we have no right unto, as it worketh a *Great care* and sedulity how to get it, so it begets a *Great fear* and jealousy to lose it; therefore seeing there may be an *Escape*, or reprisall from prison, and a *Return* from exile, as it was in *Henry Bullingbrook*, afterwards King *Henry* the fourth; they that fear to lose their *Usurped* Possessions, or to feel the *Revenge* of their Treason and Rebellion, never think themselves *Secured*, or their usurpation *Setled*, untill their unjust titles be sealed in the *blood* of the right Owner, and their own *Wicked* lives secured, in the *Unmerited* death of their *Innocent* adversaries.

Qua scelere parta est, scelere rumpatur fides, Senec. in Medea.

Why the wicked never leave persecuting their King, till they kill him.

And this is the *Reason* that these *Wicked* murderers of their *Own* King, never left to persecute Him, till they had *Killed* Him.

I should now proceed to the *Last* point, to discover the *Murderers* of this *Just* One, their own Pious and Religious *King*: but that before I proceed to that point, I hold it requisite,

First, to shew unto you these six *Speciall* Circumstances about the *Murder* of this King: which *Are* most *Exactly* delivered unto us by the Evangelists, and which very-very circumstances may be *Punctually* observed in the murder of another King.

Six Speciall circumstances to be observed.

1. The base and *Spitefull* usage of this *Good* King by all his wicked Adversaries.

2. How causelesly and *Unjustly* they condemned and executed him.

3. How *Mildly*, and how *Sweetly* this King behaved and *Demeaned* himself towards all his enemies, both at his *Judgment*, and at his *Death*.

4. The *Speedy* execution of his Sentence, when these murderers had *Condemned* him.

5. The *Place* of his execution, and the *Number* of attendants that followed him to *That* place.

6. The smal regard and *Inhumane* neglect of any *Funerall Rites* and obsequies at his Buriall.

And for the first, our Saviour fore-shewing his *death* unto his twelve Apostles, saith, that he should be *delivered unto the chief Priests, and unto the Scribes, and they should condemn him to death, and should deliver him to the Gentiles,*

1. The base and spitefull usage of the King.

Mar. 10. 33, 34.

Gentiles, and they should mock him, and scourge him, and spit upon him, and should kill him: where you may observe,

1. He is *twice* betrayed: and

2. He is three manner of wayes abused: 1. *Mocked*; 2. *Scourged*; and 3. *Spit upon.*

Two sorts of Traytors that betrayed this King.

1. The word παραδίδωμι, *Trado*, signifieth to *deliver up*, or to *betray*, from whence *traditor*, a traytor, is derived. So, our Saviour being *twice* delivered up; once by *Judas*, to the chief Priest and Scribes; and then secondly, by the chief Priests and Elders, and Scribes, and the whole Council, to *Pilate*; You see there were *two sorts* of Traytors, that betrayed our Saviour Christ. 1. *Judas*, that *Arch-traytor*, as being a menial servant, and of his *privy* council, as the *Psalmist* noteth; and therefore, to his everlasting infamy, is no lesse than twelve *times* termed and proclaimed *Traytor* in the same Chapter.

Psal. 55. 12, 13, 14. Math. 26.

So was King *Charles* twice betrayed. 1. To the Parliament. 2. To the Souldiers.

2. A whole *pack* of Traytors, all that conspired, counselled, and consented, to *deliver* up this their *King* to be put to death; close they were, many of them, and would fain seem *clear* from the *last* act, which was his *Execution*, and therefore *innocent* from his blood, and freed from the *high* and loud crying Treason: Yet, as *close* as they were, and becaus there be no accessaries in Treason, the Holy Ghost *finds* them out, and ranks them all under the *same* Crime of *Treason*, and styles them by the same name of *Traytors*, or traditors, unto their *King*.

And the *base* and barbarous usage of *this* King from his first apprehension, to the *last* moment of his execution is *punctually* observed by the Evangelists; as that

1. How this King was mocked. So was King *Charles* mocked in these very particulars following. John 6. 15.

1. They should *mock him*, which though it be worse than death to a *generous* mind; as you see *Sampson* chose rather to die, than to suffer himself to be *mocked* and scoffed at by the Philistines; yet did these trayterous rebels *mock*, and scoffe, and flout at this their King, *many* wayes, and *divers* times: as

1.

Luke 19. 38.

1. They *vote* to make him a *glorious* King; that is, if he will be *ruled* by them, he shall reign over them; and because he refused to be this *mock-king*, they presently vote no more addresses unto him, and cry, *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos*; We will not have him for *our King* any longer: and yet, when they hoped he would submit to their desires, they cry, *Hosanna*, blessed be the *King*, and we shall have a *blessed accommodation*, betwixt the King, and the people. But within a very few dayes after, when their *chief* Leaders like not this, but vote and declare his *death*; then they cryed out as fiercely, *Justice*, *Justice*; Crucifie him, *Crucifie him.*

Jo. 19. 1.

Luc. 23. 21.

2. So was King *Charles* led to *Westminster-Hall.*

2. Instead of a *Royal* traine, a Band of the *rudest* Souldiers must not *attend* him, but must be sent to lead him, not to his *Chamber* of Presence, but to the *common* Hall; there, as a *Malefactor*, and a Traytor to his people, to be *tryed* for his life.

3.

3. Instead of his *Royal* Robes, he shall have his *own garments* stripped off, and he shall be clad in a *Player's* suite, that he may be the more *ridiculous* unto these *Raskals.*

4.

So they must have K. *Charles* bend and yield to every thing that they desired.

4. Instead of a *Scepter* of Gold, which is the *Ensigne* of Rule, he shall have a *Reed* put in his hand, to be *bowed* by every wind of their own will, and to be *broken* in pieces when they will. This is the *Rule*, that they like of best.

5.

So they loaded K. *Charles* with all disgraces.

5. Instead of a *Crown* of Gold, beset with the *Jewels* of Royal Prerogatives, befitting a *King*, they platt a crown of *thorns*, and prick his *brows* and his brains, with all the *disgrace* they could lay upon him; and

6.

6. Which a *Learned* Preacher well observes, they invented and practised a little before, a fine kind of subtile and malicious mockery, upon this their King. For they would have him to believe, that *Herod*, who would be

soly

ſoly King, was purpoſely ſet to *kill* him; and therefore, out of a ſeeming *care* to his ſafety, they perſwaded him, to get him out of the way, and *ſecretly* to depart to ſome *retired* place; when as indeed, theſe very *Counſellors* were thoſe bloody *Herodians* that hunted him *thus* into their net, thereby the more *readily* to take away his *life*; which was a *treacherous* and a bloody Mock: and I wiſh King *Charles* had as well *underſtood* this Mock, when he believed their *falſe* letters, and thereupon conveyed himſelf to the Iſle of *Wight*, as this *King of the Jews* underſtood this *malicious* plot of theſe his mocking enemies.

Luke 13.31. So perſwaded they K. *Charles* to ſave himſelf by retyring to the Iſle of *Wight*.

2. S. *Mark* ſaith, they *ſhould ſcourge* him: ſevere enough, no doubt of it. Forty ſtripes, ſave one, was the Jews uſual manner to lay on him, whom they hated: but whether *Pilate*, that now ſcourged him, laid on *more* or leſſe, the Holy Ghoſt ſets not down, and therefore, I will not preſume to determine it. S. *Luke* adds to what S. *Mark* ſaith, *they ſhould deſpightfully intreate and handle him*; and ſo he was indeed, moſt *ſpightfully* uſed: as

2. Scourged, and deſpightfully handled. And K. *Charles* was thus ſpitefully handled in 8. of the like particulars.

1. When they *hunted* him, like a partridge, and left him not an *houſe* to put his head in. Math. 8. 20.

2. When they *came* to take their *King*, as againſt a *thief*, with ſwords and ſtaves. Chap 26 55.

3. When they led him by a *Band of rude Souldiers* as a Traytor, to the common Judgement-hall. Luc. 23 31.

4. When in *this Hall*, they cauſed, or countenanced, the ſcum of the people, and *baſeſt* of the Souldiers, to call for *juſtice*, and to cry, *Crucifie him, Crucifie him.*

5. When to ſo *milde* a King, (that ſaid none otherwiſe to his *ſervant*, that arch-traytor, which *betrayed* him, but, *Friend, wherefore art thou come?*) they ſhall *ſcornfully* ſay to him, The Priſoner, or *this fellow.* Math. 26 61. So they beheaded King *Charles*, where they uſed the baiting of Bears, and other beaſts, in the common-way.

6. When they carry him out to *Golgotha*, a place fitter to bait *beaſts*, than to execute *Kings*; there, in a common *high-way*, to loſe his life.

7. When, as they go to *Golgotha*, they cauſe him, that was *whipped* and ſcourged, and *wearied* in poſting of him from place to place, to carry his own *heavy croſs* upon his ſhoulders.

8. When they, not only *numbred* him among the wicked, but alſo *crucified* him betwixt two *thieves*, in the midſt of the wicked, as if he had been the chiefeſt of all wicked men, that had none but the *wicked* on every ſide of him.

9. When, as now, diſrobed of all *Royalties*, and faſtned to an accurſed *croſs*, where he was induring *intolerable* pains, not *one*, that loved him, durſt ſpeak a *word*; but his enemies *flouted* him, and wagged their heads at him, and when he thirſted for our *ſalvation*, they *filled* his *mouth* with ſharp *Vinegar*, as they did his *ears* with ſhameleſs *taunts*. When the Colonel that brought him to his execution, commanded his Souldiers to ſhoot any one that pulled off his hat, or ſhewed any reverence, or ſpake any word, for the honour of the King.

10. When, after he was *dead*, they would not afford him a place of *burial*; but he muſt be laid in *another* mans Sepulcher.

And were not *all* theſe, and *much* more, that might be collected, moſt *ſpightful* uſages of an *innocent* man, and a glorious *King*? Yet the Evangeliſt adds *one* thing more, that I muſt not omit, that they would *ſpit upon him*, (a note of the thing, that we do *moſt* abominate); as it ſeems, their *King* was the chiefeſt thing, that they did moſt hate and *abhor*. 3 How he was ſpit upon. Joh. 19. 29. And thus they beſpitted King *Charles*, with all kind of calumnies.

But a man may be ſaid to be *ſpit* upon, *figuratively*, when his enemies ſpit out their *venome* againſt him, even *bitter words*. And ſo Chriſt their King, was moſt ſhamefully *ſpit* upon, when by their *Declarations* and Remonſtrances, and other ſcurrilous Pamplets, they proclaimed him to the World to be a *Deceiver* of the truſt repoſed in him, and a *Traytor*, becauſe he *perverted the people*, and drew them on to their deſtruction. So they called him a *Samaritane*, a Drunkard, a Demoniak, an upholder of Sinners, a breaker of the *Sabbath*, a Conjurer, and what not? Their tongues were *ſwords* that

that killed his *Honour*, before they crucified his *Person*; and they were the *poyson* of Aspes, that spat out all these *slanderous* calumnies upon their King: And this was *bad* enough, and *too much* indignitie for a *King*; Yet the Souldiers did not only thus *Rhetorically* spit upon him, but *Grammatically* disgorged the scum of their *ulcerous* lungs, in his *glorious* face: and it is reported, that a Souldier, going under the name of a *Christian*, did the like to a *most Christian King*; which if true, let him *repent*, lest God should *spue him out of his mouth*.

And though it be the *rule* of the very Heathens, *De mortuis nil nisi bene*, We ought to speak nothing but *good* of the *dead*; because, as the Poet saith,

Livor post fata quiescit:

Yet these beasts, like devils,

Sæva sed in manes manibus arma dabant.

degenerating from mankind, are not content to *kill* their King; but will murder him *again*, and *again*, after that he is both dead and buried: and that, not only in his *Lovers* and Followers, whom they are resolved, not to *extenuate*, but to *extirpate*; but especially in his *fame*, his glory, and his *honour*, which is to all good men, as *the savour of the sweetest perfume*, that is made by the *art of the Apothecarie*, and which they, like stinking flies, endeavour by all means to *corrupt* and defame; and to destroy all *those* that truly preach or *publish* any truth redounding to his honour: as you may plainly see it in the *acts* of his Apostles, whom they threatned and terrified for speaking any good of him: Though, as the Poet saith,

Tu ne cede malis; sed contrà audentior ito.

So, the more these murderers sought to *hinder* it, the more the glory and goodness of this *King* was *spread abroad*, to their indelible shame, throughout all the World, when as the *vertues* of every *just* and pious man, are as the *palme-trees*; the more forcibly they are *suppressed*, the more gloriously they will *be exalted*. So you see how *spightfully*, and how *trayterously*, and bloodily, and basely, these *miscreant* Jews have used and *abused*, killed and murdered, their own King: Now

2. How causelessely they condemned him. John 10. 32.

2. You are to consider, how *causelessely*, and how *unjustly*, they did all this unto him; for the Prophet in the *person* of this King, saith, *Oderunt me gratis*, They hated me *indeed*, but without a *cause*: and himself saith unto the Jews, *Many good works have I shewed you from my father; For which of them do you now go about to kill me?* So, in truth, there was *great cause* to love and honour this *good* King, that had done so much good unto them; but *no cause* why they should either *hate* or *abuse*, much lesse to *kill* or murder this their own King.

Yet we find *several* causes set down by the Evangelists, that moved these Jews to *kill* their King: and they are of two sorts:

1. *Pretended* to the people.
2. *Real* to themselves: And

1. The pretended causes to murder their King.

1. Their *pretended cause* is specially twofold. { 1. *Cultus Dei.* 2. *Salus populi.*

the *usual* pretences of all Traytors; and, if they were *true*, there could not be better: And therefore this *fair* colour, deceives the buyers of this *bad* cloth; and these pretences *made* the people, to commit on Christ, this *execrable* Fact, to hate and crucifie the *son of God*, their *own King*: But to proceed to examine these *fair* colours.

1. As

1. As generally the raisers of any people to rebellion, taxe their Governours with *innovation*, or destruction of Religion, becausе *all* men, even the *superstitious*, and licentious, and prophane worlding, would fain seem to embrace the *true* Religion; so these perswade the *silly* vulgar, that this their King *closely* and cunningly laboureth to alter and *innovate* the true service of God, as 1. Innovation of Religion.

1. That he was too *loose* in observing the *Sabbath*.

2. Too strict in the reverence to be shewed in the *material* Temple.

3. Too *severe* in abridging them the *liberty* of divorces, and the like. Mark 2.24. Matth.21.12, 13, 19.

But to this our *King* answereth first in *generall*, that they do wrong him *by this* their *unjust* charge and accusation, becausе he came not *to destroy the Law*, or the Prophets, but to *fulfill them*; and themselves by their *false* Expositions, and new invented traditions, were the *innovators* and corrupters, both of the Law and Prophets: and more *particularly*, The very same things were objected against King *Charles*.

1. For the *Sabbath* he sheweth, that themselves are herein too nice and *superstitious*, and he no *prophaner* thereof; becausе *the Sabbath was made for man*, (i.e.) for the *good* of man, both for his *soul* and *body*: of his soul by *serving God*, and of his body by those *necessary actions*, and recreations, that may conduce for the continuance of his *health* on that day. Matth.5.17. 1.Objection answered. Mark 2.27.

2. For the reverence to be observed in the *Temple* or Church of God, he sheweth that he was not too *strict* in driving the buyers and sellers, and all other *prophaners* thereof out of the same; becausе God himself saith, even of this *material* Temple or Church of stones, *My house shall be called an house of prayer, for all people; for the Gentiles, as well as for the Jewes*; but they had prophaned the same, by making it a house of *Merchandize*, and so *a den of thieves*, as they do that make it a stable for their *horses*, or a receptacle for their plundered and *stolne* goods. 2. Objection answered. Esay 56.7.

And in both these points, our *Puritans* now are just, as the *Jewes* were then, too much given to *prophane* the Church, and too *superstitious* to observe the *Sabbath*. But,

3. For abridging the liberty of *divorces*, he tells them that he teacheth *no otherwise* then what was from the *beginning*, that whosoever putteth *away his* wife, saving for the cause of *fornication*, causeth her to commit *adultery*: but you by forsaking the *good old way*, and following the traditions of your *latter* Rabbines, your *Assembly* of new Divines, have made the *Commandements* of God of *none effect*, and teach for Doctrine the Commandements of men; just as they do now, forsake the good old *government* of the Church, that *hath been* from the *beginning*, from Christ his time; and follow the *new invented Government*, that is forced from the false and *wrested* Expositions of our *upstart* Rabbines, that never yet saw the age of a man, since the death of *Calvin* and *Beza*, the first Fathers that begat it. 3. Objection answered. Matth.5.32. Chap. 15.6.

2. As they did thus *unjustly* taxe their King for *Innovation*, and the alteration of their established Religion; so they have another *bait* whereby they do as *cunningly* catch the people, and set them like *wild* men to joyn with them, yea to out-goe them in their *desires*, to destroy their King, and that is, *Salus populi*, the safety and liberty of the people; which they said would be *utterly* lost, if they did let Him goe; and this *madded* the people against their *King*; though there was no *truth* in the charge, nor ground to believe it, but the *feares* and jealousies of the people, raised only by the *malice* of their wicked leaders; for how could it be, that either the *safety* or the liberty of the people, should be *any wayes* impaired by that King, that came to *fulfill the Law*, and to root out all the *false glosses* thereof, and was contented to lose not his *Kingdom* only, but also his *own life*, for the safety and *liberty* of his people, as themselves confesse; that *he must die for the people*, (i.e.) for their *Lawes* and Liberties, and so become the Martyr of the *Law*, and the Saviour of his *people*. 2. The destruction of the people. And this madded the people against King *Charles*. John.11.48.

So you see the *pretended* charge against this King, that he was a *tyrant*, by indevouring to destroy their *Lawes*, and to alter their *Religion*; and a *Traytor* to the State by forbidding *Tribute* unto the Conqueror, whom now they were resolved to honour for their *onely King*, lest they should lose their place and their *Nation*.

Jo.11.48.

2. The true *reall causes*, that moved these murderers to kill their *King*, were very *many*, but especially *four*.

2. The true causes that moved the murderers to kill their King.

1. *Envie* to him.
2. *Despaire* in themselves.
3. *Fear* to lose.
4. *Ambition* to be great.

} For

1. They perceived, that for his *admirable* worth, and his *divine* endowments, when as *never man spake as he did*, and that he did *all things well*, the people *loved* him, followed him, and adhered to him; then, As the glorious *rayes* of the Sun upon any *putrified* matter, causeth a *stench*; so his *excellent* vertues begat the poysonous brats of *envie* and *malice* in these wicked miscreants; and so *Pilate* perceived that for *envie they had delivered*, or rather, as the word signifieth, *betrayed him to death*.

1. Envie. Joh.7.47. Mar.7.37.

2. When they had by their *Declarations* and Remonstrances, their calumnies, slanders, and false accusations, sought with all art to render him *odious* unto his people, and had in *all things* opposed him to the *uttermost* of their might; then, as *Cain* cried out, *my sin is greater then can be forgiven*; So the *guilt* of their malice, and the *remembrance* of their fore-past wickednesse against him, were of so deep a stain, that they conceived all the *water* in the *Sea* could not wash it away; and all the *mercie* of man could not remit their sin: such is the conscience of all *unconscionable* sinners; therefore, though this *good* King could, & would, and did, *forgive* his enemies, and *pray* for his persecutors, yet because their hate and sins were so great, that they could not *believe* it, they thought themselves no wayes *secured*, unlesse he were *killed*.

2. Despair of pardon. Gen.4.13.

3. The men were now got into *great* power, & they had the liberty to be of what *Sect* and profession they pleased, *Scribes*, *Pharises*, or *Sadduces*, or what you will; and to do what they would: so long as they pleased the *Conqueror*, no man could *contradict* them; but if the *right King* continue King, they saw he would not, and could not, endure such an *Anarchie* of Government, and a Hodge podge, to remain amongst them; therefore *Caiaphas*, the *second* man in power, tells them, *it is expedient that he die*, for fear of the *losse* of their places, and this their great power and liberty.

3. Fear to lose what they had gotten.

4. This King himself, in the parable of the *Vineyard*, which is faithfully recorded by three Evangelists, sets down, as I conceive it, the *main cause* & fundamental ground of his *death*, that is, their ambition & desire to be great, and to hold all *power* and authority in their own hands; for so the wicked husband-men say, This is the heir, *Venite*, come, *let us kill him*, and then, *retinebimus hæreditatem ejus*, *we shall hold his inheritance*; His it is we confesse, yet then, We shall hold it, because, as S. *Mark* saith, then certainly, *erit nostra*, it will be ours, and *no man* can keep us from it; and indeed this *desire* of bearing rule, this *covetousnesse* to get what is none of our own, hath been the *death* of many *Kings*, of many men: for what made *Caracalla* slay his brother *Geta* in his mothers lap, and between her armes, but this *inordinate* desire to raign? What made *Phraharers* son of *Horodes* King of *Parthia*, kill his own Father, and 29. of his brethren, but the like *desire* to raign? And what made *Abimelech*, the bastard son of *Gedeon* slay 70. of his brethren in one day? and *Jehu* to slay his Master, even as *Zimri* had done the like before him? and *Absolon* attempt to do so to his own Father, but only this *ambitious desire* of bearing rule. And if you look into the 8.c. of the 5. Book of *Camerarius*, his *historical meditations*, you shall find a Catalogue of such *wicked* murderers, that have bin the *death* of many Kings, that they might raign;

4. Ambition to be great men. Matth.22.23. Mar. 12.7. Luk. 20.9.

And I would fain know, if these four things were not the very causes that made the Rebels to bring King *Charles* unto death.

Camerar. l.5. c.8.

raign as kings themselves; and therefore, let the *pretences* of these murderers of their King be what you will, *change* of Religion, *Arbitrary* Government, great *Tyranny*, or loss of *liberty*; yet, all these are but forged and *fained* to blind the World, and to deceave the people; and the *true Cause* indeed is this, *Hæreditas erit nostra*. This Profit, is the point that doth the deed.

And, as the *desire* to raign makes the *regicides*; so this *inheritance* of the Church, which is signified by the *Vineyard*, brought the doctrine of *killing*, deposing and depriving into the *Church* of Christ: and it is as *truly*, as *wittily said* by one, that, *Quid vultis mihi dare*, is the *Jews qnestion* in this case, &, *Omnia hæc tibi dabo*, is the Devil's *answer*, to the Church-robber. And such a *dialogue* betwixt the Devil and the *Jew*, for the *inheritance* of the Church is *powerfull* enough, to bring any *King*, even Christ himself, the *King of Kings* unto his death; so I do *assure* my self, and all the World may be *assured* of it, it is not the *calling* or the office of the Bishops (or of Deans, & Prebends) which neither *they* nor their *grand Master* was ever able to *disprove* to be Divine, that they *so much* detest; but it is their *Lands* and inheritance, that they so *greedily* gape for; and as this made *Naboth* to lose his *life*, so this makes our calling *detestable*, and this was the *cause*, the cause κατ' ἐξοχὴν, that brought *Charles* our King, and one speciall cause, that brought Christ *the King of kings*, unto their *deaths*; becaus they would not *betray* the trust, that God reposed in them, nor *surrender* up, this their *rightfull Inheritance* unto the greedy Usurpers; *but* shewed themselves *faithfull shepherds* that were ready to lay down their *lives* for their sheep, rather then to *betray* the laws and liberties of the people, and the *happiness* that God had determined for their subjects; and for this, as we owe to our Saviour Christ our selves, our *souls*, and our *bodies*, to honor him, and *serve* him, to *praise* him, and to *magnify* him for ever, as our *only* Saviour and preserver from everlasting death and destruction; so this *good King*, this *just*, magnanimous King, *King Charles* (that rather suffered an *ignominious* death, then to give away the inheritance of the Church) or annull the *highest* calling in the same, the Calling of the Reverend Bishops, deserves to be *everlastingly* Loved, *indelibly* Chronicled, and *universally* Published like *Mary Magdalen*, for a *faithfull* Martyr, a *true* Protector, and a *nursing* Father unto the Church of Christ; which, here I vow for mine part, *ever to do*, whensoever *opportunity* offers it self to do it.

Cant. 2.

Esay. 51

But, as I said before, they had *their King* in their *hands*, they had him their *Prisoner*, so they had his *Kingdom* in their power and *possession* already; what needed they therefore to *kill* him, that they might *have* that, which they *had*? For if *Ahab* had *had* the Vineyard, questionless *Naboth* had not *died*.

Ob:

Saint *Mark* answereth fully, that they *kild* the Heire, ἵνα κατα-χῶμεν, that they might *hold* it, and continue in it; for covetousness is a sin of *Retention* and never thinks of *Restitution*, and the sin of *forcible* entrance can not endure to be put out of *Possession*: therefore lest, if he *lived*, he might use some means to *Regain* it; there is no surer way for them to hold in *Peace*, what they unjustly got by the *sword*, but by the *death* of the *Just* Owner.

Sol. An answer specially to be observed.

And the word κατα χῶμεν, as I conceive, signifieth not *only* that we may *hold*, what we have, but *also* that we may have *more* then we hold; as if they should have said, *Some what* we have, while we have him our *prisoner*, and in our hands, but *more* we shall get, when we get him *dead*; for then we shall have *all*, as much as we *can* or will desire. Therefore seeing *ambition* is like the daughters of the *Horseleech*, that still crieth *more* and *more*, these murderers are like the *Whore* in the Apocalyps, that having *tasted* the blood of the Saints, will never give over till she be *drunk* with blood: so will they never be satisfied with any *less* than the *blood* of their King, & the *death* of the right

Apoc 17.

right Heir, that they may *hold* what they *have*, and have *whatsoever* they desire.

So you see the *true Causes*, why these *wicked* murderers have put their King *to death*. Now,

3. The patient and silent demeanor of this King. Esay.53. Act.8.32.

3. When his adversaries most *maliciously*, illegally and falsly *accused* him, and laid *many* things to his charge, contrary to all truth; *yet he answered not unto their charge*: but this *good King*, being reviled, *reviled not again*; and being smitten, *smote not again*; but *as a Lamb before his shearer is dumb, so opened he not his mouth.*

The Reason of not answering to their charge four fold.

The *Reason*, why he answered not, is not expressed by the *Holy Evangelists*; therefore we may not *curiously prie* into that, which is concealed; nor *Positively* conclude the *Reason*, that is not revealed unto us. Yet with *Modesty*, it may be *conjectured*, that he would not answer.

1. Reason.

1. Lest his *wise* and satisfactory Answer, might convince *Pilate*, that was a *rational* man and seemed to bear *no malice* against him, and being satisfied, to let him go, *freed* from the accusation of his enemies: and so the *Counsell* of God, which he knew, and came to *fulfill* it, touching the *Redemption* of mankind by his *death*, might thereby be *frustrated*. So far did he prefer *our good* before his *own life*: A most gratious King!

2. Reason.

2. He answered them not, lest his *answering* might have ministred an *occasion* to these malicious miscreants, to *suborn* more perjurers to bear *false* witness against him: so carefull was this *good King*, of the good of his *enemies*, that they should not heap *more* vengeance upon themselves, by committing the more sins.

3. Reason.

3. He answered not, because he held that *Power*, which, at that time, the *sword* had so unjustly gotten, to be *insufficient* and unjustifiable, in his case, to try his *person*, and to condemn *Him* to death; who, in respect of the *Hypostaticall union*, was *Rex universæ terræ*, and so King of the *Romans*, as well as of the *Jews*; therefore he would not answer to *that* charge, that was so *illegally charged* against him, *coram non Judice*, before a Judge, that had no *lawfull* commission to be his Judge; So *Bradshaw* had no commission to be King *Charles* his Judge. Or

4. Reason.

4. It may be said, that he answered *nothing* to the *false* charge laid against him; because of the *illegall* power, authority or right, that his enemies had to *require* it; when as he, being their *King*, was not to answer for any *fact* that he had done, to any one of all his *Subjects*; as the King, that was *according to Gods own heart*, sheweth, when, after he had committed both *adultery* and *murder*, he saith to God, *Against thee only have I sinned*.

And therefore, the *Jews* being Christ his *Subjects*; and so, having neither *right* nor authority, to lay any *charge* against Him that was their *King*: he was altogether *silent*, in all that concerned the *charge* laid against him. But for any *other* question, that *Pilate*, his servant, and now made his *Judge*, did ask him, He gave him a *full* and a sufficient answer, as you may see in all the Evangelists.

Math.27.11. Mar.15.2. Luk.23.3.

Or else, as S. *Jerom.* comments upon the Evangelists; he spake *nothing*, that is, *nihil durum, nihil asperum*, nothing, that might *offend* either the Judge, or the *Jews*.

Joh.18.34. & 36. and chap. 19 11.

What this King spake, not to save his own life, but for others.

But we find, that neither *Jews* nor *Gentiles*, neither High Priest, nor *Pilate* would condemn this *King*, before they *gave* him *liberty* to speak, and they were ready to *hear*, what he *would* or could say for himself. Because the law of the *Jews*, as *Nicodemus*, a Counsellor of their law, testifieth, *judged no man before it heard him:* and it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to deliver any man to *die*, before he had liberty to *answer* for himself; as *Festus*, another Judge of the *Romans*, confesseth.

Jo. 7. 51. Act.25.16.

And yet, such was the *injustice* shewed to *Charles* our *King*, which you may

may remember, by his *subject-Judge*, that contrary to *all* Laws both of Heaven and Earth, both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, he would not hear those *just Reasons*, that he sought to shew for himself, against their *unjust* proceedings against him: And therefore no doubt but *Annas* and *Caiphas*, and unjust *Pilate*, will rise in Judgment to condemn that *unjust Judge* at the last day.

But though this *good King* Christ said nothing to their *Charge*, to save his *own life*; yet, at his *death*, he spake *much*, to preserve his enemies from *Everlasting death*; as when he said, *I thirst*: that was, not for the *blood* of his enemies, as they and the *Souldiers* did for his blood; but it was for the *accomplishment* of the mysterie of theirs, and our salvation, that was to be effected by his *death*.

And especially, when, as *Bellarmine* observeth, he prayed for his *very murderers*, that were slaughtering and tormenting him; and said, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*: and some of them are *simply* ignorant of the *wickedness* of this fact, being seduced by their *false* Teachers: and others, though *wilfully* blind; yet are they ignorant of the *consequents* of this act, that is, the *heavy punishment*, that is due to them, and, without *great* repentance, must light on them, for this *wicked* deed; therefore, *O my Father, I pray thee, revenge not my death, but forgive them for my sake.*

And *this prayer* prevailed for *Longinus*, that thrust him through his *side*, to become a Converr, if *old Tradition* may be believed for truth; and for 3000. more at one clap, when S. *Peter* took off the *vail*, that shadowed the *truth*, and shewed to the poor *seduced* people, the *horrible* wickedness of their malicious leaders; and for many *many* more, that returned unto him *immediately* after; and would have prevailed for *all*, the very *worst* of his murderers, even for *Judas*, *Annas*, and *Caiphas*; yea, and for the *Judges*, (the first, and second *Pilate*) that pronounced the *Sentence* against their *King*; if they had had the grace, to *repent* them of their evill deed, and to *believe* in this their Saviour.

How mightily the prayer of Christ prevailed with God to forgive his enemies.

4. Consider, I pray you, how *speedily* they executed and made an *end* of him, after he was *Condemned*; for he was apprehended, but upon *Thursday*, when-as upon *Wednesday* at night, he did eat the *Pass-over* with his Disciples, and tels them, that after *two daies*, was the *Feast* of the Pass-over, the *greatest* feast that they had, solemnized in *remembrance* of their great and *wonderfull* deliverance out of *Pharaohs* bondage; And yet, they would not suffer him to live, till *that* Feast was past; but being taken upon *Thursday*, he must all that day, and all that night be *hurried* from *Annas* to *Caiphas*, from *Caiphas* to *Pilate*, from *Pilate* to *Herod*, and from *Herod* back again to *Pilate*, and so from place to place; and the very *next* day, which was *Friday*, by *nine* of the clock in the morning, which was their *third* hour of the day, they fastened him to his *Cross*, with nails so large, that, being found, they made a helmet, and a bridle for *Constantine*, as it is reported.

4. How Speedily they condemned their King. Math. 26. 1.

Mar. 15. 25.

And this was a very *quick* dispatch indeed. I remember *another* King that was *murdered* in *like* manner by his subjects; but, though suddenly *enough* dispatched out of the way, yet had a *little* more favour, and a litle longer time, before he was beheaded.

King *Charles.*

But why would not these miscreants suffer their *King* to live *one* day, to *prepare* himself for his death, after he was condemned?

Quest.

They answer, That the *next* day, after he was *adjudged* to die, was their *Feast* day, and the *greatest* feast in the year: therefore they must not suffer him to *pass* over *that* day, nor to *die*, on *that* day, for these two speciall Reasons.

Resp.

Why they would not suffer their King to live one day longer.

1. Lest

1. Reason.

1. Lest there should be an *uproare* among the people; because *that* day, being set apart for an *holy meeting*, as the Lord commanded it, and, as our *Apprentices* are permitted upon *Shrove-tuesday*, to take their *liberty* and to go a *Shroving* where they please; So were their *labourers*, and servants, under colour of going to the *Temple*, suffered, on *this* day, to *gad* abroad, and to go where they would. And therefore the *raskality* of the people, and the *seduced* followers of the Scribes, Pharisees, and Presbyters, cryed for *Justice, Justice, Crucifie him, Crucifie him*; yet, seeing all the rest of the *honest* people, that had well observed his *meekness*, and his *sweet* carriage amongst them, and had received so much *justice*, and so many *favours* from this *good* King, did *exceedingly love* him, and said, *He did all things well*, and were ready to venture their *lives* for him, the *Priests* and *Presbyters* durst not venture to *delay* his execution till *that* day were past, lest they should attempt to *rescue* him, and so to save his life on that day:

Servants had liberty on Holy dayes, and Feast-dayes.

So you see the *subtilty* of the *crafty* foxes, and the *greedines*s of these *Bloody-hounds*, to take away the *life* of their *good* King, and to hinder al others to *preserve* his life.

2. Reason.

2. They would not have him to suffer on their *Feast* day, lest they should be *defiled*; a most damnable *hypocrisie*, that stumble at a *straw*, and leap over a *block*; that fear to be defiled on their *Holy* day, and yet fear not the shedding of *innocent* blood, the blood of their *King*, and of the Son of God, on any *other* day: Just like our *hypocritical* Saints, that cannot endure to misse the hearing of two *Sermons* on the Lords day, and care not to *deceive* and destroy 200. of their neighbours, if they can do it, upon any *other* day: And therefore these *holy* Saints, are none of Gods Saints, but do belong to that Angel of *darkness*, that can so *finely* transform himself, as *these* men do, into an *Angel* of Light. And so you see how *speedily* they executed their *King*, and the *main* Reasons, why they did so.

John 18. 28.

The great hypocrisie of these holy murderers.

And this *speedy* execution of his death, doth exceedingly *aggravate* the heynousnes of the action; for, after they had him in their hands, *their feet were swift to shed his blood*, and they ended all proceedings in *few* dayes; their *unsatiable* thirst for blood, can never suffer these *Blood-hounds* to rest, until their thirst be quenched.

A Question.

But you will say, He was *almost* four years amongst them, after he was *Baptized*, and began to dresse his *Vineyard*, and to sway the *Scepter* of his Dominion; if they were so *greedy* of his extirpation, Why stayed they *all this while*, before they executed their intention?

The Answer, for three Reasons. Luke 22. 2.

I answer, Not because they wanted *will*, but by reason of some *remora's*, that hindered their *desires*; and they were especially these three.

1. The *love* of the people, who, for his *justice*, innocency, and fair carriage towards *all* men, and the *great* good he did to many men, did, for many years, *exceedingly* love him, and apologise for him; until these *subtile* Foxes, by their *Remonstrances*, and Aspersions, had wrought this *unstable* multitude, that understood nothing right, to a jealous, and a *causeless* suspition of this *Just* King, and a wicked compliance with these *unjust* murderers.

2. The want of fit *opportunity*, made that they could not so *safely* do it, until the people, at the *Passeover*, were drawn up to the Metropolis, *Hierusalem*; where, by the Law, they were to *convene* at this Feast, and whereby you may see how their *subtilty* made way for their *villany*.

3. The *factions* and *oppositions*, that were among themselves, and especially betwixt their *chief* Commanders, *Pilate* the *Roman* Commander, and *Herod*, the head-Ruler of the Jews, stayed their purposes, till these *differences* were composed, and these two great Opponents, made great Friends; and

and this, assoon as ever done, they presently do what they intended, and never *rest* till all be finished.

5. When they had thus *devilishly* condemned, and thus *speedily* resolved to *kill* their King, I pray you mark the place where they carried him to be *executed*: and that *place* where they would have him to be *executed*, I told you before, was *Golgotha*; that is to say, *A place of a skull*, the most *infamous* place about *Hierusalem*, where their Malefactors were *hanged*, and their bones were *scattered* and gnawn of Dogs: A fit place, think you, for a *King* to end his life? And then

5. The Attendants that followed Christ to the place of execution. Math. 27. 33. So was King *Charles* beheaded in the High-way, where they used to bait Bears & Bulls.

6. Consider, the *attendants*, that accompanied this *great King* to this *despicable* place of Execution, and we shall find them to be,

Either { 1. His *friends*, Or
2. His *foes*: And

1. Of his *friends*, I find but very *few* that durst be seen to follow him, not any man, that I find recorded, but only *one*, and that was the *Disciple*, that our Saviour *loved*, and that Disciple was *known* unto the High Priest; and therefore the *bolder* to follow him, whom he loved. The rest, I presume, *loved* him well; but they saw the *malice* of his *persecutors* was so *great*, not only against their *King*, but also against *all* those that *loved* him, that if they were *seen* to follow him, or *heard* to speak a word in his behalf, they had *presently* been taken for *Malignants*, and most *severely* punished, as most *haynous Delinquents*: And therefore all the *rest* of his Apostles and Disciples, and all others that loved him, were so mightily *terrified*, that they durst neither be *heard* nor *seen*; So *cruel* were these *Subjects*, even unto their *King*. Some *Women* indeed, that loved him well, were permitted to be *present* at his death, their *Sex* was their only *warrant*: but these *Women*, and the rest that knew him, were fain to stand *afar off*, and durst not come near him; and, it seems, they durst not *speak* one word, either *of him*, or *to him*: but *smote their breasts*, and returned, *Luke*. 23. 48. But

1. How few of his friends. Joh. 19. 26. Chap. 18. 15.

How cruel the enemies of Christ were to all that loved him.

2. For his *foes*, we read of *enough*, that followed him; a *guard* of Souldiers, for fear he should be *rescued*; and the Rulers, that *derided* him; and the foolish people, that were the *flatterers* of those lewd Leaders, saying, *He saved others, let him save himself if he be Christ the Son of God*: and some no doubt, were present, that betrayed him: Such villany and *impudence* had covered the foreheads of these *monsters* of men; yet one of these *bloody* Souldiers that were the *chief actors* in the execution of this King, received here the benefit of this Kings *prayer*, and was inlightened by his Spirit to say, *Truly this was the Son of God*. But for the *Priests* and *Presbyters*, the Scribes and Rulers of the people; they could bring him to his *death*, and mocked him upon the *Cross*, when *humanity* should have rather taught them to *pity* him, than to *scoffe* at him; not one of them, notwithstanding all the *wonders* that were then shewed (as the *rising* of many that were dead, the *rending* of the vail of the Temple, and the great *Earth quake* that immediately followed his death) had the grace to *confesse* their sins, and to bewail his *death*.

2. How many of his foes. Luc. 23. 25. Math. 27. 54.

Nay, they were so *far* from returning, or *repenting* them, of their wickedness, that their hearts being *hardned* harder than *Pharaoh*'s heart, they still *proceed* in malice; and because any *eulogy* of him, they thought *obloquy* unto themselves, and his *praise* to be their *shame*, they neither permitted him a *Funeral* Sermon, nor provided a *Tomb*, for his burial; and therefore in all likelihood, he had gone without one, had not *providence* according to Prophesie provided him a Sepulcher from an honourable Counsellour, which had *lodged* this King, while he was alive, in his *heart*; and now, being *dead*, he layes him in his own *Grave*.

But it may be said, That, as S. *Peter* saith, *Pilate* and the children of *Israel* did but what *the hand and counsel of God had determined before to be done*:

done; and therefore this their *proceeding* against their King, being but a lowly *submission*, or a dutiful *execution* of Gods providence, it cannot be so *offensive* unto God.

Sol. 1. I answer, 1. That Gods counsel was *secret* and unknown unto them, and they had no *revelation*, nor *commandment* from God, to do it; therefore they are *inexcusable* for doing it.

2. 2. Though S. *Peter* saith, God had *determined* this to be done; yet he doth not say, that God determined to do it by *them*, and in that *manner*, and for that *cause* as they did it. Therefore, though the *counsel* of God for the doing of it, had been *revealed* unto them, yet this can be no *excuse* unto them, unless God had commanded *them* to be the actors of it.

3. 3. Though they had known Gods *mind*, and that his mind was, that they should be the *actors* of this Tragedy; yet Gods *end* being *salus populi*, the salvation of *all faithful* people, and their *end* being to satisfie their own *malice* and ambition, to get the *inheritance* of the Church, and the *Kingdom* to themselves; the *counsel* of God to do it, cannot *justifie* them in their wicked deeds.

And therefore, all these things *rightly* weighed, it will appear, that Gods *counsel* was most *just* in it self, and most *gracious* for us; and their proceeding most *unjust*, without *warrant*, without *authority*, and will be found at the last Day, with all other *like* proceedings, without *excuse*; and themselves to be most *malicious* murderers of their King.

And now, as *Apelles*, or *Timantes*, having drawn the *sad* and mournful countenance of the *Mourners* for *Iphigenia*, to the *uttermost* height of his skill; when he came to expresse the same in *Agamemnon*, her father, because his art could go no *higher* than he had gone, and that it could not reach to express her *fathers* grief, he was fain to draw a *vail* over *Agamemnon*'s face, and to leave it to the *consideration* of the beholders to conceive how *infinite* must be the *sorrow* of her dear father, that so dearly loved her. So I, having painted out the *horrible* vileness of the murderers of their *Just* King, to the *uttermost* of mine art, and not able to shew *half* the *damnability* thereof, I must put a *Curtain* before my Tablet, and leave it to your *thoughts*, to consider, if you can *imagine*, that it is *possible* for any Orator to expresse the *unutterable* and incomprehensible damnability of this Fact, and the *execrable* villany of those Traytors, that have *murdered* their own *just* King: And now

3. Part. Who were the murderers of this just King.

3. For the *murderers* that have killed their Just King, I am to shew you, who these *Traytors* and *murderers* were; and we find in this Chapter, and the precedent Chapter, that they were the *people*, and the *Elders* of the people, the *Scribes*, and the *Priests*, and the *whole multitude*; and the Evangelist adds, the *Pharisees*, the *Sadducees*, the *Lawyers*, and the *Rulers* of the people. A strange, and a *wonderful* thing, that so *many* of several *Sects*, of several *Degrees*, and several *dispositions*, should notwithstanding *conspire* together, to put to death their own *just* and *lawful* King.

But you have heard of the *Treason*, and *Murder*, and the *cruel* handling of this King: and you have seen and do know, how our own King hath been likewise used; and *all* this we can, it may be, *patiently* hear; but, when *Nathan* tells *David*, *Thou art the man*, and when I tell these Jews *de quibus narratur fabula*, These and these were *the men* that did it, and were the *Actors* in this *wicked* Tragedy; or if I should name the *Actors* of the *other* Tragedy, that our English Jews acted against their own King, I know not how they would wring, and bite, and kick against me: Yet howsoever, I will, as *briefly* as I can, go over them all, that the Scripture speaks of, that when you find or see any of the Actors of the other *later* Tragedy and Regicides, like these *Murderers* of their King, you may dislike them, and specially beware of them: And

1. Be-

1. Because the *Pharisees* were most *powerfull*, and most numerous; I will begin with them that *first* began to quarrell with their King; and you must *know*, that they were but of *yesterday*, a new-sprung *Sect*, not so much as once mentioned in all the Old Testament, but as soon as ever he *peeps* out of his shell, he *runs* away, like the *Lapwing* out of his nest, and *separates* himself from the Church, (*i.e.*) the Congregation of his neighbours, for which cause he is termed, *Pharisæus, quasi segregatus*; and the *reason* of his separation is, because he thinks all others *prophane*, carnall, and worldly, and *himself* with the rest of his *Sect*, to be the only *holy Saints* and servants of God.

1. The Pharisees like our zealous, seduced, and hypocritical Saints.

Why the Pharisees separate themselves from all others.

And indeed, we find that they *exceeded* all the *common sort* of men in five speciall things; as,

For { 1. In *Tything*. 2. In *Fasting*. 3. In *Praying* and Preaching. 4. In a *fair Language*. } Their Religion.

5. In *sanctifying* the Sabbath.

1. For *tythes* they will not omit *Mint* and *Cummin*, nor any of the least things untythed.

2. For *Fasting*, they must do it *twice* in every week.

3. For *Praying*, they used it *often*, and made *long* prayers, and *openly* not caring *who* did see them, but rather desirous that *all* men should take notice, how *devout* they were in their prayers, and so they were for the *preaching* the word of God, and they were most *diligent* to hear *Sermons*, insomuch, that rather then they would be without the *word* preached, they will go to hear *John* the *Baptist*. Matth. 6. 2. Matth. 3.

4. For their *fair language*, Christ himself tells us, that they being *evill*, yet speak *good things*, and so, when they came to *intrap* him, they began with *fair words*, and say, *Master*; and so in *all* their carriages, when they meant to play the *devill*, they spake like *Saints*: as, when they laboured what they *could*, to be the *death* of Christ; yet they come unto him as if they were his *greatest* friend, and tell him, that the *Herodians* are his *bitter* enemies, and do intend to *kill* him, and therefore he should do *wisely*, to convey himself out of their reach. Out of every such *Pharisee*, Matth. 12. 24. Their dissimulation.

Cum tibi dicit Ave, tanquam ab hoste Cave.

5. For their observation of the *Sabbath*, they are so *zealous*, or rather *superstitious*, that the Disciples must not pick an *ear* of corn, and put it in their *mouth*, to asswage their *hunger*, nor Christ speak a *word* to heal a *lame*, or a *blind* man *on that day*, without danger of a *Councell*, to be *severely* censured; and we read that if a *barrell* or vessel of wine *leakt*, and run out on the *Sabbath*, they would rather suffer the same to be all *spilt*, then stop it on that day; and *Stow* writes it in his *Chronicle*, that one of them dwelling in the Old-*Jury* in *London*, happened to fall into a *Privie* upon the *Saturday*, which was, and is their *Sabbath* day, and he refused to be *pluckt* out, because he would not have his *neighbour* to prophane the *Sabbath*; and his neighbour being a *Christian*, denied to help him out on the *Sunday*, which is the *Christian Sabbath*; saying, If thou art so *precise* to observe *thy Sabbath*, I will be as *zealous* for *my* Sabbath; and before the *Munday*, he was stifled with the *ill savour* of his lodging.

So *religious* were these *Saints* in their superstition, so fair in their *outward* holinesse of *fasting*, *praying*, and hearing *Sermons*, exceeding all *other* men, so far as Religion seems to exceed prophanenesse.

But he that is καρδιογνώστης, the searcher of all *hearts*, and seeth the *secrets* of all thoughts, tells us plainly, they were but *meer hypocrites*, appearing unto men like *silly sheep*, but were indeed *ravening Wolves*, that devoured *widowes houses*, and plundered all their *poor neighbours*; not leaving to

many of them, *bread* to put into their *childrens* mouthes, under the colour of their *long prayers*, and the pretence of *Zeal* and Religion; this is the *very truth* of the matter.

How mighty these hypocrites increased in number, in power, and authority.

And yet these *wicked* men, these holy hypocrites by their *dissembling*, and faigned holinesse, grew so *great* both in number and power, that they soon over-spread the *whole* land, and became as it were the *only Oracles* of the people and their *faction* ruled, upon the matter, not only the City of *Jerusalem*, but almost *all the land* of *Jury*, so farre, that as *Josephus* saith, *Herod* himself was *afraid* to displease them, they had so *infinitely* bewitched the people with the opinion of their *knowledge* in the *Scripture*, and their *zealous* profession, that nothing was thought *well done*, but what they did, or approved of, as it appeareth by that *question* unto the Officers, *Have any of the Rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?*

John 7.48.

Matth 5.20.

But let *such hypocrites* go on in their hypocrisie, and let them be *deceived*, that will believe them; it is not these *outward* shewes of holinesse, and *shadows* of Religion, that pleaseth God, who is not *mocked*, as the Apostle speaketh, but *requireth truth in the inward parts*, as the *Psalmist* saith, and therefore *tells* us, and we may *believe* him, that *except our righteousnesse exceed the righteousnesse of the hypocrites*, that do but *deceive* the world, and *bewitch* the simple people, *we shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of heaven.*

2. The Scribes.

2. The next *Sect*, that were most *sedulous* to betray Christ, and to murder their King, were the *Scribes*, such as were the continual *Writers*, not of Bills and Bonds, as our *Scriveners* do, but of the *Holy Scriptures*, and therefore they pretended that they *alone* had the *perfect* knowledge and understanding of the same, & consequently that they *alone* were the only people of God, & all the rest *no better*, or but little better, then cast-aways; so censorious were these scribling gnosticks. But if you would examin their *Exposition*, you should find that *præter falsitatem & hypocrisin nihil habent*, they were such *Interpreters* of the *Scripture*, as *Hogs* are dressers of Vines; and when they stuffe their *impertinent* discourses with *more* impertinent Texts of *Scripture*, they do but, as *Peter* saith, στρεβλοῦσι τὰς γραφὰς, wrest it, and pervert it, and, as the word implies, deal with it, as *Shoemakers* do with their Leather; *stretch* it, and tear it oft-times with their teeth, when it is so, that of it self it cannot reach, to fit their purpose.

Like our Presbyterians, Independants, and Lay-Preachers.

2 pet: 3.16.

And *truly*, the Church of God never wanted *such Scribes* in every place, *Tertullian* saith, *credunt Scripturis, ut credant adversus Scripturas*; they alledge *Scriptures*, to *overthrow* the *Scriptures*; and no *Scripture* shall be *believed*, but as themselves *interpret* it, and to give you a taste of their Expositions.

Joel 2.28.

1. When the Prophet *Joel* saith, *Your sons and your daughters shall prophesie*, they will justifie their *Revelations*, and their speciall *inspiration* of Gods *Spirit*, when as the Prophet meant it only of the *Apostles*, and the *immediate* disciples of our *Saviour*.

Hos. 3.4.

2. When the Prophet *Hosea* saith, *The children of Israel shall remain without King, and without Prince many dayes*, this is a sufficient proof, they shall be *independent* from all Government, but their own: and therefore, being *thus* inspired by the *lying spirit*, they were earnestly set on to *kill* their King, and to *abjure* their Prince, that they might still continue *Independents*, without any *regal* Government.

Obadiah v. 9.

Malach. 4.2,3.

3. When *Obadiah* saith, *Thy mighty men, O* Teman, *shall be dismaid, to the end that every one of the Mount of* Esau *may be cut off by slaughter*; and *Malachy* saith, *To you shall arise the Sun of righteousnesse*, and *you shall tread down the wicked as ashes under your feet*; this is a sufficient warrant to destroy *all Malignants*, and to root them out of the world, as the *enemies* of Gods people, which they say, are *themselves*, and none else.

Esay 61.6.

4. When the Prophet *Esay* saith, *You shall eat the riches of the Gentiles, and*

and in their glorie shall you boast your selves; this is a good *warrant* for them that take all the *wealth* and possession of their *malignant neighbours*: they need no more but *take* them and *seize* upon them, and never call them to answer, Whether they have *offended* the Law, and so *forfeited* their estates, or not.

And is the world now *free* from such *Scribes*, as do falsifie the *sayings* of the Apostles, as these *Jewish* Scribes did the *words* of the Prophets? No, no; for you may find many *writings* and Pamphlets of *our Scribes*, that have most *strangelie* perverted the words of S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 1, 2, 3. to cast off all *Regall* power, and to establish the *Democratical* government, and as *peevishly* expounded the words of S. *Peter*, to prove the lawfulnesse of *deposing*, and decollating their Kings; & many more such Scriptures you may find *perverted* by our new-sprung *Scribes*, if you cast your eye upon the *Pamphlets* lying on every *Stationer's* stall.

3. The next sort of men that betrayed and killed their King, were not so much a *Sect* of seduced *Zelots*, as a *companie* of great Rulers, *Rulers of the people* saith the Text, or, as they are termed in their *rebellion* against *Moses*, *Princes of the Assemblie*, *famous in the Congregation*, *men of Renown*; and these were either the *heads* of severall families, as our *Lords* and Nobilities are, or else such as in their *several* countries or cities, by their *wealth* or authority had gained *power* over the people, to like or dislike what they pleased, as our *Knights* of the Shire, or *Burgesses* for the Parliament, are; and these were very *deep* in setting forward the *Treason* and *Murder* of their King. 3. Rulers of the people. Numb. 6. 2.

4. The *Sadduces* were another *Sect* among the Jews, of pestilent doctrine, denying *all Scripture* that made against them, and denying the *immortalitie* of the soul, and the *resurrection* of the dead (like *Cromwels* Atheistical Commanders) and all *punishment* for sins after death; therefore being more wicked in their *tenets*, then the *Pharisees*, and absurder then the *Scribes*, it is very like they were more *active* in the death of their King, then the rest of the forementioned Murderers. 4. The Sadduces.

5. There were *some* comprised under some of the *former* Sects that are termed by the Evangelists, νόμικοι, *Lawyers*, which as Christ saith, sate in *Moses* Chaire, and so were Chair-men, because of some *excellent* parts that were thought to be in them, beyond the *ordinary* sort of men; and these men saith our Saviour *have taken away the key of knowledge*, (*i.e.*) the *Law*; and, instead thereof, they taught the *traditions* of men, which traditions S. *Paul* calls δόγματα, which we may properly term *Ordinances*, as our English Translation renders it; and by these *new-devised* Ordinances of these *Chair-men*, they quite spoyled and frustrated the good *old Law*, both of God, and Man. 5. Lawyers like the Chair-men of the long Parliament. Luke 1. 52. Matth. 15. 3. Ephes. 2. 15.

6. The πρεσβύτεροι, which we translate *Elders*, or, as the word properly sounds, *Presbyters* had a mighty share in the blood of their King; and S. *Luke* saith πρεσβυτέριον, the Presbyterie were the first that came against him. 6. The Presbyans. 7. The Priests. Matth. 27. 1. Mark how the Presbyters are not only called the Elders, but the Elders of the people, because the common people only magnifie them, and they only endevour to please the people.

7. The *Priests* joyned with these *Presbyters* to kill their *King*: for so the Evangelist saith, that *when the morning was come*, *all the chief Priests and Elders of the people took counsell against Jesus so put him to death*; and as, then, the Jewish *Elders* and *Priests* conspired together against their King; so we find now, the *Presbyters* or Preaching-Elders and *Romish Priests*, though their faces are averse, and seem to look divers wayes, yet like *Sampsons Foxes* they are tyed together, by the *tayls*, and both are *Anti-Kings*, enemies unto *Monarchy*, and do like *Mars* his Priests, called πυρφόροι, scatter the fire of *Sedition* and Rebellion amongst the people, and *Sheba*-like blow their *Trumpets* in all places, even in their *Pulpits*, to stirre up the discontented people to take *Armes* against their King, though he be Christ himself.

himself. And therefore if *any* King would be free from Rebellion, he *must* banish these *Priests* and *Presbyters* from his Dominions.

8. The whole Parliament of the *Jews* conspired together to put Christ, their King to death.

Mar. 15. 1. ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον: *Nemine contradicente.* Essay. 1. 4.

8. S. *Mark* saith, that these *Priests* held a Consultation with the *Presbyters* or *Elders*, and *Scribes*, and *the whole Councill*, and bound *Jesus*, and carried him away, and delivered him to *Pilate*; so here is the *whole Parliament of the Jews against their King*; who, had they not been *Jews*, had never done it; but these had formerly *forsaken* God, and therefore no wonder that they do now *betray* their King; yet, it might be wondered, that this *Councill* consistings of *Heterogeniall* parts, severall Sects, as *Pharisees* and *Sadduces*, *Scribes* and *Herodians*, *Priests* and *Presbyters*, whereof most of them differed in *many* things, and hated each other *very* much; even as much as *Papist* and *Puritane*, *Calvinist* and *Lutheran*, do amongst us; yet they can *deponere inimicitias*, lay aside *all differences*, and conspire *together*, to betray to *death* their Lord and King; and our Saviour himself tels us how, *Videlicet*, when they saw the Heir, they said ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, *within* themselves, (*i. e.*) by their wicked thoughts; and then they said πρὸς ἑαυτὰς, *among* themselves, (*i. e.*) by consultation and publishing their intention one to another, Come, (*i. e.*) by combination, and making a *firm League* and *Covenant*, with an indissolveable *oath*; that, although we be of sundry sects and different opinions *among* our selves; yet, after we have made *this Covenant*, we need not *suspect* one another, but we may confide in the Covenanters, and *assure* our selves of fidelity *to assist* one another, to the uttermost, *ut occidamus* even to kill him; that his *Kingdom*, and his *Vineyard*, both Church and Common-wealth, may be *our own*; and thus, *sævis inter se convenit Ursis*, these cruell *Bears* and savage *Beasts* do consult and *agree* together, to put to *death* the *Lords Anointed*; Therefore this *Counsell*, worse then the *worst* of the *Popish* counsels, may rightly be termed a *Devillish* counsell, even the *counsell of the ungodly*, the way of *sinners*, and the seat of the *scornfull*: when, as *Jacob* saith of his sons *Simeon* and *Levi*, *The instruments of cruelty are in their habitations*, and *their swords are the weapons of violence*; and therefore, O my soul, *come not thou into their secret, and let not mine honor be united unto their assembly.* But let thy thoughts *abhor* all their actions; For in their *anger* they slew a man, and through *envy* they murdered the *best* of men, and their own *King*, even *Jesus Christ*; and therefore *cursed* be their anger for it was *fierce*, and their wrath for it was *cruell*; and for their *malice*, let all such *murderers* be divided in *Jacob*, and scattered in *Israel*, and let *due vengeance* be speedily rendered, to all such *abominable* Traytors.

Psal. 1. 1.

9. Flattering Courtiers.

Mar. 8. 15.

9. We read of *another* Faction, that had their fingers in this Treason, (*i. e.*) the *Herodians*, who were a company of *flattering Courtiers*, and alwaies followed the *over-ruling* party: And these were subtile *Foxes* that made use of *Policy* without honesty; and therefore Christ, that *knew* them well enough, (and I would to God King *Charls* had known his Courtiers also) adviseth us to *beware of the leaven of the Pharisees*, and of *the Herodians*; (*i. e.*) the leaven not of *bread*, but of the *doctrine* and practices; when as their *Doctrines* are contagious and *infectious*; and their practices *malicious*, treacherous and murderous: *ill* properties for *great* Courtiers, that ought to be as well *good* as *great*; else are they but a great *shame* among men, and a great *staine*, unto all their posterity.

10. The common people for the most part had a hand in his death, by a three fold imployment.

Mar. 14. 43.

10. As *salus populi* the good of the people and the *liberty* of the subjects was one main *pretended* cause, why these murderers *kild* their King; *ne gens pereat*, lest, if he *lived*, the Nation should be destroyed; so the *people*, upon all occasion, must be *ready* at hand to serve their turn, and to do the *services*, wherein these their *grand* Masters shall imploy them; and this imployment we find to be three fold.

1. When their King is to be *taken*, they must be sent *armed* with swords and staves to *apprehend* him.

2. They

2. They must draw *petitions* for some base and unworthy things; as they did, when they petitioned that *Barabbas* a thief and a murderer might be released, and their King crucified. Math.27.20.

3. They must come to the *Judgment-Hall*, or place of Judicature; and, for fear the King should find some *favour* from him, that knew him *innocent*; they must with loud voices *cry* for *justice*, and double their desires for *execution*; and all this, saith the *Evangelist*, was done by the *multitude*, as they were perswaded by the *Priests* and *Presbyters*; Ah silly people, that even now cry, *Hosanna, serva quæso*, Save Lord, and now presently *Crucifige*; that *loved* their King, as his enemies *confess*; and yet joyn with his enemies to *kill* their King: and never ask, *What hath he done?* but this we will do to please *them*, that set us on the work. Who then but a *mad man* would repose trust in a *multitude* of men, and relie upon a *broken reed*, a reed that wavers with *every* winde. And not only so, but to shew the *baseness* of these base people (for I know not how to say, their *envy*, or their *malice*, that they should *maligne* their King, who had done them good *every* way, and no harm, to *any* of them) when *Pilate*, a heathen Judge and a *stranger* to the *Jews*, shall profess him to be a *just person*, and therefore *wash his hands* from the blood of the *innocent* man; this *giddy multitude* of rude people, the generation of *vipers*, that gnaw out the *bowels* of their own dams, the brethren of *Cain*, and the children of their father the *Devil*, that hath been a *murderer* from the beginning, do cry out, as vengeance doth require, *His blood be upon us and upon our children*. What? *Nefandum scelus*, a most fearfull thing, when the blood of our *own just* King, *unjustly* murdered by so many *sorts* of men, that had their *hands imbrued with his blood*, shall like *Abels* blood cry to God for *vengeance* against us, and our children for ever; O let us rather *repent*, and desire of God, that the *blood of this lamb Jesus Christ*, may wash away these our *bloody* sins. Math.27.24. Joh.8.44. Math.27.25.

And thus I have shewed you the *chiefest Actors* in this bloody Tragedy; all the *whole Kingdom* of *Jury*, rebelling against their King, and most Traiterously betraying him to an *Ignominious death*, save only some *few followers* of Christ, of whom this *King* foretold, what should betide them, some of them should be *killed*, and some *persecuted* from City to City; for, as S. *Basil* said of *Herod* ἡ τερὶ σφάγη, ᾧ τὸ πόμα αἷμα, his meat was the *flesh*, and his drink was the *blood* of men: so these *Regicides* will never leave a *follower* of this King; untill, like the *Whore* in the *Revelations*, they be *drunk with the blood of the Saints*, and thereby shew themselves as they are, Math.23.34. Revel.7.6.

1. *Unsatiable*, because they never leave till they be *drunk*.
2. *Unmercifull*, because they will be drunk with *blood*; and
3. *Unjust*, because *no blood* will serve them, but the blood of the *Saints*, and servants of this King, the *witnesses* of Gods truth.

And therefore let all the *lovers* of this King, *look* to themselves; because the *branches* must needs wither, when the *root* is plucked up.

And besides these *followers* of Christ that loved him, we find some others, that had no hand in *killing* him; and those were the *Samaritans*, a people as much hated by the *Jews*, as *Papists* are by the *Puritans*; and though this *King* confer'd upon the *Jews*, *beneficia nimis copiosa, multa & magna*, and did *nothing* at all for these *Samaritans*, save only to *pitty* them, and hinder the fiery *Zelots*, the two sons of *Zebedee*, to destroy them by calling for fire out of Heaven, to consume them; as *Elias* did the two Captains and their fifties; yet, we do not read, that either they hated the *person*, or sought the *life* of this King: no more do I find that any *Papist* joyned with the Parliament of *England*, and the Conquerors of our King, to put King *Charles* to death; which I believe will be sufficient *witnesses*, to rise in judgment to *condemn them*, that have condemned the *King*, at the last day.

Thus

Thus I have passed over *all*, or most of the *acts* and *scenes* of this Tragedy; and I might here end, but that, as the Prophet saith, *abyssus abyssum invocat*, and one Tragedy requires another, and the destruction of this *King* and his followers, cals for destruction upon the *destroyers*, that, like *Damocles's* sword, hangs by a *feeble* thread, ready to fall upon their necks; for the Prophet *David* demands the question, *Shall they escape for their wickedness?* And he doth immediatly answer, *The Lord shall destroy both the blood-thirsty and deceitfull men*; and all these men that I have shewed, being most *deceitfull*, and very much *thirsting* after blood, and that blood, not of the *basest* people, but of the *best* of men, their *Prophets*, their *Preachers*, and their own most *just* and *pious* King; it must needs pull *destruction* upon their heads. Therefore Christ in the parable of the Vineyard, saith Matth.21.41. ὁ κύριος ἀπολέσει αὐτοὺς, *The Lord will miserably destroy them*; that is,

1. Them that *plotted* to take away his inheritance.
2. Them that *consulted* to take away his life.
3. Them that so unjustly *put him to death*.
4. Them that abused and wronged his *servants*, that sought to *defend* his right. And
5. I feare me, them, that *might have helped* to protect both their *King*, and his *servants*, and did not; for, if any where then *surely* here, that *axiome* must hold good *Qui non vetat peccare quum potest, ipse peccat*, and that *too-ill-applied Sentence*, To protect rebels & assist murderers, by our seducing brethren, in the 5. of *Judges*, where *Debora* saith, *Curse ye* Meros, *curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty*, must *needs* be applied to *them*, that had *ability* to defend their *King*, and to relieve his oppressed *servants*; and yet suffered *them* to be destroyed by these murderers. All these, saith our Saviour *shall be destroyed*; and so they were; *all of them*, that *repented not*, *did soon perish*. For,

1. *Judas* the prime Traytor *hanged* himself, and that without any regard of his *grand* Masters, who, when they saw his *disconsolate* soul, and heard his *confession* of his *foul* Treason, said no more, but, What *is that to us*, as if they said, Be *hang'd*, or be *damn'd*, we do not care; thou shouldst have looked to that thy self.
2. *Pilate*, that unjust Judge, not *long* after the execution of this King, was *disgracefully* displaced, and exiled his Countrey, and therefore *killed* himself in a strange land.
3. *Herod* died most miserably, being eaten up with worms.
4. *Annas* and *Caiphas* were *violently* killed, as the Stories do report.
5. The *Priests* and *Presbyters*, *Pharisees* and *Sadduces*, and many others, that were *Actors* in the murdering of this *King*, lived, I believe, most of them to see the *famous* City of *Jerusalem besieged*, and many of them to see it *destroyed*, and at least 1100000. of their Countrey-men *slaughtered*, and all the rest, even their *Children* that were unborn, when they kil'd their *King*, either *Captivated* by their enemies, or *scattered*, like Vagabonds, over all the face of the earth. And as the severall *Factions* and the different Sects *conspired* together, and agreed, as one man, to *kill* their King; So their *divisions* and *differences* made way for the *Romans* to *destroy* them all; and, which is *strange*, by this their wicked act, the *very things*, that they feared, came upon them; for their great Prophet *Caiphas* tels them, it was *expedient* that he should die, *lest the Nation perish*: and by the *just* Judgment of God, their Nation *must* perish, because they did so *wickedly* put their *King* to death: And so they were resolved to *kill* him, lest the *Romans* should invade their Land, and change their *laws*; and because they did *kill* him, God sent the *Romans* to destroy their *Country*, to change their *laws*, and to make such *havock* of slaughtering them, *ut nec locus crucibus, nec cruces corporibus sufficerent*. And ever since the *murder* of their

King

King, they have been *hated* of all Nations. For *Sisibut*, King of the *Visigothes*, and *Dagobert* the 10th King of *France*, commanded them on pain of *death*, to depart out of their Dominions. And *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Castile*, within these seven-score years, 1500. years *after* the murdering of their *King*, handled them very *shrewdly*, and put an infinite number of them to *death*. And *Emmanuel* King of *Portugal*, did the like. So *hateful* are they for their *regicide*, to all good men; and so just is God in all his wayes, and so exceedingly hating *Rebellion* against our Kings, and much more the *murdering* of our own lawful, just, and pious *King*, that the same never escapeth the *severest* punishment that can be imagined; as I shall shew it, in the next Treatise. For if he who sheddeth *mans blood*, though but a poor *Beggar*, *by man shall his blood be shed*; then surely, he that sheds his *Kings blood*, cannot escape the *severe vengeance* of God, who peremptorily saith, *Vengeance is mine, and I will revenge*, saith the Lord. And you know, what the Apostle saith, *It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God*, who is a *consuming fire*.

Camerar. l. 5. c. 9.

And therefore, if any man hath persecuted Gods *Servants* (the Preachers) or conspired to take away the *life* of his King, the *Annointed* of the Lord, let him *repent*, and that quickly, lest God, as He saith to the Church of *Pergamos*, *do quickly come unto him, and fight against him with the sword of his mouth*, which is a *two-edged* sword, that cuts on *every side*; the *soul* with the worm of conscience, and the *body* with most fearful plagues and punishments. For if the blood of *Abel*, which had no *voice* while it lived, yet, being dead, *cryed so loud*, here on earth, that it was *easily heard* in heaven; and it was as *fearful* as it was *loud*; for it was for *vengeance* against his brother: then questionless the *innocent* blood of a *just* King, being dead, yet *speaketh*; and speaketh *louder* for vengeance against his *Subjects* than the other did against his *brother*: which, I fear, without our *speedy* and deep repentance, will be *abundantly* poured out upon this sinful generation; for that we have so *barbarously* murdered our *own King* in such *wicked* manner, that I never read the like in any History; nor the *Sun*, I believe, did ever see the like, since the deviliſh *murder* of the King of kings, from which these murderers took their *pattern*, to proceed in *like manner* in most particulars; and herein therefore, *Licet parvis componere magna*, I thought good to *parallel* the practises of both sorts of murderers, the *Jewish*, and the *English* murderers.

The murdered, I confess, are *far unlike*, and will admit of *no comparison*, the difference and *distance* betwixt their Persons, being so *great*, as is betwixt Heaven and Earth, the *Creator*, and the *creature*. King *Charles* being begotten by an *earthly* father, as all other men are, and subject to *like passions* as we are: but *Jesus Christ*, the *King* of the Jews, was *conceived by the Holy Ghost*, and free from all sin, and mastering all affections. And King *Charles* was *King* but of *small* Territories: But Jesus Christ was *Rex universæ terræ*: and he was, and is, *King of kings, and Lord of lords*: King *Charles* did good, but to *many*, and hurt but *few*, if he hurt any; but the *King* of the Jews, did good to *all*, and wronged *none*: and so in *all* other things, I know, how that the one is *finite*, and the other *infinite*, in justice, wisdom, Power, and *all* other Attributes of excellencies.

But, if we look how *both* these Kings were handled by their *Subjects*, we shall find the *later*, not much *unlike* the former, and King *Charles*, hated, traduced, mocked, spightfully used, and causelessely killed and *murdered*. And all this in *like manner*, though not, in *every particular*, in like *measure*, by his *own Subjects*, as *Jesus* Christ was, by the *wicked* Jews. As I hope, I have *fully*, and sufficiently, and *plainly*, declared unto you in this Treatise.

And

And therefore, that we ought all of us to *confess*, *lament*, and *bewail*, as in general, *all* our sins, so more especially, *this* our *great* sin of murdering our own *King*; and to pray to God, night and day, that for the *merits* of the death and passion of *Jesus Christ*, the King of the Jews, he would *pardon* and forgive us our sins, committed in putting to *death* our own most just and *gracious King*. Grant this, O dear Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ his sake; to whom be glory, *&c.*

THE

THE SECOND TREATISE.

2 Kings 9. 31.

Had Zimri *peace, that ſlew his Maſter?*

THE Doctrine of *Obedience*, both to God and to our *lawful King*, and his Magiſtrates, hath been ſo *fully* and ſo excellently handled, by the *Right reverend*, and moſt Worthy and Learned Biſhop of *Downes*, that *more* need not, and *better* cannot be ſaid:

But ſeeing the *preſſing* of Obedience will avail *little* with the *Rebellious*, if the fear of Gods *judgements*, and the puniſhments of him *that beareth not the Sword in vain*, doth not *terrifie* them from *diſobedience*: for, ſuch is the *frowardneſs* of mans nature, that he would never *fear* God, if he thought God conſiſted *all* of mercy, and were not as *juſt* as He is *merciful*.

Therefore, as you heard, how *neceſſary* is obedience, ſo I intend, by Gods help, to ſhew you the *juſt judgement* of God, and the puniſhment of the *Rebellious* and diſobedient, upon the words that you ſhall find in 2 *Kings* 9. 31. *Had* Zimri *peace, that ſlue his Maſter?*

The laſt Sermon that I Preached in this City, was on the Day of our *Humiliation*, for the unnatural Rebellion, and the monſtrous *Murder* of our *late* moſt gracious King, *Charles* the Firſt.

And *that* work, I then told mine *Auditors*, I knew not how to do it, in any *better* way, than by paralleling the *tranſcendent* murder of *Jeſus Chriſt*, by thoſe *wicked* Jews, that crucified him, which was their *true* and lawful King, with that *late* unnatural murder that our *Engliſh-Jews* have committed, upon their own *juſt* and lawful King, *Charles* the Firſt: and that parallel I then proſecuted, *à capite ad calcem*.

And this Text, that I have *now* read unto you, ſeems to be a Queſtion, demanding, What became of *one*, and what ſhould become of *all* others, *wicked murderers*, that like *him*, and like the *other* two ſorts of Jews, ſhould kill both their *King*, and their *Maſter*?

And the words are a *Speech* made at the entrance of a *brave* Conquerer into a *famous* City, that is, of *Jehu* into *Jezreel*. A cuſtom very often uſed amongſt all Nations, to make *ſolemn* Speeches at the Inauguration of their

Soveraign Kings and Emperours; or when any *Noble* Person cometh to any *famous* City; as the University *Orator* doth it in the Academy, and the *Recorder* in other Cities. And so *Jezabel* makes this *Speech* unto *Jehu*, assoon as ever he entred into the Gates of *Jezreel*; *Had* Zimri *peace, that slew his Master?*

And we do read of two special *Zimries* in the Book of God; and both of them *wicked* men. The first you may read of in the 25th of *Numbers*, where you may see,

Numb 25.

1. 1. How that *Israel*, contrary to the Command of God, joyned himself to *Baal-Peor*, and that one *Zimri*, a Prince of a chief House among the *Simeonites*, brought unto his brethren a *Midianitish* woman, named *Cozbi*, the daughter of *Zur*, that was Head over a people, and of a chief House in *Midian*.

2. 2. How that, for this *transgression* of God's Command, the *anger* of the Lord was kindled against *Israel*, so that he said unto *Moses*, *Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up before the Lord against the Sun, that the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned away from Israel*; And *Moses* said unto the Judges of *Israel*, *Slay ye every one his men that were joyned to Baal-Peor*: And so they did, that there were slain 24. thousand men.

3. 3. How that *Phineas*, the son of *Eleazar*, the son of *Aaron* the Priest, according to the *Commandment* of the Lord, and of *Moses*, took a Javelin in his hand, and *killed* both *Zimri* and *Cozbi*; and that the Lord was so well *pleased* therewith, that he rewarded him with the covenant of an *everlasting Priesthood*, and stayed the *plague* from the children of Israel.

Psal. 106. 30. And the Prophet *David* saith, that, when the plague was so *great* among them, *then stood up Phinehas, and prayed, and so the plague ceased.* And our *Presbyterians*, that find such fault with our *Liturgy*, do say, That we *corrupt* the Text; because, in the *Original* it is said, That *Phinehas* stood up and *executed judgement*, and so *the plague ceased.*

But their carping at this without *cause*, hath been *fully* and sufficiently answered, and may be *easily* and briefly done; because, he both *prayed*, and *executed judgement*; for the *Text* tells you plainly, That *the people were weeping* before the door of the Congregation, and so *praying* to God to turn away his *anger* from them; and *Phinehas* rose from *amongst* the Congregation, and killed them; and then *the plague ceased.*

Verse 6.

To teach us, that the only *sure* way to turn away God's *anger*, and the *plagues*, that we deserve, is not *only* to weep and mourn, and be *sorry* for the wickedness of the people; but we must also *execute judgement* upon the transgressors: and, as the Lord *often* sets it down, *Thine eye shall not pity them, neither shalt thou conceal them; but thou shalt surely kill them*: So shall you put away *evil* from among you, and turn away the *judgements* of God from you, which otherwise, must *still* lie upon you; because *sins*, and especially *great* sins, such as are *Idolatry*, *Rebellions*, and *Murders*, and their *punishments*, are so *indiff lubly* linked together, that God seldom or never *remits* the one, without *inflicting* the other. And therefore, he would not take away the *plague* from *Israel*, until *judgement* was executed upon *Zimri* and *Cozbi*. And this was the first *Zimri*, that we read of, and is not meant here in my Text.

Deut. 13. 8.

1 Kings 16. 9. 2. For the other *Zimri*, you may read of him, in 1 *Kings* 16. 9. where you may find,

1. 1. How this *Zimri* conspired against his *King*, and his Master, and killed him, and slew all the House of *Baasha*, and left not *one*, that pisseth against the wall, neither of his *kinsfolks*, nor of his *friends*.

2. 2. How that after this *murder* of their King, and *Zimri*'s possessing the *Royal* Throne, all *Israel* was divided, and most *miserably* embroyled in *Civil Wars*, when some of them were with *Zimri*, in *Tyrza*, others with *Tibni*, and the rest with *Omri*.

3. What

3. What became of this *Zimri*, and his conſpirators, that have wrought all theſe *Wonders*, and moſt *tragical* Acts, to kill their *King*, and all the Kings *friends*; how he went into the *Palace of the Kings houſe*, and burnt the *Kings houſe* over him, and died; burning *himſelf* therein. A *juſt judgement* of Almighty God, againſt ſuch as would conſpire to *kill their King*.

And of this *Zimri*, *Jezabel* demands the Queſtion, *Had* Zimri *peace?* As if ſhe ſhould have ſaid, Is it *poſſible*, that either *Zimri*, or *any* one of them that conſpired with *Zimri*, and had any *hand* with him, in the murder of their *King* and their *Maſter*; or that very *Kingdom*, that foſtereth *any* of thoſe murderers; ſhould have *any peace* or ſettlement, or any *happineſs* in the world, until *juſtice* and judgement be *executed* upon ſuch *tranſcendent* Malefactors?

For, ſhe conceived, that, as the wrath of God and his *plagues* were not turned away from *Iſrael*, until *Phinehas* ſtood up and *executed judgement* upon the other *Zimri* and *Cozbi*; ſo this *Zimri*, and the Aſſociates of this *Zimri*, and all the *kingdom*, that abetted him, ſhould never have *peace*, nor happineſs, ſo long as *judgement* was *unexecuted* upon them: as the example of *Achan*, and abundance more, doth make it plain, that the executing of *juſtice* and judgement upon *Idolaters* and Murderers, and the like *haynous* offenders, and not ſuffering them to live ſtill in pride and proſperity amongſt us, is the *only* thing to procure *peace*, and to turn away God's *anger* from any Nation.

And therefore *Jezabel* doth peremptorily demand of *Jehu*, *Had* Zimri *peace, that ſlew his Maſter?* Touching which words, I ſhall *humbly* deſire you to conſider theſe two ſpecial things,

1. The *Speaker*.
2. The *Speech*. } And

1. The Speaker is ſaid to be *Jezabel*, the Wife of *Ahab*, King of *Iſrael*, and the Daughter of *Eth-baal*, King of the *Zidonians*; touching whom you may conſider theſe three particulars,

1. That ſhe was a *Noble woman*.
2. She was a *Witty woman*.
3. She was a *Very-very wicked woman*. } For

Three things obſervable in *Jezabel*.

1. She was, as I told you, *doubly* innobled, by *Birth*, and by *Marriage*; and ſo ſhe was to be *reſpected*; as *Jehu*, that cauſed her to be *killed*, hath himſelf *confeſſed*, that ſhe ought to be *honoured* and regarded, as ſhe was a *Kings Daughter*. And the very Heathens *teſtifie* as much; That, *à principibus naſci, præclarum eſt*: It is an excellent thing, to be born of *Noble* Princes. When with the Poet, we can ſay,

Mæcœnas atavis edite regibus.

And therefore *Solomon* ſaith, though not altogether *Grammatically* to be underſtood, yet *literally* very true; *Bleſſed art thou, O Land, when thy King is the Son of Nobles*. And, on the other ſide, Moſt *wretched* is that Land, as our Land hath *lately been*, when a ruſtick *Marius*, or a *Valerius Armentarius*, or a Potter's ſon, like *Dionyſius*, or any other, of ſuch like mean abſtract, ſhall either by *policy*, flattery, or ſubtilty, come to obliterate the *Nobility*, and to ſit in the Throne of *Soveraignty*: as the very Hiſtories, both of the Greeks and Latines, do afford us ſtore of *examples* to confirm this truth. As when *Maximinus* from a Shepherd in *Thracia*, became an Emperour in *Rome*; and *Dioclefian*, that had been a Bondman, and was made free by *Æmilianus*, a Senator, became in like manner to be the *Emperour*, he proved to be one of the *worſt*, and the moſt *bloody* perſecutor of all the Emperours. Eccleſ. 10. 17.

And the *Reaſon* hereof is; becauſe, as the Poet truly ſaith,

Aſperius nihil eſt humili, cùm ſurgit in altum.

Nothing is more *cruel*, than a *mean* man raiſed *high*; and none is *prouder* than the *Beggar*, when he is mounted on his *palfrey*; he will then *ride*, you knew where, the Proverb ſaith.

——— ut fluvialibus undis
Extumuit torrens, fluit acriùs amne perenni.

As the *Land-flood* ſwelling *high*, is ever more *violent*, than the continual running *ſtream*, So, no *kingdom* can be more *miſerable*, than that, where, as *Jotham* ſaid, the *Bramble* ſhall reign over the *Vines*, and the *Olives*; or *Abimelech*, the ſon of a Maid-ſervant, and a *Subject*, ſhall ſuppreſſe and deſtroy all the *Royal* children of *Jerub-baal*, that had deſerved ſo well at the hands of *Iſrael*. Judges 9.

And the examples of *Maion*, *Cleander*, and *Sejanus*, confirm this truth unto us. For this *Maion* was of *mean* parentage, whoſe father was a *Shop-keeper*, ſelling Oil; but from that mean degree, *William* King of *Sicily* raiſed him to be *Chancellor*, and chief Admiral of *Sicily*, and then *enriched* him beyond meaſure, and *favoured* him above all his Nobles; and he, abuſing his *wealth* and his *power*, was inſatiable in his luſt, ſpared *no cruelty* to further his own deſigns, and fell at length into a conceit of a *kingdom*; and being expert to *fain* and to diſſemble what he pleaſed, he began to perſwade his friends to depoſe King *William*, and to defend his ambition by the depoſition of King *Chilperick*, and the chooſing of King *Pipin*, the ſon of *Charles Martel*, in his ſtead; which proved ſo *fortunate* to all the Kingdom of *France*. The notable treachery of *Maion*.

And *Herodian* ſets down the very like proceedings of *Cleander*, that was a *Phrygian* born, and of that rank of men that are uſed to be *ſold* publickly by the Cryer; yet coming to the Emperour's Court, young *Commodus* takes him for his ſervant, and raiſed him to that honour, to be both *Captain* of the Guard, chief *Chamberlain*, and General of all his Forces; and then *pride* and ambition prickt him forward to aſpire unto the Empire; and he had diſpatched his Maſter, had not *Faxilla*, the Siſter of *Commodus*, revealed his plots unto her Brother. And *Valerius Maximus* inveighs moſt bitterly againſt *Sejanus*, as *Camerarius* explains the paſſage of *Valerius*, for his aſpiring thoughts againſt *Tiberius*; which if it had prevailed, would have *paralleld*, yea and *out-gone* the ſurpriſing of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, the ſlaughter of thoſe 300. of one Noble Stock, the *Allian* day, the *Scipio*'s oppreſt in *Spain*, the *Traſimene* lake, the *Cannæ* and *Æmathian* fields ſwimming in civil blood. The ambition of *Cleander*. *Herod.* l. 2. The unparalleld pride and ambition of *Sejanus*.

And therefore *Sextus Aurelius Victor* ſaith, That ſo far as his wit goes, he finds it moſt certain, that the baſeſt men, when they have climbed to any height, are of all others, the moſt proud and ambitious. And *Camerarius* ſaith, that experience witneſſeth, That *commonly* thoſe, who from the ſtock of *Tradeſmen*, or ſordid Paiſants, riſe to places of worth, either by their *Wit* or *Fortune*, are far prouder, and more pernitious to the *Common-wealth*, than thoſe of a *Noble* and Antient Race: So that it was well ſaid of old, *Porters bear rule, and the bad are ſet over the good, I fear leſt the floods will ſink the Ship*; when theſe baſe and ignobly-born, ſons of the earth, do envy the *Nobles*, and ſit at the ſtern to rule the roſte. For, as *Claudian* obſerveth, Who moſt pernicious to the Common-wealth.

Nothing is more cruel than a mean man raiſed high,
He ſtrikes at all, while all he fears; lets fury flie,

So

So fur as power can: no beaſts ſuch fierceueſſe have,
Or rage, as hath o're freeman a domineering ſlave.

But, as the *Italian* proverb is, Apes, the higher they go, the more they lay open their *ſhame*; ſo it fareth with theſe inſolent fellowes, that at laſt they will be *hated* of all, and then come to a *miſerable* end, as it happened to this *Zimri*, *Sejanus*, *Maion*, *Cleander*, *Perennius*, and infinite others of later times, and in our own time. Yet I deny not but *ſome* of them, though very ſeldome, may prove *vertuous*, as we find *many* of them that were the ſons of Nobles, to *degenerate*, and like this *Jezabel*, to become very wicked. An *Italian* Proverb.

2. This woman *Jezabel* was a very *witty* woman; for here her ſpeech is, *ſententia brevis*, very ſhort; but *materia uberrima*, the matter is ſo full, and ſo excellent, that no *Sage*, no Philoſopher, no Oratour, nor ſcarce Prophet, could comprehend *more truth*, and a more *obſervable* Leſſon, more *briefly*, and more *plainly*, than ſhe doth in theſe few words, *Had Zimri peace that ſlew his Maſter?* ſo that the Spirit of God diſdains not to *record* her ſpeech to all poſterities, among the reſt of the *ſacred* Scripture: And ſo, to ſhew her *wit*, when her husband *Ahab* knew not how to compaſſe *Naboths* vineyard, ſhe was ſo *apprehenſive*, that ſhe *preſently* found out a way, though a *moſt wicked* way, to make him poſſeſſor of all his inheritance: whereby I do collect, that ſhe was both *naturally* witty, and alſo probably well *educated* in learning by her Parents; as it was the cuſtome of former times, and now likewiſe in many places, for Princes, and Noble-men, to bring up their *daughters* as well as their *ſons*, in all good literature. And ſo we find not only *this woman*, but very many *other women*, that have been famous both for *wit* and *learning*, and many other excellent parts, not much *inferiour* to the worthieſt men: as, in the holy Scripture, you may find how ſubtle *Rebecca* was to get the bleſſing of *Iſaac* to her ſon *Jacob*; how wittily *Rachel* could deceive both her father and her *Husband*, how *Debora* was a *Propheteſs*, a *Poet*, and a *Judge*, that judged *Iſrael*, and how *Abigal* was ſo diſcreet both in her words and actions, that ſhe could appeaſe the *raging wrath* of a man of war, that was ſet on fire, and not without great cauſe, againſt her Husband; and how *Judith* was ſo valiant, as to cut off the head of *Holofernes*, as *Jabell* had been the death of *Siſera*; and how *Solomon*, that had moſt reaſon to know it beſt, ſets down the *wiſdom*, and the *many* other excellent parts of a *vertuous* woman. 3. *Jezabel* was a witty, and a well educated woman. 1 Kings 21. 6. Former times bred the daughters in learning. Judg. 4.

And if the time & your *patience* would give me leave to trace the Hiſtories of the *Heathens*, Greek and Latin, I could tell you how great a Prophet was *Caſſandra*, how *diſcreetly* honeſt was *Penelope*, and how *wiſely* ſhe deluded all her woers; what a *rare* Poet was *Sappho*, of whom *Ovid* ſaith,

Nec plus Alcæus, conſors patriæque lyræque,
Laudis habet, quamvis grandius ille ſonet.

And ſhe ſaith, *Fam canitur toto nomen in orbe meum.* Saph. epiſt. Phaoni.

And amongſt the letters of *Phalaris*, there is one written to *Periſtthenes*; wherein it appeareth that *ſome* women have not much yielded for *greatneſſe* of courage, and *brave* reſolutions, to the moſt *valiant* men that have been, as *Penteſilea* Queen of the *Amazons*, whereof *Virgil* ſaith, *Camerar. l. 3. cap. 10.*

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis,
Penteſilea furens, mediiſque in millibus ardet.

And *Thomiris* Queen of *Scythia*, that overthrew *Cyrus* King of *Perſia*, and cutting off his head, threw it into a tub of blood, ſaying, *Satia te ſanguine quem ſitiſti, cujus inſatiabilis ſemper fuiſti*: And *Vaodicea* the wife of *Praſutagus*

tagus Queen of the *Icenians*, that overthrew *Petilius Cerealis* the *Roman* Lievtenant, forced *Catus Decianus* to flye into *Gallia*, and ſlew 70. thouſand of the *Roman* ſouldiers, aud being vanquiſhed by *Paulinus Suetonius*, would rather end her life with *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, then be ſuffered to be carried for a ſpectacle in the *Roman* triumph. And *Martial* ſaith of *Claudia* the wife of *Rufus*,

Lib. 2. Epig. 54.

Claudia cæruleis quum ſit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?

And that for her learning and wiſdom *Rome* and *Athens* might well *own* her for their own, when as ſhe was moſt skilfull both in the Greek and Latin Tongues, and compiled three ſeveral Treatiſes, as *Balæus* teſtifieth, both in Greek and Latin.

And what ſhall I ſay of *Arria*, the moſt loving wife of *Cecinna Petus*? of *Artemiſia* Queen of *Caria*; that buried the aſhes of her husband *Mauſolus* in her own bowels? But eſpecially of the great wiſdom of the mother of King *Lemuel*; and of *Tecla*, that wrote over all the *Greek Teſtament* with her own hand, and *that Copy* is now lately tranſlated by Mr. *Patrick Young*; and of *Traſilla*, *Gorgonia*, and the reſt of thoſe *famous* women, that Saint *Hierom* and *Greg. Nazian.* do ſo highly commend both for wiſdome and piety?

But omitting the *wiſe Sybils*; and all others worthy of *perpetual* memory; I will adde but *one*, that of this Nation ought *never* to be forgotten, our late famous Queen *Elizabeth*, that for above 40. yeares, could ſo *wiſely* rule ſo *unruly* a people, as we are.

And therefore I approve not of the *French-mens Saljick Law*, that excludes all women from the *Crown* of *France*; for though women be the *weaker* veſſels, yet, as the *ſtrongeſt* liquor may be preſerved and carried in *glaſſe* vials, ſo may we find *great* experience, and much wiſdom, with no *ſmall* courage and learning in many women; and therefore, as *Job* ſaith that he deſpiſed not the *Counſel* of his *Maid-ſervant*, when he found it worthie to be followed; ſo ought not men to diſeſteem the advice, and reject the *Counſels* of their wives. *True* it is, that where the wife adviſeth *ill*, her ſpeech is to be rejected, as *Job* did put off his wife's *Counſel*, when ſhe perſwaded him *to curſe God and die*, with the *juſt* term of, a *fooliſh woman*; and as *Origen* addeth, ſaid, *Tu facta es deterior Eva in inſipientia, ſed ego non ſum effectus Adam in ſtultitia*, Thou art become *worſe* then *Eve* in fooliſhneſſe, but thou ſhalt not make me like *Adam* in *ſottiſhneſſe*. But when the wive's counſel is *wholeſom*, it is fit the man ſhould regard it; for ſo the Lord ſaith unto *Abraham*, *In all that Sarah ſhall ſay unto thee, hear her voice*; and the *Sbunamites* husband followed his wife's advice in making *proviſion* to entertain the Prophet; and many men would have preſerved their *credit*, their *eſtate*, and *health*, if they would have followed the *friendly advice* of their wives; therefore we ought not to debar the *right* and lawful government of wiſe and diſcreet women, whom God hath made heirs, and indowed with *good* parts, both of wit and learning, as well as men; and in that regard, as I approve not the *French Salique Law*, ſo I never liked the *entailing* of inheritances upon the *heirs male*, when as God, if he had liked it, might as well have given thee *ſons* as *daughters*, and the Scripture tells us how *Job* gave inheritances to his three *daughters* among their *bretbren*, *Job* 42. 15. and ſo did *Caleb* to his daughter *Achſah*. *Joſh.* 15. 19. But the *Lawyers* by this wittie trick, would ſhew themſelves *wiſer* then God, and prevent by this *humane* Law, what God intended by his *divine* grace. And I know they *like not* this diſcourſe, becauſe the taking off of this *entailing* of eſtates, would take off a *great* deal of their revenues.

Gen. 21. 12. 2. Kings 4. 50.

Prov. 31. 1.

3. You

3. You may obſerve in this *Jezabel*, that as ſhe was *Nobly*-born, *well* bred, and *very* witty, ſo ſhe was alſo very *wicked*; for ſhe cauſed the Elders of *Jezreel* to become the wicked *murderers* of innocent *Naboth*; ſhe cut off the *Prophets* of the Lord, and fed 400. *falſe* Prophets at her own Table; and ſhe vowed to be the death of *Elias*, and made a *wicked* King to become far *more* wicked by her continuall *inſtigation* of him to wickedneſs; and therefore ſhe was a *very wicked* woman, and the more *inabled* to be wicked, becauſe ſhe was ſo *Noble* and ſo *Witty*; when as there is no wickedneſs ſo *great* and ſo *unavoydable*, as *armed wickedneſs*, which is invented by *Subtilty*, perpetrated by *Power*, and defended by *Authority*; for, as *Non niſi ex magnis ingeniis magni errores*, Great Hereſies never ſpring from *mean* Schollers; and *great* oppreſſions, could never be acted by *petty* Landlords or *mean* Gentlemen; ſo *Jezabel* could never have gotten *Naboth's* Vineyard, if ſhe had not had the *wit*, to device this plot, and the *learning* to write theſe letters; for ſo the Text ſaith, *That ſhe wrote letters in Ahabs name*; and the *power*, as being King *Ahabs* wife, to ſeal them with *his ſeal*, and ſend them, as from him, to the *Nobles* and *Elders*, to execute her *wicked* will; neither could ſhe have *maintained* 400. falſe Prophets at her own Table, if ſhe had not had the *wealth* and power for to do it; and ſo, if *Irene* had not been an *Empreſs*, ſhe had never perſwaded a *whole Council*, to ſet up the worſhipping of Images.

3. *Jezabel* was a very wicked woman.

1 King. 21. 8.

1 King 18. 4.

verſ. 19.

And how inabled to be wicked.

1 King. 21. 8.

And therefore *great* Schollers ought *earneſtly* to beg, and to pray to God for *grace*, to ſanctify their learning, that they may be retained within the *ſphere* of truth, and not to ſtart aſide like *Arius*, *Eutyches*, *Neſtorius*, and the like *learned* Hereticks, that thought ſo *well* of themſelves, that they diſdained to walk in the *troden* paths of *Orthodoxall* Divinity, and therefore invented moſt *wicked* Hereſies, and ſo, as the Lord ſaith of proud *Babylon*, their *Wiſdom and their knowledge cauſed them to fall*; which hath been the *practice* of our *Presbyterians* and *Jeſuits* in theſe very daies.

And in like manner, *Kings* and *Princes*, *Magiſtrates* and *Judges*, *Landlords* and *Great* men, ought to be very *carefull* of their actions, and *more* carefull then any other men, that are of a *lower* ſtation; becauſe they are more *inabled*, to do *more* wickedneſs. For if a *mean* man wrong me, I may perchance be able to *right* my ſelf; but if a *Judge* decree againſt me, or a *mighty* man oppreſs me, I muſt with *patience* be reſolved to *bear* it, or, by *ſtrugling*, in all likelihood to be much *more* damnified; And the Devill laboureth *more*, to get a ſubtile *Scotus*, or a learned *Origen*, to become an *Heretick*, a powerfull *Nero* to become a *Tyrant*, and an *Aſſembly* of Senators, and a choiſe *Parliament* to become *Rebels*, and to bandy againſt their *King*, (as the Senators of *Rome* conſpired the death of *Cæſar*, and the Jewiſh *Sanhedrim* the death of Chriſt; and the grave *Judges* to become ſuch *Judaſſes* as to ſell the *Truth*; or, like the Judges of *Suſanna*, to condemn the *Innocent*; and the *rich* Landlords to turn miſerable *Oppreſſors*); I ſay, the Devill laboureth *more*, and rejoyceth more to have *one* ſuch, than twenty other *poor* Snakes, that want the abilities of *Wit*, *Learning*, *Power*, and *Authority* to become his *Inſtruments* of wickedneſs: And therefore, I ſay to all *ſuch* men of *good* parts and *great* power, as the Prophet ſaith, for the ſame cauſe, *Be wiſe now therefore, O ye Kings*; be *Learned, all ye that are the Judges of the Earth*: And do you follow the *known common troden path of truth* all you that are good Schollers; And ſo much for the *ſpeaker Jezabel* that was a *noble*, *witty*, and *wicked* woman.

Pſal. 2.

2. For the *Speech* of this *wicked*-wicked woman, it is a moſt *Excellent Speech*, worthy to be ſet in Letters of Gold, *inter dicta ſapientum*, among the *Aphoriſms* or *Parables* of the wiſe; As I ſhall make it manifeſt unto you, when I come to explain the ſame; In the *interim*, you may obſerve, How that many *wicked* men, and *wicked* women, *Hereticks* and *Tyrants*, have had many

2. The ſpeech of *Jezabel*.

many times ſome *Excellent* ſayings, and ſometimes moſt *worthy* Acts have proceeded from them; As the *Papiſts* and *Presbyterians* have made many *good Sermons*; and written many *Excellent Books* and *Treatiſes* of Divinity full of *Learning*, and great Piety; and who better then *Bellarmine*, his Meditations upon his *Gemitus columbæ*, *Soliloquies*, *De aſcenſione animi in cœlum per ſcalas rerum creatarum*, &c, *Septem verba Chriſti in cruce*. And his Comments upon the Pſalms, and the like. And ſo *Ferus*, *Granatenſis*, *Drexelius*, and many more have done the like; and we find divers others that have been *great* Hereticks, to have done ſo likewiſe.

How many wicked men have ſaid and done many things well.

And in like manner, we do read that many *wicked* men have done ſome *ſpeciall Acts* of Virtue and Piety; As *Herod*, that ſought the *Life* of Chriſt, yet did he, as *Joſephus* relates it, moſt *Magnificently* re-edify and beautify the *Temple* of the Lord in *Jeruſalem*; and the other *Herod*, the husband of *Herodias* hearkened to *John Baptiſt* in many things; and *Pilate*, that condemned Chriſt to death, did *many* things exceeding well, as in the ſtrict examination of Chriſt his *Cauſe*, and juſtifying his *Innocency*, when he delivered him to be Crucified; and *Claudius Liſias*, though he would not releaſe S. *Paul* from his bands, yet he preſerved his *Life*, and delivered him out of the hands of his enemies; and the *unrighteous* Judge, that as our Saviour ſaith, *feared not God*, neither *regarded man*; yet, did he once *juſtice* to the importunate Widow; and *Am. Marcellinus* tels us, that even *Julian* the *Apoſtate*, and the *bittereſt* perſecutor of the Chriſtians, was adorned with many *ſingular* properties, as being an *Excellent* Schollar, bred in *Athens*, at the ſame time, with *Greg. Nazian*: and writing many *Epiſtles*, *Orations*, and *Morall* ſayings, and behaving himſelf moſt *mildly* and *courteouſly* towards all men but the *Chriſtians*; and ſo we read that *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and many *others* of the *Roman* Emperors, had many *good* parts in them, and did many *ſingular* acts of Virtue, though they were *no Chriſtians*, but ſome of them very *Evill* men, and great *perſecutors* of the Chriſtians; And I could inſtance in many *Tyrants*, and other great *Oppreſſors* of Gods people, and wicked men, even in our own *Kingdom*, that have done *ſome* Acts of *Virtue* and *Piety*; And I could *name* you the men, that have been very *Turbulent* in Gods Church, and *miſ-led* abundance of the people; and yet have made ſome *good Sermons*, and written ſome *good Treatiſes* of Divinity: And what then? Shall we therefore *adore* them, and follow them in their *factions* and *evill* waies; becauſe they *do* or have done *ſome* good? By no means: For, as thou ſhouldeſt not drink the *Wine*, that is mingled with ſome *Poiſon*, though the *Wine* be never ſo *good*; ſo it is not *ſafe* for thee, to hear that *Sermon* that leads thee to *Sedition*, though *moſt* of it ſeems never ſo *Pious*, and the Preacher never ſo *Honeſt*; And as *one* vicious Act, doth not *preſently* give the denomination of a *wicked* man, to any one; as, to be *once* drunk with *Lot*, doth not make a man to be ſtiled a *drunkard*, as *Ariſtotle* truly ſaith; *Quia ſemel inſanivimus omnes*; becauſe there is no man *living*, but he may *ſometimes* fall; So *one* virtuous Act, doth not make a man *Vertuous*; one *wiſe* word, doth not prove the ſpeaker to be a *wiſe man*; and one *Act* of Piety, whether it be to hear *Sermons*, or to *Faſt*, or to erect an *Hoſpitall*, or the like, doth not make a *Religious* man; But a *good man* muſt have the *habit* of *well doing*, and a Godly *Religious* man muſt have reſpect unto *all* Gods *Commandments*, and, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *By continuance in well doing ſeek Glory, Honor, and Immortality.*

Luk. 18 5.

And therefore the *Judge*, that would be deemed a *juſt* Judge, muſt not only *once* or *twice* do juſtice, but he muſt *conſtantly* adminiſter juſtice unto all; and not only unto *equals*, as many of them *many times* will do, but alſo to the *pooreſt* and *meaneſt* men, againſt the *Richeſt* and *Nobleſt* Perſons, wherein the *timerous* and corrupt *covetous* Judges *often* fail; And the *Preacher*, that

that deſires to be a *faithfull* Miniſter of Chriſt, muſt not only, like thoſe *Landlords*, that require *much* and *many* ſervices from their Tenants, and then beſtow a *dinner* upon them *once* a year, beſtow a *Sermon* or two upon his *Flock*, when he comes to receive his *Payments*, and to ſet his *Tythes*; but, as the Apoſtle ſaith, he muſt Preach *In ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*, *Volentibus & Nolentibus*, upon all occaſions, at all times, in all places, and to all Perſons, that will hear him; And not only *ſome* of his Sermon muſt be *good*, and the reſt *factious* and *Seditious*; but they muſt be *all Pious*, for the edifying of Gods *people*, and *peaceable* for the quieting of Gods *Church*: Or elſe one *Seditious* Sermon may do *more* evill, than twenty of his *beſt* Sermons may do good; but we ſhould all Preach the Doctrine of *Charity* and *Unity*, that, as there is but *one God*, *one Faith*, *one Baptiſm*, *one Chriſt*, *and one Church*, here on earth. So there ſhould be but one and the ſame *Doctrine*, and one and the ſame *Diſcipline* in the Church of Chriſt. And ſo he that would be accounted a *Charitable* man, muſt not *only* beſtow his *alms* to one or two; but, as the Scripture ſaith, he ought to do *good unto all men*, and ſpecially to them that are *of the houſhold of Faith*; for ſo the Lord commandeth us, *Give alms of thy goods, and never turn thy face from any man*, i.e. any man, that *wants* thy help, and then *The face of the Lord ſhall not be turned away from thee*; becauſe, as I ſaid, it is not any *one Act* of goodneſs, but a *Continuance in well doing*, that doth pleaſe the Lord, and gives the denomination of a good man. And ſo you ſee, how a *wicked* man, or a *wicked* woman may have ſome *good* ſpeeches, and do *ſome* good Acts, and yet be no *good* man, nor *good* woman.

But now for the *ſubſtance* of this Speech of *Jezabel*, we may obſerve therein;

1. *Two Perſons.*
2. *Two things.*

1. The *Perſons* are *Elah* the ſon of *Baaſha*, and *Zimry*, Captains of half his Charets; a Maſter and a ſervant; a *King*, and a *ſubject* that after became a *King* himſelf.

2. The *things*, that are mentioned in this ſhort ſpeech, are

1. *Murder*, the *worſt* of all the injuries, that can be *offered* to any man.

2. *Peace*, the *beſt* of all the bleſſings, that this world can *afford* unto men.

So you ſee this *Text* is the Tragedy of two Kings, and Treateth of two of the *greateſt* and *rareſt* things under Heaven; the one *Poſitive*, the greateſt *Evil*, that can be done to man, which is *murder*: The other *Privative*, the want of the greateſt *good*, that the earth can *afford* unto men, which is *Peace*; for ſo, the Phraſe doth not only *ſimply* avouch, that *Zimri*, having *ſlain* his Maſter, could not have *Peace*; but it doth moſt *forcibly* infer, that having done ſuch a *wicked* Act, it was *impoſſible* for him to have peace; becauſe an *Interrogation* is the moſt *forcible*, vehement and *ſignificant* expreſſion, either of *Negatives* or *Affirmatives* that any Orator can uſe, *aſcertaining* the thing far more *Energetically* then could be done by any *plain* and ſimple aſſertion.

And now, let us, by Gods aſſiſtance, Treat of *theſe Parties*, and *Parts* in their order. And

1. *Elah* was the King of *Iſrael*, and the ſon of a King of *Iſrael*, the ſon of *Baaſha*, that had Raigned 24. years in *Tyrza*, and himſelf two years, in the ſame *Kingdom*, and in the ſame *City*; and therefore in all reaſon, he ſhould either have been *ſooner* dethroned, or *now*, to have been continued; eſpecially conſidering his *Title* was juſt, he was no *Uſurper*, and his *rule* was not *Tyrannicall*: neither do we read of any *great* miſdemeanour of this King; ſave only that *he walked in the waies of his Father*, and that he was 1. Perſon is *Elah.*

1 Kings 16. 9. *drinking* himſelf *drunk* in the houſe of *Arza*, that was his Steward. Where you may obſerve theſe two things.

1: Not to follow our fathers evil wayes. Ezech. 20.18.

1. That we ought not, *to walk in the wayes of our fathers*, when our fathers walk not *in the wayes of God*: but as the Prophet *Ezechiel* ſaith, *Walk yon not in the ſtatutes of your fathers, nor defile your ſelves by walking in their waies.*

And therefore, if your *fathers* have *unjuſtly* taken away the *Lands* and Poſſeſſions of the *Church*, or of *any one* elſe, do not you *continue* in their wayes, and perpetuate the *wrongs* that they have done; leſt God will *deſtroy* you, as he deſtroyed *Elah*, for *walking* in the wayes of his father: for if your *fathers* have *killed* the Prophets, and you garniſh their *Tombs*; if the *Uſurpers* have taken away our *lands*, and you ſtill detain them, as you do; Which is *better*, or which *worſe*, to us, judge your ſelves?

2. The bitter fruits of ſweet drunkenneſs.

2. You may from hence obſerve, the *fruits* of Drunkenneſs, which hath undone many *famous* men; as ſome in their drink, have *fallen* off from their horſes, and ſo brake their *limbs*, and ſome their *necks*; others fell into the *waters*, and were *drowned*; and others into *quarrels* and were *killed*. *Noah*, though a righteous man, yet by his *drunkenneſs* diſcovered his *nakedneſs*, and thereby occaſioned his *ſon*, which he ſhould not have done, to *deride* his father's folly; and for this his *great* impiety, to bring an inevitable *curſe* upon himſelf, and upon all his *poſterity*: a moſt *fearful* fruite, all ſpringing from this bitter *root* of ſweet drunkenneſs. So *Lot*, being drunk, lay with *both* his own daughters, of whom ſprang thoſe two *ungodly* Generations, of the *Moabites*, and the *Amonites*. And ſo did *Armitus* and *Ciranippus*, the *Syracuſians*, as *Plutarch* ſaith *l. 2. c. 31.*

Gen. 9. 25.

Plutarch.

And *Alexander* the Great, was ſo addicted to this *vice*, that many times, in his *drink*, he ſlew his *deareſt* friends, as *Clitus* and others that we read of in *Q. Curtius*; and making a Supper, on a time for his Captains, he propounded a *Crown* to him, that could drink *moſt*; and one *Promocbus* drank 5. gallons of wine, but died within three dayes after, and 41. more; and ſo his *Crown* did him no *credit*. And *Belſhazar*, the ſon of the Great *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, drinking and quaffing in the *Veſſels* that his father took from the *Houſe* of God, eſpied the *hand*-writing upon the *wall*, that his *kingdom ſhould be taken from him*, and given to the *Medes and Perſians*. And many men, in theſe dayes, drink away their *Lands*, their *Monies*, their *Wits*, and all that they have. And therefore moſt *wiſely* doth the Mother of King *Lemuel* ſay, *It is not for Kings, O* Lemuel, *it is not for Kings to drink wine, nor for Princes to drink ſtrong drink.* And the ſon of *Syrach* ſaith, *Shew not thy valour in wine, for wine hath deſtroyed many.* As here, King *Elah* was deſtroyed in his *wine*. And *Pliny* the younger ſaith, that *Antiochus* was killed at a *Banquet*, by his own *Minions*; becauſe he would have *forced* them to drink beyond their *abilities*, and againſt their wills. And S. *Auguſtine* writes, that one *Cyrillus*, a Citizen of *Hippo*, had an *ungracious* ſon, that in the midſt of his *drunkenneſs*, killed his own *mother* great with child, and his *father* that ſought to reſtrain his fury, and would have *raviſhed* his *ſiſter*, had not ſhe *eſcaped* from him, with many wounds. And *Euſebius* writeth, that the Emperour *Maximinus* was ſo *often* deeply plunged in *drunkenneſs*, that he became many times ſo *mad*, that in his *drunken* madneſs, he commanded *many* things to be done, which he *greatly* repented of, when he became *ſober* again: and no marvel; for *temulentia*, ſignifieth a *voluntary* madneſs, and *wine* is termed, *temetum, quia tentat mentem*, it ſhaketh the *minde*, and deſtroyeth the *ſenſes*; as it appeareth by that *notable* Story, which *Athenæus* writeth, of certain *young* men, that drank ſo *much*, that they verily *believed*, they were ſailing in a *Gally*, and ſo toſſed with the *winds*, that they *threw* all things in the *Chamber* out at the window, as Mariners uſe to throw their *ladings* over-board, in a *Tempeſt*; whereupon

Valued worth 600. crowns.

Dan. 5. 2, 3, 4, 5.

Prov. 31. 4.

Eccleſ. 31. 25.

Plin. de viris illuſt. c. 14.

Aug. de. 10. Ser. 33.

Ut citatur à Beard p. 491.

Euſeb. hiſt. l. 8. c. 16.

The notable Story of ſome young Drunkards, out of *Athenæus*.

Athenæus l. 2.

ſome

ſome *Captains*, ſeeing the ſame, came in unto them, and finding them extreamly *vomiting*, asked, What they ayled? who anſwered, That they were *Sea-ſick*, and the ſtorm *forced* them, to throw all *their goods* into the Sea; and becauſe they ſuppoſed thoſe *Captains* to be *Tritons*, or Sea-gods, they ſaid, That if they would *help* them at this time, to arrive ſafe to *land*, they would honour them for their *Saviours* ever after: ſuch *madneſs* is in drunkenneſs. And *Gregorius Turonenſis* ſaith, that *Attila*, which was called, *The ſcourge of god*, having married a Wife of *excellent* beauty, and having well *carowſed*, on his Marriage day, fell at night into ſo *dead* a ſleep, that lying upon his *back*, the blood that *uſually* iſſued at his noſtrils, deſcended into his *throat*, and *ſtrangled* him: and ſo indeed, *Drunkenneſs* hath *deſtroyed* many more.

And yet *Elah* would not follow the *counſel* of King *Lemuels* Mother, which might perhaps, have ſaved his *life*; and therefore *Zimri* takes this occaſion, to conſpire his *death*. So I come to the *ſecond* Perſon mentioned in this Text, which is *Zimri*.

2. This *Zimri* was { 1. King *Elah*'s *ſubject*. 2. King *Elah*'s *ſervant*. 3. A *ſervant* in an honourable place. } Second perſon is *Zimri*.

1. *Elah* was *Zimri*'s King, and *Zimri* was *Elah's* ſubject; and the *Spirit* of God ſets down, what honour is due unto our King, when he counſelleth us *to keep the Kings commandment*; or, as the phraſe imports, *to obſerve the mouth of the King:* and that in regard of the *oath of God*, i.e. the *ſolemn vow*, which thou madeſt, at thine incorporation into Gods *Church*, to obey all the *Precepts* of God, whereof this is one, *To fear God, and to honour the King*; or elſe the *oath* of alleageance and *fidelity*, which the *ſubject* makes unto his *King*, in the preſence and with the approbation of God, who will moſt certainly plague all *perjurers*, that *take his Name in vain*. And ſo the ſame Spirit of God, hath impriſoned and *chained* up, our very *thoughts*, *words*, and *works*, in the links of the *ſtricteſt* prohibition, that they ſhould no way *peep* forth to produce the *leaſt* diſhonour unto our King. For 1. A ſubject. Eccleſ. 8. 2. How ſtraightly God prohibiteth the ſubject to offer the leaſt diſhonour unto his King.

1. He ſaith, *Curſe not the King, no not in thy thought*; *i.e.* Think not any *ill*, nor to do any *evil* unto thy *King*; and therefore the very *thought* of Treaſon was adjudged, by the Court of *France*, to be *Treaſon*; and he that confeſt unto his *Prieſt*, that he once thought to *kill* the King, but afterwards, repenting him of his *intention*, he utterly abandoned the *execution*; yet he was executed for that very *thought*. Eccleſ. 10. 20.

2. The ſame *Spirit* ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods*; *i. e.* the *Judges* of the Land; nor *curſe*, that is, in S. *Paul*'s phraſe, *ſpeak evil of the Ruler of the people*. And ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς.

3. The Lord of Hoſts gives this *peremptory* charge to every ſubject, *Touch not mine Annointed*, which is the *leaſt* indignity that may be, and yet may not be done to our *King*, by any means. And therefore *Davids* heart ſmote him, when he did but cut off the *lap* of *Saul*'s garment. Pſal. 105. 15. 1 Sam. 24. 4, 5.

And therefore it appears, that *Zimri* had no *fear of God*, no regard of his *Laws*, nor any *thought* of his favour, when he foſtered ſo *vile* a thought, and committed ſo *horrible* an act, as to *kill* his *King*.

But is that ſo *tranſcendent* a ſin, for a *ſubject* to kill his *King?* What if the King proves a *Tyrant*, or an *Heretick*, or elſe, ſeeks the ruine of his *ſubjects*, may not the ſubjects then, in ſuch a caſe, kill *ſuch* a King? Look into the 9. ſeveral *Speeches*, delivered at a *Conference*, concerning the power of Parliament, to proceed againſt their *King* for miſgovernment; and there you ſhall find many *examples* of ſubjects, that have *depoſed*, and *killed* their Kings, when their *Kings*, deſerved the ſame: and therefore *Zimri* may be excuſed, if King *Elah* deſerved to be *killed*. *Queſt.*

I anſwer, that *many* Kings indeed, have proved very *wicked*, and have *juſtly* *Anſw.*

juſtly deſerved ſome ſevere cenſure, but from *God*, not from their *ſubjects*; we need not go far for proof hereof: but if we may believe Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, our own King *Henry* the Eight was bad enough, and might be numbered *inter peſſimos*, being an *Adulterer*, a *Tyrant*, and a *Sacrilegious* King, that neither ſpared man in his *fury*, nor woman in his *luſt*; and yet this Kingdom then, had never a *Zimri* in it, to take away his *life* for all his wickedneſs. And *Bodin* ſaith, the moſt *learned* Divines are of opinion, that it is ſo far from being *lawful*, for ſubjects to *kill* their King, under colour of *Tyranny*, that they are expreſſely *forbidden*, to ſpeak *ill* of them. And *Peter Martyr* ſaith, that *Religious David* made no doubt, but that King *Saul* was a *Tyrant*, yet he *abſtained* from *killing* him, when he might moſt *eaſily* do it; becauſe he ſaw that he could not *lawfully* do it: and if it was not *lawful* for him, that was, by God's *appointment*, and the *miniſtery* of God's Prophet *Samuel* annointed to be King after him; then *ſurely* no *other* man might have done it. And *Camerarius* demands, if there could be a *worſe* Prince than *Nero*? and yet, ſaith he, The Apoſtles, S. *Paul*, and S. *Peter*, are ſo far from adviſing the Chriſtians to *conſpire* againſt him, as they command them, to uſe all obedience to him; and that not for *fear* only, but alſo for *conſcience ſake*. And S. *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, That *Theodoſius* deſtroyed *Theſſalonica*, and ſpared neither *Sex* nor *Age*, neither *young* nor *old*, man nor woman, but took upon him ſo much as he *liſted*, to ſatisfie his own *furious* will; and yet howſoever, *parendum eſt*, obedience muſt be given him, ſaith this holy father.

Bodinus de repub. l. 2. c. 5.

Not to reſiſt our King, though he ſhould be a Tyrant.

Peter Martyr in 1 Sam c. 26.

Camer. l. 2. c. 10.

Chryſoſt. in Epiſt. ad Theſſal.

And if the King becomes an *Idolater*, and doth with *Manaſſes* command his ſubjects, to worſhip *Idols*; as *Hen.* 8. commanded the obſervation of the 6. *Articles*, wherein they were to adore the *Breaden* god; yet in this caſe, no *Zimri* ſhould preſume to *kill* his King: but the rule of the Apoſtles ought to be followed, *to obey God, rather than man*, and not to do what God *forbids*, though the King *command* it to be done; yet no wayes to take *armes* againſt him, but to follow the examples of the *Saints* and *Martyrs* of God, rather to ſuffer *death*, than to offer any *reſiſtance*, and whatſoever becomes of our *bodies*, to poſſeſſe our *ſouls* in *patience*, ſaith *Camerarius*.

Not to reſiſt our King, though he ſhould be an Idolater.

Ut ſupra.

And though the King ſhould prove a wicked *Heretick*, yet we muſt not riſe againſt him, ſaith the ſame Author; but with the weapons of *prayer*, deſire of God, to *convert* him; for ſo the *true* Chriſtians followed the Emperour *Conſtantius*, that was an *Arian*, and they followed *Julian* the *Apoſtata*, in his wars and *expeditions*, though they were never ſo *far*; and never intended to *rebel* againſt him.

Not to reſiſt our King, though he ſhould be an Heretick.

And, as the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* were of this opinion, that it is not *lawful*, in any caſe, for *any* ſubject to *kill* his King; So the *Gentiles* alſo ſeem to be of the *ſame* mind; for when the Jews cryed, to have our Saviour *crucified*, *Pilate* demands of them, *Shall I crucifie your King?* as if he ſhould have ſaid, *What?* was there ever *ſuch* a Nation, ſo wicked, and ſo *abominable* before God and all good men, as to deſire to *crucifie* their King? Why? this *deſire* ſeemeth, not only *ſtrange*, and admirable, but alſo *abominable*, and ſo *incredible* unto me, that you ſhould in good *earneſt*, deſire to crucifie your *King*: and it ſeems by their *anſwer* to this queſtion of *Pilate*, that they *rightly* apprehended his mind, and did alſo approve his *ſenſe*, that for *any* Nation or People to deſire to crucifie their *King*, was moſt *abominable* and wicked; and therefore they abſolutely *deny*, that they were his *ſubjects*, and ſay, *We have no King but Cæſar*: For

The Jews confeſs that no Nation ſhould deſire to be the death of their King.

They were not ignorant, how the heathens honoured their Kings, and how the *Egyptians*, whoſe manners they knew *well* enough, did bear ſo much good will and *love* unto their Kings, that, as *Boemus Aubanus* ſaith, *Non ſolum ſacerdotibus; ſed etiam ſingulis Ægyptiis major regis quam uxorum filiorumque aut aliorum principum ſalutis ineſſet cura*: and *Oſorius* ſaith, *Perſæ quidem aliquid*

Aubanus de Africa l. 1. p. 39. *Oſor. de inſtit. regis* l. 4. p. 106.

aliquid cœleſte atque divinum in regibus ineſſe ſtatuebant; and Q. *Curtius* tells us, that the *Perſians* had ſuch a divine eſtimation of their King, and bore ſo much *love* unto him, that *Alexander* could not perſwade them, either for *fear* or *reward*, to tell him whither their King was gone, or to reveal *any* of his intentions, or to do any other thing, that might any wayes prejudice the *life* or the *affaires* of their King; and *Herodotus* ſaith, that when *Xerxes* fled from *Greece*, in a veſſel that was ſo *full* of men of war, that it was impoſſible for him to be ſaved, without caſting *ſome part* of them into the Sea; he ſaid unto them, *O ye men of* Perſia, *let ſome among you teſtifie that he hath care of his* King, whoſe ſafety is in your diſpoſition. Then the *Nobility*, which accompanied him, having *adored* him, did caſt *themſelves* into the ſea, till the veſſell was *unburthened*, and ſo the *King* preſerved. And *Juſtin* tells us, that the *Sicilians* did bear ſo great a reſpect unto the laſt Will and *Teſtament* of *Anaxilaus*, their deceaſed King; that they diſdained not to obey a *ſlave*, whom he had appointed *Regent*, during the minority of his ſon. And *Plutarch* ſaith, that when certain men came to *Tyribaſtus* to have taken him, he defended himſelf ſo *ſtoutly*, that they were not able to come *near* him; but when the apprehenders ſaid, They came from the *King*, he had ſuch a reverent reſpect unto his *Majeſty*, that he *preſently* laid down his Cimiter, and yielded himſelf unto them.

Juſtin. l. 4.

Plut. *de ſuperſtit.*

And for the *Examples* and Precedents, that thoſe *learned* Orators do produce, at the conference, to ſhew how divers kingdomes, as *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and many more, have caſt off *ſome Kings*, whom they diſliked: and put to *death* ſome others, that had *deſerved* it.

I anſwer, that I have read all *the nine Speeches* over and over, and am ſorry that *learned* men, which have read ſo many *Hiſtories*, both domeſtick and forreign, ſhould, like the *Spider*, ſuck the *poyſonous* examples of thoſe books and alledge them for *imitation* in ſuch *tranſcendent* impiety; and I am more ſorry, that they ſhould *paſſe* at a conference of men, that were choſen of their Country for moſt *grave* and wiſe, and did profeſſe themſelves moſt *religious*, without a ſupercilious and a *plenary* anſwer, which they might very *briefly* do, and with a leſſe then the *tenth part* of the pains, theſe Oratours, or *Lawyers*, if they were ſuch (for *divines* I am ſure they were no.) took to gather thoſe *evill* examples, to *evill ends*; for we are to live by *Lawes* and not by *Examples*; and eſpecially by the *Lawes* of God, or otherwiſe, you may *live* as you *liſt*, and you may do whatſoever you pleaſe; for if a *King* means to play the *Tyrant*, he may have *examples* enough to juſtifie his *Tyranny*; if he be an adulterer, he may alledge King *David*, that was *a man according to Gods own heart*; and 100. more, that did commit *adultery*; and if thou pleaſeſt to be a *drunkard*, thou haſt the examples of *righteous Noah* and of *Lot*, and 1000. more, that may *juſtifie* thee, for being drunk; or, to be brief, if thou wouldſt be an *oppreſſor*, or a *robber*, and a *Rebel*, and a *Traytor*, to depoſe thy King, or to *kill* him, thou haſt a *Jeroboam*, and a *Zimri*, and *Jehu* too, though he had a *ſpeciall* warrant for it, and an infinite other examples, that may be produced to ſhelter thee from *blame*, for committing the greateſt *Treaſon*, or any other *execrable* villanie, if the producing of *examples*, might ſerve the turn.

That we are to live by Lawes, and not by examples.

But the *truth* is, whatſoever *other* men, whatſoever *Councils*, Kingdoms, or *Commonwealths* have done, contrary to the will and *Lawes* of God, we ought not to *imitate* them therein; becauſe their *Examples* be no excuſe for us, that ſhould have recourſe *to the Law, and to the Teſtimony*, as the Prophet ſpeaketh, to *direct* us, what we ought to do.

Eſay 8.20.

And therefore no *Precedents*, no *Examples* in the world, though you ſhould produce ten thouſands of them, can excuſe *Zimri*, nor any other *Zimries* in the whole Univerſe, for killing their *King*; but

3. Here is another *relation* betwixt *Ela* and *Zimri*, that ſhould more *ſtrictlie*

2. A Servant

ly have tyed and ingaged *Zimri*, to be true and *faithful* unto *Elah*; for he was his *ſervant*, and his *menial* ſervant in ordinary, which all other *ſubjects* could not be; and this is *rightly* obſerved by *Jezabel*; and therefore ſhe ſaith not, *Had Zimri peace that ſlew his King?* but, *Had Zimri peace that ſlew his Maſter?* And a *Maſter* that gives meat, drink, and wages, means and maintenance unto his *ſervant*, is *loco parentis*, inſtead of a *Father* unto him, and therefore he ſhould be reſpected and *honoured* of his ſervant, next unto his *Father*; and we find that many true and *faithful* ſervants have *done ſo* indeed: for I remember I read it in *Appian*, that when *Scipio* had gained *Carthage*, or ſome other *opulent* Town, he gave a *ſtrict* charge that *none* of the Citizens, upon pain of *death*, ſhould hide any of the *wealth* or treaſure of that rich City; yet *one* of the wealthieſt Merchants, having a great ſtore of *Gold* and ineſtimable *Jewels*, hid a great deal thereof, ſo *ſecretly*, that no man could find it, but the *Servant* that helped him to hide it; and that *Servant*, like a falſe *Judas*, went and revealed it to the *General*; who making a *ſtrict* ſearch for the Merchant, *another* of the Merchants ſervants, ſeeing how his Maſter, if he were taken, ſhould be condemned to *death* for that fact, goeth unto *Scipio*, and proteſteth unto him, that it was he which did hide that *treaſure*, altogether *unknown* unto his Maſter; and therefore deſired, that his *innocent* Maſter might be *freed*, and let him lay what puniſhment he pleaſed upon *himſelf*, that had offended; but the *other ſervant* ſtood ſtiffely to his *former* accuſation, that it was his *Maſter*, and not the *Servant*, that had hid it; then *Scipio* would needs find out the *Merchant*, who being found, confeſt the *truth*, that he *himſelf*, with the help of his accuſer, had conveyed away that treaſure, and that altogether unknown to his other ſervant, who to preſerve his *Maſter*, was ſo *ready* to ſacrifice his *own* life; whereupon *Scipio* like a brave Commander, and a *Heroick* indeed, ſeeing the *fidelity* of the *one* ſervant, and the treachery of the *other*; pardons the *Maſter* for his faithfull ſervants ſake, and puts the *accuſer* to death for his treacherie and infidelity; and we read of many other ſervants that have ſo *dearly* loved, and been ſo *truly* faithful unto their Maſters, that they have hazarded their own *lives*, to ſave their *Maſters*; as you may read the ſervants of King *David* have done, and as it is recorded, that *Mauricius* Duke of *Saxony*, being in a battle thrown to the *ground*, his *ſervant* caſting *himſelf* upon him, *covered* him, and ſo defended him from his *enemies*, untill he was reſcued by his *friends*; and ſo with his *own death*, he ſaved his Maſters *life*. And it is written of *Eros* ſervant to *Antonius*, that when his Maſter was overcome by *Auguſtus*, and would have him to diſpatch his life, he drew his *ſword* and killed *himſelf*, rather then he would kill his *Maſter*: for as a *Maſter*, next to his own *children*, is to reſpect, provide, & care for his *ſervants* above all other *friends* or kinsfolks whatſoever; according to the ſaying of the *wiſe* man, *Haſt thou a faithful ſervant, let him be unto thee as thine own ſoul*; ſo the *ſervant*, next to his *Father* and Mother, ought to honour, and to preſerve his *Maſter* before all other men whatſoever.

I cannot well remember where.

An excellent ſtory of a moſt faithful ſervant.

And therefore *Zimri* can no waies be thought any other, than a moſt *Villanous* Traytor, to ſlay his *Maſter*, worſe then *Ditalcon*, and *Minuro*, that were corrupted by *Capio*, to kill their Maſter *Viriatus*, that brave *Spaniard*, that gave work enough to the *Romans* eight years together: Eſpecially if we do conſider.

Appian. p. 112. Of the Roman wars with the *Spaniard.*

3. *Qualis ſervitus*, in what manner of ſervice he was under his Maſter *Elah*; for though the *Romans* and many others, uſed moſt of their *ſervants*, that were their ſlaves, like *dogs*, which produced that proverb, Of ſo many *ſervants*, ſo many *enemies*; which ever *feared*, but never *loved* their Maſters, as the *Romans* found it moſt *true*, to their coſt, when they made the *ſervile War*, that proved ſo *hazardous* unto them; Yet, *Elah* did not ſo

3. A ſervaut in an honourable ſervice.

with

with *Zimri*, but he preferred him to a very *honorable* place, and made him *Captain of half his Charrets*, and ſo a *Maſter*, to keep many *ſervants* under him, as you ſee all Captains have; and therefore for a ſervant to kill *ſuch* a Maſter, that had *thus* advanced his ſervant, is a note, *beyond Elah*, and doth exceedingly *aggravate* the offence of *Zimri*, and makes it to aſcend *higher* and *higher*, or rather to deſcend *lower* and *lower*, even to the bottomleſs pit of hell; To commit *murder*, as *hainous* as any murder can be, to kill his *King*, his *Maſter*; and a *Maſter*, that was ſo *loving*, and had ſo *honorably* preferred him; which was a three fold cord, to bind him in *Obedience*, but is ſoon ſnapt aſunder, by this wicked *Traytor*, that was a Traytor, juſt like *Judas*, of whom the Prophet, in the perſon of Chriſt, ſaith, *If it had been an open enemy that had done me this diſhonor, I could well have born it, but it was thou, my companion, and mine own familiar friend*, my diſciple, mine Apoſtle, my Servant, and my *Purſe-bearer*; and for *thee*, to betray thy *Maſter*, it is a Treaſon, *beyond* all Treaſon; and a murder more *execreble* then any murder; becauſe that, beſides their *malice* towards their Maſters, ſuch ſervants, as *Judas* and this *Zimri* were, do ſhew themſelves repleniſhed with *ingratitude*, to render ſo *much evil* to them, that have done ſo *much good* to them, which is a *monſter* in nature, and a ſin moſt *odious* amongſt the Heathens, whoſe proverb was, *Ingratum ſi dixeris, omnia dixeris*; and therefore, though there is no *vice* in the World, which hath not room and *entertainment* in ſome Kingdom or other, as *Pride* among the *Babylonians*, *Envy* among the *Jews*, *Anger* among the *Thebans*, *Covetouſneſs* among the *Tyrians*, *Gluttony* among the *Sidonians*, *Lying* among the *Cretians*, *Witch-craft* in *Theſſaly*, *Magick* in *Egypt*, and other ſins ſo well *known*, that I need not *name* them, in *Germany*, *France*, *England*, and *Ireland*; yet *ingratitude* is ſuch a ſin, that no *Countrey* will willingly receive it, nor any man *own* it, or entertain it into his *houſe*; for, though thy ſelf ſhouldſt be as *ingratefull* to thy neighbour, as *Pharaohs* butler was to *Joſeph*, *Laban* to *Jacob*, *Saul* to *David*, *Joaſh* to *Jehojada*, *Demetrius* to *Jonathas*, *Auguſtus* to *Cicero*, *Carthage* to *Hannibal*, *Rome* to *Scipio*, and many more, that either *baniſhed* or *murdered* thoſe, that protected and *preſerved* them from ruine; yet, thou canſt not abide, that any man ſhould prove *ingratefull* unto thee; but having ſo well *deſerved* at his hands, thou wilt cry out, that he is *worſt* then the brute *beaſts*: as we muſt confeſs an *ingratefull* perſon is indeed, for you ſee the *dog* will love his *Maſter*, and often venture his *life* for him, for a piece of *bread*, and the very *Tygers*, *Bears*, and *Lions* will love thoſe, that *keep* them and do feed them; and they will ſhew their *thankfulnneſs* for the benefits, that they do receive; as it is manifeſt, by that, which fell to *Helpis*, the *Samian*, who, upon a certain Coaſt of *Africa*, having drawen out a *bone*, that ſtuck in a Lions *throat*, was in *recompence* of that benefit, fed and *maintained* by the Lion's hunting, ſo long as his ſhip lay at *anchor* on that *ſhore*; and that which *A. Gellius* ſaith befell to *Androdus*, a *Roman* ſlave, who, being baniſhed out of *Rome*, and wandering in a *Forreſt*, that was full of *wild* and *ſavage* Beaſts, met a *Lion*, that came *fawning* upon him, and ſhewing unto him his *Pawe*, that was wonderfully *ſore*, and ſwollen, by reaſon of a *thorn*, that was *over-head* got into it, which the ſlave *pulled out*, and ſo cured the poor *diſtreſſed* Lion, who, in *requitall* of that curteſy, accompanied him out of the Forreſt, and kept him from the *danger* of all other Beaſts; and afterwards that Lion being *taken*, and carried to *Rome*, and the ſlave, ſome *certain* years after, returning to *Rome*, was apprehended and *adjudged* to be throwen unto the *Lions*; and being caſt among the *Lions*, his cured *patient*, preſently *knew* him, and *fawning* upon him, as congratulating their *meeting*, he not only did him *no hurt*, but alſo preſerved him from *all the reſt*, that they durſt not *touch* him; and the reaſon being *known*, the ſlave was *pardoned*, and the people termed the Lion his *hoſt*; and him the

The three fold impiety of *Zimri*.

Gellius l. 5. c. 14.

the Lion's Phyſitian; And if *brute* and ſavage Beaſts were thus *gratefull* for ſome *ſmall* benefits, what *Beaſts* are they, that will deſtroy their *beſt* benefactors; and what *words* can be found fit to expreſs this *ingratitude*, that goeth beyond all other villanies? For to murder a *man* is moſt odious, as I ſhall anon ſhew unto you; but to murder a *King* is far *more* abominable; and *ſuch* a King as is our *Maſter*, and ſuch a *Maſter* as uſeth us not like *ſlaves*, but, as our Saviour ſaith, *Hence forth I call you not ſervants, but I have called you friends*, like his companions; is a ſin *moſt* abominable, and ſo far tranſcendent, beyond my capacity to expreſs it, that, as *Valerius* ſaith of *Sejanus*, He is now in *hell*, if the Devill will receive ſo *vile* a varlet, and can find out torments *ſufficient* for his deſerts: ſo will I ſay of *Zimri*, and of all ſuch *ſervants* as *ſlay* or betray their *Maſters*, I leave them *ſeriouſly* to conſider, what they have done, and *to abhorre themſelves in duſt and aſhes*, or to expect that *fearfull* judgment, that hangs over their head. And I do *exceedingly* honor the honorable Houſe of *Commons*, and do moſt *Highly* commend the *Votes* and *Orders* that I underſtand they have *made*, concerning *thoſe men*, that had any *hand* in the *death* of our late *Pious*, *Juſt*, and moſt *Gratious* King, whereby they have ſhewed themſelves to be moſt *Religious* towards God, and moſt *Loyall* toward their King.

Joh. 15. 15.

Valer. M. l. 9. c. 11.

So I have done with the *perſons* mentioned in this Text, *Elah* and *Zimri*, the *Maſter* and his ſervant.

Two Things mentioned in *Jezabels* ſpeech.

2. The *things*, mentioned in this *ſpeech* are theſe two,
   1. *Murder.*
   2. *Peace.*

1. *Murder*, the very *worſt* of all human actions.
2. *Peace*, the very *beſt* of all worldly bleſſings.

And ſo here is *Zimri's* fact, and *Zimries* puniſhment.

1. His *fact* is the ſlaying of his *Maſter* which is *Murder.*
2. His *puniſhment* is, to be deprived of all *Peace*, which is the *greateſt* puniſhment of all plagues.

1. For his *fact*, which is *murder*, before I ſpeak thereof I ſhall *humbly* intreat your Honors, and all the *reſt* of theſe Chriſtian auditors, not to *miſtake* my words, or meaning, in any *Application* thereof, otherwiſe then I mean: for in the *proſecution* of this point, I purpoſe not to touch upon *any* of thoſe, that his Majeſty hath moſt *graciouſly* pardoned, by an act of *Oblivion*, for all their former offences; nor upon any of *them*, that were ſlain in the *war*; when, as *David* ſaith, *The ſword devoureth one as well as another*, but my *diſcourſe* ſhall reach no *further*, then my Text goeth, that is, thoſe that, in cold blood, ſhall *maliciouſly* perſecute their neighbours unto *death*, as *Cain* did his brother *Abell*; and *Joab*, *Amaſa*; and thoſe, that ſhall *treacheronſly* ſlay their *Maſter*, as *Zimri* did his King, and his Maſter *Elah*. And thoſe alſo that ſhall *deliberately* and *judicially* condemn an *Innocent* perſon unto death, as the Judges of *Jezreel* did *Naboth*, and the *Jewiſh* Sanhedrim condemned their King and our Saviour Chriſt.

2 Sam 11.25.

And though the Prophet ſaith, *Conſolamini populum meum*, and the ſons of *Conſolation* are commanded *to bind up the broken hearted*, and to Preach the *glad-tidings* of the Goſpell unto the *penitent*; yet, there muſt be *Boanerges*, ſons of Thunder, to ſound out the *Alarme* of Gods judgments againſt *tranſcendent* and *impenitent* malefactors, and to lay the axe *to the root of the Tree*, to cut down *every tree, that beareth not good fruit*, and *to caſt it into the fire*. And it is the duty of every *faithfull* Steward, to give to *every* one, his *own* portion in due ſeaſon, that is, *mercy* to whom mercy belongeth, and *judgment* to whom judgment appertaineth; and not to give that *which is holy* unto dogs, or to proclaime *peace* and pardon to them, to whom the Lord profeſſeth *there is no peace*; but ſaith peremptorily, *He will not pardon them*. And therefore I hope your honorable *patience* will bear with me,

that

that, as the Prophet *David* ſaith, My ſong ſhall not be of *mercy alone*, nor of *judgment alone*, but of mercy and judgment *together*; eſpecially upon *Zimri*, and all ſuch that, like *Zimri*, will ſlay both their *King*, and their *Maſter*, which is the *firſt* thing mentioned in this Text, that is, *Zimri's Murder*. And

For *murder*, you may obſerve, that the ſame may be committed *three* manner of waies,

1. With the *heart*.
2. With the *tongue*.
3. With the *hand*.

1. The *heart* killeth a man four *ſpeciall* waies;

1. By *deſire*.
2. By *anger*.
3. By *envy*.
4. By *hatred*.

For,

1. The Prophet ſaith, *The Lord abhorreth the blood-thirſty and the deceitfull man*; (i. e.) him, which *deſireth* and *longeth* for my *death*; as he that is thirſty deſireth drink. Pſal. 5. 6.

2. Our Saviour ſaith, *Whoſoever is angry with his brother*, without a cauſe, he ſhall be in danger of *judgment*. Math. 5. 22.

3. The Apoſtle, ſpeaking of the *wickedneſs* of the *Gentiles*, ſaith, *They were full of envy, murder, debate*—— And the wiſe man ſaith, *Alius alium per invidiam occidit*, One man ſlayeth another through *envy*; as *Cain* through *envy* ſlew his brother *Abel*, and the *Jews* our Saviour Chriſt *Qui igitur periêre, quia maluerunt invidere quàm credere*, who therefore periſhed, becauſe they had rather to *envy* him, then to *believe* in him; ſaith Saint *Cyprian*. Rom. 1. 29. Sap. 14. 4. *Cypr. in Ser. de livore.*

4. Saint *John* ſaith, that, *Whoſoever hateth his brother is a man-ſlayer*; and therefore the Lord ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not hate thy brother in thine heart*; for, as he that looketh on a woman to luſt after her, hath committed *adultery* in his heart; ſo he that *hateth* his brother, hath *killed* him, in his heart. 1 Joh. 3. 15. Lev. 19. 17.

2. The *tongue* killeth many men, yea, *Plures linguâ quàm gladio periêre*, The *tongue* hath ſlain more then the *ſword*; for the tongue is a *fire*, and a *world* of wickedneſs; it is an *unruly* evill, full of *deadly* poyſon: And the ſon of *Syrach* ſaith, *It hath deſtroyed many, that were at peace*; Jam. 3. 6, 7. Eccl. 28. 13.

And the tongue killeth two waies
1. By *flattery*.
2. By *detraction*.

1. Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, that *Plus nocet lingua adulatoris quàm gladius perſecutoris*. And *Antiſthenes* was wont to ſay, It was *better* for a man to fall εἰς κορακας, among *ravens*; then εἰς κολακας, among *flatterers*.

2. The Prophet ſaith, *Viri detractores fuerunt in te ad effundendum ſanguinem*, In thee are men that carry *tales* to ſhed *blood*; and *Job*, ſaying unto his friends, that *ſlandered* his integrity; *Why do you perſecute me as God, and are not ſatisfied with my fleſh?* doth intimate thereby, that *detractors* are like cruell *Canibals*, that eat mens *fleſh* and drink their *blood*, *Nam qui alienâ detractione paſcitur, proculdubiò alienis carnibus ſaturatur*; for without doubt, whoſoever feeds himſelf with *detraction*, doth ſatisfy himſelf with mans *fleſh*, ſaith S. *Gregory*. Ezech. 22. 9.

And I doubt not but this *Zimri*, and all other, the like *Zimries*, that killed their *Maſters*, had killed *Elah*, in *all* theſe waies, before he ſlew him with his *hands*; becauſe all theſe *murders*, of the *heart*, and of the *tongue*, are but *ſteps*, ſtairs, and progeſſes to the *murder* of the *hand*.

For firſt, we begin to *diſtaſt*, and to diſlike a man; then we grow *angry* with him, for ſome things that diſpleaſe us; and, if he hath any *virtue* in him, or any *honorable* place or preferment, or any *love* or good opinion from the people, we will preſently *envy* him, and then *hate* him; and ſo hate

him *more and more*; and then the *tongue* will begin to play his part: and though in *preſence* it will *flatter* him, whom the *heart* deteſteth, yet in his *abſence*, it will lay loads of *ſcandalous* imputations upon his *perſon* and upon his *actions*, even as *Abſolon* did upon the *government* of King *David*: and the forecited example of *Maion* againſt *William* King of *Sicily*; and abundance of ſuch *Varlets*, that I could relate unto you.

Camerar. l. 6. c. 2.

And when they have proceeded *thus* far, to envy his *happineſs* and to hate his *perſon*, as *Cain* hated his brother *Abel*, and the way is *thus* made by *ſcandalous* aſperſions, there wants nothing but the *ſtroke* of the hand to effect the *tragicall murder* of the man whom they deſire to deſtroy.

So *Zimri* did, when he found his opportunity, ſlay his *Maſter Elah*: ſo the ſervants of King *Amon* ſlew their Maſter. So *Phocas* did ſlay his Emperor, and his Maſter, *Mauritius*; So *Artabanus* Captain of the guard, killed his own King and his Maſter *Xerxes*, after he had retired out of *Greece*; So *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, with their aſſociates, murdered *Julius Cæſar*. And ſo you know who murdered their *Maſter*, and King, *Charles* the Firſt.

Diodorus l. 11.

And this is the *greateſt* miſchief, that one man can do unto another, to take away *his life* with bloody hands; for though he take away my *goods* yet I may get *more*, as *Job* did, after all was taken from him; if he caſt me into *priſon*, yet at laſt, with *Joſeph*, I may be ſet at *liberty*; and, if I be *baniſhed* my Country, yet with the *Iſraelits*, I may live to return out of *Captivity*, as *Henry Bullingbrook* Duke of *Lancaſter* did: but when he hath taken away my *life* and *killed* me, there is an end of all *hope*, and that is an *evill* that can expect no *remedy*, and a *wound* that cannot be *cured*, nor any waies *paralleled* by any other miſchief.

Num 35.33. And therefore, ſeeing, as the Lord ſaith, that *blood defileth the Land*, and the land can not be *cleanſed* of the blood, that is *thus* ſhed, but by *the blood* of *him*, or *them*, that have ſhed it; I will here, (to perſwade the *blood-thirſty* men to *quench* that thirſt, and the Magiſtrates by no means to neglect to *puniſh* that ſin: and eſpecially to induce thoſe Magiſtrates, and all thoſe that tranſcend the power of the Magiſtrates, that have, like *Zimri*, ſlain their *King* and their *Maſter*; or *defiled* themſelves with the blood of their brethren, to a *ſad* and ſerious repentance) ſet down eight *ſpeciall* things, that do ſhew unto us the *horrible odiouſneſs* and *haynouſneſs* of this ſinne of *murder*; and you may find them all ſet down in *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. of the *true Church*. p. 385. and in the *Great Antichriſt revealed*, l. 1. p. 81.

1. 1. It is a ſin againſt *nature*; becauſe every *creature* loves his life, *Et ſævis inter ſe convenit urſis*, and the very *Devils* will not kill one another.

2. 2. It is againſt *reaſon*, which ſaith, That every man ſhould *do* unto *others*, as he would be *done* unto himſelf.

3. 3. It is a *devilliſh* ſin, and a ſin of the *Devill*, who, though he be not termed an *Idolater*, or *Adulterer*; yet, he is ſaid to be a *Murderer from the beginning*, becauſe it was he, that *murdered* our firſt Parents; and he taught *Cain* to kill his brother, and this *Zimri* to ſlay his *Maſter*.

Joh. 8.44.

4. 4. It is a *beaſtly* ſin, *quia ferina rabies eſt, ſanguine & vulnere lætari*, it is a point of *ſavage* cruelty, to delight our ſelves with *wounds* and blood, ſaith *Seneca*.

5. 5. It is not only *one*, but it is alſo the *firſt*, and the *greateſt* one, of thoſe four *crying* ſins, that are only ſo called in the Scripture: for the other three, *Sodomie*, *Oppreſſion*, and *detaining of Servants wages*, are but parts and parcels of this great crying ſin: Becauſe, that in *Sodomie*, that ſeed is *ſpilt* which might have been the *matter* of humane fleſh and blood; and by the other

other two, *i.e. Oppreſſion*, and detaining of the *Labourers* wages, the *life* is made to *languiſh* and to be ſhortned by little and little, for want of *means*; becauſe the *life of man*, and the *means* to maintain that life, may like *Ens & Bonum*, Good and Being, be very well ſaid to be *voces convertibiles*. And therefore the Wiſe man ſaith, *The bread of the needy is their life; he that defraudeth him thereof, is a man of blood*: but in *murder*, root and branch, and all the tree is *wholly* deſtroyed all at once.

6. It is a ſin which produceth ſuch an irregularity, that although the *murderers* ſhould *truly* repent, and have their ſin pardoned by God, which is but *ſeldom* ſeen; yet they cannot *promoveri*, be advanced, or proceed on in Gods favour, and be ſo *acceptable* unto God, as *other* ſinners may be, upon their repentance: as it appeareth *plainly*, by what the Lord ſaith to *David*, that otherwiſe was a man *according to Gods own heart*, and had *heartily* repented him of his murder, *Thou ſhalt not build an Houſe for my Name; because thou haſt been a man of War, and haſt ſhed blood.* 1 Chron. 28. 3.

7. It is a ſin, which ſeemeth by the *puniſhment* thereof, to be *greater*, at leaſt-wiſe, in *ſome* reſpects, than any *other* ſin whatſoever, except *only* the ſin againſt the *Holy Ghoſt*; for when *Cain* ſlew his brother, the Lord ſaid unto him, *The voice of thy brothers blood cryeth unto me*; that is, The voice of the *bloods*, which thou haſt ſpilt, *i. e.* of *all* the blood, that ſhould have ſprung from *Abel*, to have *repleniſhed* the earth, if thou hadſt not ſpilt it, doth require, that I ſhould take *vengeance* of thee; and therefore, *Thou art curſed from the earth.* And this curſe was ſo *great*, and of ſo *large* extent, that it reached to the very *earth*, that bare him up: and therefore the Lord addeth, *When thou tilleſt the ground, it ſhall not henceforth yield unto thee her ſtrength; a fugitive, and a vagabond ſhalt thou be in the earth.* Which ſeems to be a far *heavier* ſentence inflicted upon him for *killing his brother*, than that which was impoſed upon *Adam*, for offending *Gods own Majeſty*; though there was a *ſtraight command*, and prohibition given to *Adam*, that he ſhould *not eat* of the forbidden Tree, and as yet, no *Precept* given, to forbid the ſhedding of *mans* blood. For, *Vox ſanguinum.* Gen. 4. 11 12.

1. He doth not ſay to *Adam*, Thou art curſed for thy ſin; but, *Curſed is the ground for thy ſake*; but unto *Cain*, he ſaith, *Thou art curſed from the ground*: As if he had ſaid, The *curſe* ſhall not fall unto the *ground*, but it ſhall light upon thine *own* head. How *Cains* puniſhment ſeems heavier than *Adams.*

2. He doth not ſay to *Adam*, When thou *tilleſt* the ground, it ſhall not yield her *ſtrength* unto thee; but, *Thorns and thiſtles it ſhall bring forth to thee*: That is, *naturally*, and of it ſelf, the *earth*, which if thou hadſt not ſinned, would of it ſelf, have brought thee all *pleaſant* fruits; ſhall now bring thee nothing elſe but *weeds*. But unto *Cain* he ſaith, *When thou tilleſt the ground*, and manureſt it, and uſeſt all the *art* and skill that thou canſt to make it fruitful; yet *it ſhall not yield her ſtrength unto thee.* So that the ſterility, and the *unfruitfulneſs* of a *well-tilled* and manured ground, is the puniſhment of *Cain*'s murder, and an *additional curſe*, to that, which was formerly impoſed upon *Adam.*

3. He doth not ſay to *Adam*, that he ſhould have no *reſting*-place upon the earth; but, that he *ſhould eat his bread in the ſweat of his face*, until he ſhould return to the earth. But unto *Cain* he ſaith, *A fugitive and a vagabond ſhalt thou be in the earth.* And therefore *Cain*, that knew well enough his fathers *cenſure* before; and now hearing his own *ſentence* ſo far exceeding it, cryed out, *My puniſhment is greater than I can bear.* Gen. 3. 2. Gen. 4 12.

And no marvel, that the puniſhment of *this* ſin ſeems *greater* than the puniſhment of *Adam*'s; for in nature, let *Reaſon* ſhew you, who doth offend you *moſt*, he that diſobeyeth your *voice*, and breaks your command, or he that ſeeks to take away your *life*? And in *Adam*'s ſin, and in all other ſins, there ſeems to me, a leaving of the *Being* of God, to be a God; as in the Why the puniſhment of *Cains* ſin ſeems greater than *Adams* puniſhment.

great ſin of *Idolatry*, though we make an *Idol*, a thing that hath *no being* in the world, to be our god, and fall down to worſhip that *no-Being*, with that worſhip that belongs to the *true* God; yet we do not thereby ſeek to *annihilate* the Being of the True God; we rob him of his *Honour*, but take not away his *Life*; we leave him ſtill *to Be*, though we *ſerve* him not. But in *murdering*, or killing of a man, we do what lieth in us, to deſtroy, and bring to nothing, the very *Eſſence* or Being of God; becauſe we deface the *Image* of God; God himſelf being *inviſible*, and in nothing of all the things that God made, ſo *plainly* ſeen to us, as in the *face of Man*. And therefore of all creatures, Man *alone* is principally ſaid to be the *Image* of God, and in that reſpect *chiefly* to be reſpected and cheriſhed, and not to be *murdered* or killed: Becauſe *in the Image of God made he Man*; and therefore he that killeth *man*, doth his very beſt to kill God; becauſe he deſtroyeth his *Image*, when he can *ſee* nothing of God, but his Image. And if, as our adverſaries do ſay, the *ſervice*, done to a dead *image*, which is no wayes commanded by God to be done, doth preſently redound *ad prototypon*, to the thing, or perſon *repreſented* by the image; then how much ſurer are we, that the defacing of God's *living-Image*, which God doth ſo *ſtraightly* prohibite to be done, is a *diſgracing* of God himſelf, and all the *contempts* done to this Image, do preſently *redound* to God that is *repreſented*, without all queſtion, in this Image. And the City of *Theſſalonica*, beſides many others, can well teſtifie, how *ſeverely* the Emperours puniſhed the abuſing of their *Images*, when they deemed all the *diſhonour*, that was done againſt their Images, to be *Treaſons* againſt themſelves.

8. And laſtly, this killing of a *man*, not only defaceth the *Image* of God, but alſo robbeth God of his *Temple*, which is Sacriledge; and makes *none account* of, but trampleth under feet, that which God did ſo *highly* eſteem, and purchaſed at ſo *high* a rate, as with his own blood. And, in a word, it is ſo *odious*, ſo haynous, and ſo *horrible* a ſin every way, as it is *impoſſible* for me to expreſſe the *vileneſs* and the haynouſneſſe of this ſin of *Man-ſlaughter*, or the malicious killing of a man.

And therefore, to ſhew how *odious* this ſin is in the ſight of God, *immediately* after the Flood, the *great* Commandment, and the *only* Commandment that he gave to all the ſons of *Noah* was, to abſtain from *ſhedding of mans blood*: and he doth ſo *pathetically* and with ſuch *terrible* threatnings expreſſe *the puniſhment* of the Tranſgreſſors, ſaying; *Surely*, that you need not doubt it, *your blood of your lives will I require*; yea, *at the hand of every beaſt will I require it*; and though they be void of *reaſon* and underſtanding of what they do, yet will I not hold them *guiltleſs* if they ſhed mans blood. And therefore, much rather, and much ſooner, *at the hand of man, and at the hand of every mans brother, will I require the life of man*; and to that end, he did appoint Kings, that they ſhould ordain *Magiſtrates* under them, that *whoſoever ſheddeth mans blood, by man ſhould his blood be ſhed*. And the *reaſon* why God is ſo ſevere againſt Man-ſlayers, is here rendered; *for that in the Image of God made he man*: and ſo whoſoever killeth a *man*, except it be whom the Law killeth, deſtroyeth the *Image* of God; and God cannot endure to have his own *lively* Image, which no *painter*, but Himſelf hath made, to be defaced. And therefore, in *Numbers*, 35. 31. the Lord ſaith, *Ye ſhall take no ſatisfaction for the life of a Murderer, which is guilty of death, but he ſhall be ſurely put to death*. And the reaſon is rendered *verſe* 33. And truly I do not find any ſins, I will not ſay, that are *irremiſſible*, but that are ſo *difficult*, ſo hard, and ſo *ſeldom* remitted, *as* theſe two, *Videlicet*

1. The abuſe of God's *Meſſengers*: and
2. The ſhedding of *Innocent* blood; For,

Of the firſt it is ſaid, that when the Jews *mocked the Meſſengers of God, and deſpiſed*

See Exod. 21. 28.

Gen. 9. 5, 6. See Numb. 35. 31, 33. Levit. 24. 17. Math. 26. 52.

deſpiſed his words, and miſuſed his Prophets, the wrath of the Lord aroſe againſt his people, until there was no remedy. 2 Chro. 36. 16.

Of the ſecond it is ſaid, that *the Lord ſent Bands of the* Chaldees *to revenge the Innocent blood that* Manaſſes *had ſhed, which the Lord would not pardon.* 2 Kings 24. 4.

Alſo, when God gave his Laws unto us on Mount *Sinai*, the *firſt* Commandment, of all that doth concern men, after the duty that we owe to our *Parents*, that bring us into the World, and bring us up, and feed us when we cannot feed our ſelves, is, *Thou ſhalt not kill.* And truly in *theſe reſpects*, I, for my own part, do ſo far hate the *killing* of any man, except it be to ſave mine own *life*, from him that would *maliciouſly* take it from me, that I had rather do any *ſervile* work for a *penny* a day, than receive the *greateſt* Salary, Honour, and Preferment, for *killing* of men. And I think S. *Gregory* not far from my mind, when he ſaid, *Si in mortem Longobardorum me miſcere voluiſſem, hodie Longobardorum gens nec regem nec ducem haberet; ſed quia Deum timeo, in mortem cujuſlibet hominis me miſcere formido*: For he that *feareth God*, will be afraid to be the *death* of any man, and will ſtudy by all means, *Greg. & habetur 23. q. 8. ſi in mortem.*

——— *vacuas cædis habere manus.* *Ovid. de arte l. 1.*

to keep his hands *clean* from blood.

And if it be ſo *unnatural*, ſo unreaſonable, ſo deviliſh, ſo beaſtly, ſo haynous, and every way ſo *inexplicable* and ſo deteſtable in the ſight of God, and all good men, to kill and *murder* a man; I would fain know, what *tongue*, what eloquence, what Orator, though he had the tongue of men and Angels, can expreſſe the haynouſneſs of a *ſubject*'s killing his own King, and a *ſervant*'s killing his own kind and loving *Maſter*, as *Zimri* did his King and his Maſter *Elah*, and ſome others did ſuch a King as was *worth* ten thouſand of his ſubjects? And therefore, well and wiſely might *Jezabel* demand; *Had* Zimri *peace, that ſlew his Maſter*? 2 Sam. 18. 3.

But the wit of man is ſo *crafty*, that it thinks to find a *way* to effect his own *end*, and yet to evade the *hand*, and eſcape the *judgement* of God, when they keep their *own hands* free from blood, but will notwithſtanding proſecute the *innocent* perſon whom they hate, either *judicially*, as the Jews did Chriſt, by their high court of *Parliament*, that pronounced *judgement* againſt him, for a malefactour, which may and ought to be put to death by the Law of God; or elſe *ſecretly* by others, their aſſaſſins, whom they procure to be their *inſtruments*, to bring whom they hate to his untimely death, either by *poyſon*, as *Alexander* was by *Theſſalus*, and Sir *Thomas Overbury* by Sir *Jervaſe Eloway*; or by ſome other ſecret *contrivance*, as King *David* plotted the death of *Urias*; and then, as the *Harlot* commits Adultery, and *wipes her mouth*, and is clean; ſo they will bring Chriſt and his ſervants to their death; and then, with *Pilate*, they will waſh their hands clean, from their blood.

Truly, methinks theſe are very *fine ſhifts* for murderers and malefactors to *free* themſelves from blame, if they could as well *blind* the eyes of the All-ſeeing God, as they do *many times* deceive ſimple men, that think thoſe *Judges* to be *juſt*, that have moſt unjuſtly beheaded *innocencie* it ſelf; And thoſe murderers to be *innocent*, that have killed their neighbors by the hands of their aſſaſſins. But though *Davids* hands were far from that *fact*, & free from the blood of *Urias*, that was ſlain by the ſword of the *enemy*; yet God tels him he was the *murderer*, & his *wit* ſhall not ſerve his turn, to wipe away his *puniſhment*; & though it was the High Court of *Juſtice* that condemned *Naboth* unto death, yet the Prophet tells *Ahab* that God will condemn *him* and his poſterity for it; for, as the devill (ſaith S. *Aug.*) is ſaid to be a murderer, *non gladio armatus, non ferro accinctus; ſed quia ad hominem veniendo, & verbum*

Aug. super Johan. *verbum seminando occidit eum*; not because he killeth him with weapons, but because he destroyeth man by *wicked counsels*, and by setting on others to destroy him; so are they *murderers* that take away the life of man by any of these ways; and therefore *proculdubiò decipiuntur*, saith the same Father, they are far deceived that think them *only* to be murderers, which lay *violent hands* upon their neighbours; and not them also, *per quorum consilium & fraudem & hortationem homines extinguuntur*, by whose wicked counsels and procurements, men are brought unto their death.

Idem & habetur, de pœnit. dist. 1. periculosè.

The hainousness of a judicial murder.

And if any other murder be odious and wicked, then certainly this *Judiciarie* murder, whereby the *innocent* person is condemned to death, as *Naboth* was by the High Court of *Jezreel*; and Christ by the *Parliament at Jerusalem*, must needs be most *transcendently* abominable and wicked above *all* other kind of murders whatsoever; for that this is not a *single*, simple murder, but it is *morbus complicatus*, a twisted, de-compound, *maltiplied* sin, of many-many branches; so that neither *Cains* malicious killing of his brother *Abel*, nor *Joabs* traiterous murdering of *Amasa*, nor *Davids* crafty killing of *Urias*, nor *Brutus* and *Cassius* his conspiring the death of *Cæsar*, nor any other *kind* of murder, is neer comparably so hainous, and so *abominable* as this, which *uno ictu*, by one single sentence, doth cast an *infinite* number of persons into sin, and binds them all together to be lyable to the *severe judgement* of God; for hereby,

1. In the place.

1. The Seat of Judgement is made the *stool* of wickedness, the *throne* of Satan, and the shambles and slaughter-house of *innocent* blood, to do the greatest *wrong*, where I should expect the greatest *right*.

2. The persons, Witnesses, Jury, Judge. Jerem. 5. 7.

2. The *persons* here offending are *many*-many persons, the *witnesses* forsworn and perjured, the *Jury* corrupted, and the *Judge* a devill, that is a *liar* and a murderer from the beginning: and doth hereby wrong

1. The *innocent* person that is condemned.

2. The *place* that is abused.

3. All *good* people that are scandalized and offended with this *unjust* proceeding.

4. All *Light-headed*, credulous people, that hold and believe that innocent condemned person to be a *malefactor* justly punished; and

5. God *himself*, that is first cast out of his *throne*, and the devil placed in his stead.

2. He is made a *lyar*, to pronounce a false sentence.

3. A *murderer*, to kill an innocent man, and so lastly a *very devill*; for he that doth all this, can be none other then the *devill*; and the Judge stands here *loco Dei*, as Gods Vice-gerent, in Gods stead; and God himself saith, *dixi Dei estis*, and commands us to *reverence* and honour them as *Gods*; and therefore this *judiciary* condemning of the innocent unto death, doth as much as lieth in man, make the *just* God, to seem to be an *unjust devill*; And it were a lesse sin to *un-god* him, then to make the *just* God seem to be so *unjust* a Judge; for, as *Plutarch* saith, *Satius est nullos Deos credere, quàm Deos noxios*. And may not God much better say to *such* offendors, as he doth in like case unto the Jewes, onely for *swearing* by them that are no gods; and assembling themselves in the *harlots* houses: *How shall I pardon them for this?* As if the hainousnesse of this sin of *judiciary murder*, went beyond the understanding of the *omniscient*, and All-knowing God, to find out a *way*, and the means to pardon it; especially, if we consider

For { 1. The *persons* condemned. 2. The *Courts* condemning them.

1. The more *considerable*, eminent, and excellent, the *person* condemned is, in respect of his *calling*, as are *Kings*, *Priests*, and *Prophets*; and the more *innocent*, upright, and religious he is in respect of his *life* and conversation, the more *odious*, and the more abominable is the sin.

2. The

2. The more *eminent* and high the *Court* is that condemneth the innocent, the more *tranſcendent* is the offence. And

You may note that this *Judicial* murder may be done, either

1. By an *inferiour* Court of Juſtice, as the Judges of *Jezreel* condemned *Naboth*.
2. By the *High* Court of Iuſtice, the higheſt Court of the kingdom, and the *Synopſis* of the whole Nation; as Chriſt was by the *Sanhedrim* of the Jews.

And I cannot remember in *all* the book of God, of any that were thus *judiciarily* condemned, but only two.

1. The ſubject *Naboth*, by the perſonal procurement and command of his King, *Ahab*; and

2. The King *Chriſt Jeſus*, by his ſubjects, and the National malice of the Jewes. And what became of theſe *murderers*? how did God pardon them? *Elias* telleth *Ahab* the King, *In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, ſhall dogs lick thy blood, and the blood of Jezabel; and God will bring evill upon thee, and will take away thy poſterity, and will cut off from Ahab him that piſſeth againſt the wall; and him that is ſhut up, and left in Iſrael:* and ſo *Jehu* cauſed the Rulers of *Jezreel*, the ſame town, and perhaps the ſame Judges, that condemned *Naboth*, to cut off the heads of 70. of *Ahabs* children; and when he came to *Samaria*, he ſlew all that remained unto *Ahab*, untill he had deſtroyed him, according to the ſaying of the Lord. And how the Jewes have been deſtroyed by *Titus*, and afterwards by *Adrian*, and ever ſince perſecuted and plagued in *all Countries*, and by all Nations for killing their King, the time would be too *ſhort*, and my papers too ſcant for me, to relate.

And therefore if any King or Kingdom, Nation or City, be guilty of ſuch a *judiciarie* murder, as was the ſubject *Naboth*, or the King Chriſt Jeſus; Let them aſſure themſelves, the *heavie wrath* of God, like a *thick cloud*, hangs over their heads, and is ready to pour down moſt *terrible* ſhowrs of vengeance upon them, if they do not moſt *ſpeedily repent*: as I ſhall by and by more fully ſhew unto you.

But whether *Zimri* did kill his Maſter with his *own* hands, or by ſome *others* of his confederates, (for it is ſaid that he conſpired, and ſo plotted, with other companions againſt him) or whether he alone did murder him, I cannot tell: but becauſe he was the *primum mobile*, the firſt and *chief* ſetter on of this murder, it is here *onely* aſcribed unto him.

But afore we do *abſolutely* condemn *Zimri* for *Elah's* death, we ought to hear what he can ſay for himſelf, and not as *ſome* Judges, that will hear *no reaſon*, but condemn the *innocent* againſt all reaſon: for as it was not the manner of them to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accuſed have licence to *anſwer* for himſelf, concerning the *crime* laid againſt him; ſo, it may be, *Zimri* will ſhew ſome *good reaſon*, why he kill'd his Maſter. And I doubt not but he had learnt *Abſolons* leſſon, that it was for the *ill* government of *Elah*, *& propter bonum Reipublicæ*, for the good of the people, that they might be *better* governed, and much eaſed of many *burthens*, and relieved of their *grievances*; To which, I ſay, that you muſt underſtand *all Traytors* and wicked actors to be juſt like unto *Watermen*, that row *one* way, and look *another* way: ſo they pretend *one* thing, and intend *another* thing; Thus *Zimri* pretended to amend the *Government* to eaſe the *people*, to reform the *Laws*, and rectifie their *Religion*; but his intention and his *chiefeſt* ayme was, to make himſelf *great*, to get his Maſters *place*, and to become a *King* himſelf, which was *firſt* in his intention, though laſt in the execution; otherwiſe, if his *principal* ayme had been, as he pretended, the *publike good*, he would have turned and changed the *Kingdom* of *Iſrael* into a *Common-wealth*; or elſe he would have made either *Omri* or *Tibni* whom the people

But we are ſure *Zimri* did not judicially condemn *Elah* to death, yet he had *no peace*: and what peace ſhall they have which ſhall *judicially* condemn an *innocent* perſon unto death? which is ſo *compounded* a murder, and far *more abominable* then any other ſin: 1 King 16.29. Acts 25.16.

people loved, and not *himſelf*, whom they hated, to be their King; *ſed mentita eſt iniquitas ſibi*, but wickedeſſe, though not always, yet ſometimes *bewrayeth* it ſelf; as the action of *Zimri*, to make himſelf a King, diſcovered his *prime* intention, and the *chiefeſt* occaſion that moved him to ſlay his Maſter, to be, his Ambition and deſire of bearing rule.

Camer. l. 5. c. 8.

And indeed, this *Ambition* and deſire of bearing rule, hath ſo ſtrangely *bewitched* the minds of many men; that, as *Camerarius* ſaith, it is almoſt *incredible* to believe, and moſt *ſtrange* to conſider, what *inordinate* deſire men have to *raign*, and to rule as Kings; what *villanies* they have committed, to *become* Kings, & what *execrable* things they have done, to *continue* Kings; for *Amurath* the third, cauſed five of his younger brethren to be ſtrangled in his preſence; & *Iſmael* the ſecond, ſon to *Tecmas* King of *Perſia*, did put to death ſo many of his *brethren* as he could lay hold on, and all the Princes that he *ſuſpected* to have any deſire to his Kingdom; that ſo they might *raign* and rule without fear. And *Solyman*, miſtruſting his own ſon *Muſtapha*, when he returned victorious from the *Perſian* war, and was received with ſuch *generall* applauſe, cauſed him preſently to be *ſtrangled*, and a Proclamation to be made throughout all the Army, that there muſt be but *one God* in heaven, and *one Emperour* (i. e.) Himſelf, here on earth; and *Camerarius* ſaith, that this is a perpetuall cuſtom in the race of the *Ottomans*, and among the *Turkiſh* Souldans, to put all, that pretend *ſucceſſion*, unto death; Neither is it only a *Turkiſh* cuſtom, but it is alſo the *practice* of all ſuch as are bewitched with ſuch *inordinate* deſire to rule as Kings, to do the like; For *Plutarch* writeth that *Diotarus* having many ſons, and deſirous that only *one* of them ſhould reign, ſlew all the *reſt* with his own hands; and *Juſtin* ſaith that *Horodes* King of the *Parthians*, killed his own *Father*, and after that maſſacred all his *brethren*, that he might reign and rule alone; and the ſacred ſtory ſheweth, that the very *people* of God, the ſons of *Iſrael*, were not free, but peſtered with this *diſeaſe*, as *Abimeleck*, the ſon of *Gedeon*, ſlew ſeventy of his *brethren* in one day, and played many other *tragicall* parts, that he might make himſelf a King. And the *furious ambition* of young *Abſolon*, did ſet him on fire to ſeek to end his *Fathers* dayes, and to play the *Parracide*, that he might reign in his Fathers place; and ſo *Zimri*, when he began to *reign*, as ſoon as he ſate on his throne, he delayed not the time, but *preſently* ſlew all the houſe of *Baaſha*, as *Baaſha* had formerly done to all the poſterity of *Jeroboam*; he left him not *one* that piſſeth againſt a wall, neither of his *kinsfolks*, nor of his *friends*. And not to go from home for Examples, Did not *Henry* the fourth put by *Richard* the ſecond his own *King*, and Coſen-German, that he himſelf might be the King? and did not *Richard* the 3d. cauſe the true King & his brothers chidren, his own Nephews, the ſons of *Edward* the fourth, that were but *children*, and never *offended* him, to be done to death, that he might wear the *Crown* himſelfe? And my papers would *fail* me, if I ſhould ſet down all the *examples*, that I could produce of this nature; for there is not any thing ſo *ſacred*, which the *great* men of this world, that deſire to be made *greater*, will not dare to *violate*, and ſpare neither *King*, *father*, *brother*, nor *friend*, to bring themſelves to their deſired advancement, to be the *rulers* of the people, and to have the power both of our *lives* and *goods* in their own hands: as the proof is plainly ſeen in the *foreſaid* examples, and eſpecially in *Antoninus Caracalla*, who, when he had moſt *unnaturally* and *barbarouſly* ſlain his own brother *Geta*, even in his mothers lap, and between her arms; and being counſelled by ſome friends, to *Canonize* him among the *Heroes*, and to place him with the *Deaſtri*, to mitigate the thought of ſo *execrable* a fact; anſwered like a vile Caitiffe, *Sit divus, modò non ſit vivus*, Let him be a *god* among the dead, ſo he be not *alive* among men; So great an *enemy* is the *inordinate deſire of raigning* and ruling, to all *piety and right*; ſaith *Camerarius*, l. 5. c. 8.

What horrible things have been done by thoſe that were ambitious of bearing rule.

Judges 9.

2 Sam. 15. 16.

2 King. 16. 11.

And

And for *Zimri's* pretence, to rectify the *government*, to eaſe the *people*, to eſtabliſh the true *ſervice* of God, which King *Elah*, and his Father *Baaſha* had permitted to be continued, as *Jeroboam* had corrupted it, and to fulfill the Words of the Lord, which he ſpake by *Jehu* the ſon of *Hanani*: I ſay theſe things were *leaſt* in his thoughts, and were but meer *pretences* and ſhadows, to hide and cover his *malice* unto his King, and his *ambitious* deſire of bearing rule; for he being a *ſubject* and a ſervant unto King *Elah*, what *warrant* had he, or what *command* from God, to *kill* his King? *Jeroboam* was the maſter-piece of *Idolatry*, and the *ring-leader* of them that made *Iſrael* to ſin; and yet, I would fain *know*, where God gives *leave* to his ſubjects to kill *him*, for this *intolerable* impiety? But when God *ſetteth up Kings*, if they prove *wicked*, to corrupt his *ſervice*, and to deſtroy his *ſervants*: he can raiſe *other* Kings to puniſh them; as he did *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*; and *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Babylon*, to chaſtiſe and to remove the evill Kings of *Judah*; or he can take them away by *death*, or by *twenty* other waies, that we know not of, without making their own *ſubjects* to become *perjurers*, and *rebels* againſt their King; but *ambition* and *impatience* are the two hands, that pull down *Kings* out of their Thrones. 1 King. 16. 2.

1. *Impatience* in the ſubjects, that can not tarry Gods *leaſure* to relieve them.

2. *Ambition* in thoſe, that deſire the Crown, and are bewitched with the *inordinate* deſire of bearing rule.

Other things are but *pretences*; theſe only are the *cauſes*, that move ſubjects and ſervants to kill *their Kings*, whom they think do miſgovern them, or Tyrannize over them.

2. Having ſeen the *hatred* and malice of *Zimri* towards *Elah*, his *Treaſon* againſt his King, his *ingratitude* to his Maſter, and his moſt horrible *ſin* of Murder, in ſlaying his King and his Maſter. We are now come to the ἄκμη, and the *ſecond* thing, mentioned in this ſpeech of *Jezabel*, and that is, *Peace, Had Zimri peace?* which is a queſtion, what *reward* he had, or rather what *puniſhment* he ſuffered, for that *tragicall* exploit to kill his Maſter? Had he *peace* for his pains? And *peace*, as I told you is the *beſt*, and the moſt excellent of all *earthly* bleſſings; and it is called by the Greeks εἰρήνη, which ſignifieth *quiet*, ſweet, gracious; and by the Latins *pax, quaſi pacata*, (*i.e.*) calm, gentle, courteous; for ſo the Apoſtle meaneth, when he ſaith, that *Rahab* received the *Spies with peace*; that is, *courteouſly*. The ſecond thing mentioned, which is, Peace. Heb. 11. 31.

But you muſt underſtand, that this *bleſſed peace* is two fold;

1. *Perfect.*
2. *Imperfect.* } And

Peace two fold.

1. The *perfect* peace is not here to be found on earth, but among the *bleſſed* Saints in Heaven, where is *pax ſuper pacem, & pax quæ exſuperat omnem ſenſum, Peace upon peace, and peace which paſſeth all underſtanding*, peace that ſhall have *no end*; but will put an end to all our *labours*. And this peace was not meant here by *Jezabel*, ſhe knew not what belongs to this *peace*. 1. Perfect. *Bern. Serm. 23. de verb. Pſal.*

2. The other peace, which *Jezabel* meaneth, is that which may be obtained here on earth; and that peace is three fold, 2. Imperfect and this is threefold.

1. With *God*.
2. With our *ſelves*.
3. With our *neighbours*

The firſt *peace* is with *God*; for our Forefather ſinning againſt God, and eating the *ſower grapes*, hath ſet all our *teeth* on edge, and made us all *enemies* unto God, as the Apoſtle ſheweth; and God ſaith, *He will be avenged of his enemies*: and therefore there is no way for us to be *delivered* out of his hands, unleſs we be *reconciled*, to be at *peace* with him; And at *peace* 1. With God. Eſay 1. 24.

with God we cannot be, but by faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*, who became *peace*, to them that were *a far off*, and to them that were *neer*, (*i. e.*) both to the *Jews* and to the *Gentiles*, as S. *Jerom* expoundeth it.

Eph. 2. 17.

2. With our ſelves.

The ſecond *peace* is with our ſelves; for after we became *enemies* unto God, *poſuit nos nobis ipſis graves*, God did not only arm *all his creatures* againſt us, but he hath ſet *enmity* within our ſelves, and raiſeth ſuch *rebellions*, *wars*, and *troubles* in our own *thoughts* and *conſciences* that we can never be at *reſt*, untill we find our ſelves at *peace* with God; but when we *believe*, that our *peace* is made with God, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, who hath paid our debts, and *ſatisfied* God for our ſins, then our minds are *quieted*, and our *conſciences* are at *peace*; and, as our Saviour ſaith, *let not your hearts be troubled, neither fear*, for I have overcome the world; ſo *nothing* in the world, troubles them, that believe; they are at *peace* with God.

3. With our neighbors.

The third *peace* is with men, that are *without* us, and are our neighbours; for ſin hath ſet all the *world* together by the ears,

Non hoſpes ab hoſpite tutus ———

But they that are at *peace* with God, do obey the precepts and counſell of God, *to follow peace with all men, and to do good to all men*; and theſe be the three kinds of *peace*, that are had in this life, and are the *greateſt bleſſings* in this world.

And this *laſt* kind of peace, (*i. e.*) peace and concord among *men*, which is the more *generall* and the more *ſenſible* then the other kinds of peace; was ever eſteemed both of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* to be the *greateſt* happineſs that men can enjoy under heaven; *Et quia contraria juxta ſe poſita magis eluceſcunt*, As the horror of the *night*, commends the *brightneſs* of the day; ſo the *miſeries* of war do ſhew the *benefits* of this peace: I will make this point plain unto you.

And war is called by the Greeks πολεμὸς of πολὺς and αἷμα, becauſe of the *abundance* of blood that is ſhed in war; and by Divines it is termed *flagellum Dei*, the ſcourge of God; and God hath *many ſcourges*, as poverty, ſickneſs, impriſonment, but eſpecially theſe three Grand Scourges,

Three ſpeciall ſcourges of God.

1. *Famine*,
2. *Peſtilence*,
3. *Sword*.

Whereof *war* is the *worſt* of all, comprehends them *all*, and brings them *all* upon us, and therefore *Homer* ſaith,

Ἀφήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος, ἐστιν ἑκεῖνος
Ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδήμιος ὀκρυόεντος.

He is an *unſociable* and a moſt *wicked* man, that will bring *war*, which is the moſt *deadly* thing unto the people; for then, as *Virgil* ſaith,

——— *Non ullus aratro*
Dignus honor, ———

There is no regard of husbandy.

Sed multæ ſcelerum facies ———
Et curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in enſem.

And

And as *Tibullus* ſaith, The plow Shares are turned to Swords,

Tunc cædes hominum generi, tunc prælia natæ,
Tunc breviter diræ mortis aperta via eſt.

And you ſee how in the time of *war*, the poor *infants*, that never *offended*, do periſh upon their mothers *breſts*, and many times in the *womb*, before they ſee the light; the goodly *houſes*, the ſtately *Palaces*, the pleaſant *gardens*, that are like paradiſes, the fruitfull *trees* that have been ſome *hundreds* of years, before they came to this perfection, are all *burnt*, *deſtroyed*, and *demoliſhed* in a moment; the poore are *ſtarved* in the ſtreets, the fruitfull land is become a *wilderneſs*; and, as Learned *Vives*, writing to King *Henry* the eighth, ſaith, *No Common-wealth, is more unſtable, then that which is moſt exerciſed with war*, as we ſee how often the *Athenians* came to their laſt gaſp, when as, *à Perſis exuſtæ, à Lacedemoniis oppreſſæ, à Philippo fractæ, ab altero Philippo afflictæ, à Mithridate occiſæ & à Sylla propedum deletæ*; And warlike *Rome* was taken by *Tatius*, beſieged by *Porſenna*, burnt by the *Gaules*, terrified by *Pyrrhus*, ſhaken by *Hannibal*, and at laſt *torn in pieces* by her own weapons.

And the like lamentable events have hapned to this our *own Kingdom*, in the time of the *Barons* war, and that civill diſſention betwixt the two houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, wherein were ſlain, as *Daniel* ſets down. And now lately in our *own* daies, we have ſeen the *ſad effects* thereof.

And theſe things do ſufficiently ſhew what a *bleſſed* thing is *peace* and concord among men, when, as the Poet ſaith,

Omnia pace vigent & pacis tempore florent.

And *Xenophon* ſaith, Εἰρήνη δοκεῖ μέγα ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, πόλεμος δὲ μέγα κακόν; peace is the *greateſt good* that can happen unto men, and war the *greateſt evil*; and *Ignatius* ſaith, οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἄμεινον εἰρήνης: nothing in this world is *better* then peace; becauſe, as *Saluſt* ſaith, *Pace minima creſcunt; bello, maxima dilabuntur*, the leaſt things do *proſper* in peace, and the beſt and greateſt things *periſh* in war. And therefore the *Jews*, before all other things, wiſhed *peace*; and it was their ſalutation, *Pax vobis*; ſo Chriſt himſelf uſed it, and left it as his *laſt Legacy* unto his Church: ſo S. *Paul* in every Epiſtle, wiſheth *peace* to them he writes unto; and ſo did our Church *continually* pray, *Give peace in our time, O Lord*, untill the *Divell deſtroyed* the ſame by *war*; And our *fanatick Sectaries* began to deprave our *Pious Liturgie*, and to trample the ſame under feet; How thankfull therefore ought we be to God for ſending our King, that brought us peace, and that ſo peaceably without ſhedding a drop of blood? And ſo you ſee the *kinds*, and the excellent *benefits* of each kind of peace.

Now *Jezabel* would fain know of *Jehu*, what he thought of *Zimri*, that ſlew his *King*, and his *Maſter*, whether he had *all*, or any *one* of theſe kinds of peace; had he peace with *God*, had he peace with *himſelf*, or had he peace with his *neighbours*? And her *beliof* was, that he had neither of thoſe kinds of peace; *Et qui tacet conſentire videtur*; and *Jehu*, by his ſilence, ſeems to *conſent* unto her, for he anſwereth never a word to her demand; But the Prophet *Eſay* gives a full *reſolution* to her queſtion from the mouth of God, *There is no peace to the wicked, ſaith my God*; and his God, was no *lyeing* God, none of the gods of the *Gentiles*, that by their *oracles* gave, either *lying* anſwers or *doubtfull* reſolutions unto their Prophets, ſuch as the demandants could not tell what to make of them, as the oracle of *Apollo* did to *Cræſus* and to the *Lacedemonians* when they ſent unto it; But *his God*

1 Murderers and wicked tranſgreſſors can have no peace with God.

Eſay. 48 22. & 57. 21.

was the God of *truth*, and even *truth* it ſelf; and therefore we may believe it, that there is *no peace to the wicked*; that is, no *kind* of peace, neither peace with *God*, nor peace with *men*, nor peace with *themſelves*. And *Jezabel* had ſufficiently, and clearly, and *unanſwerably* proved *Zimri* to be κατ' ἐξοχὴν, tranſcendently wicked, becauſe he had killed his *King*, that was his *Maſter*: and therefore *Zimri* could not poſſibly come to have any peace, or any kind of peace; but he muſt need be in a moſt *wretched* caſe and lamentable condition, to have a *perpetual* war with *God*, with *men*, and with *himſelf*. And therefore well might he cry out with *Æneas*,

——— O terque quaterque beati,
Queis ante ora patrum contigit oppetere; For

1 Cor. 10. 22. 1. We may, with the words of the Apoſtle, ask of *Zimri*, *Is he ſtronger than God?* And he may remember how *ſoon* the Lord deſtroyed thoſe hundred-handed Gyants, that, as the Poets faign, threw the *Theſſalian* Mountains, *Olympus*, *Pelion*, and *Oſſa*, one upon another, that they might skale the *walls* of Heaven. Or who did ever ſtrive with God, and did *prevail*? for He, and He *alone*, is properly ſaid to be *the Lord of Hoſts*; that hath

both { 1. A *Celeſtial*; and / 2. A *Terreſtrial* } Army: and ſo,

1. God hath his Celeſtial Army. Gen. 7. 19. 1. By his *Airy*-Souldiers he deſtroyed the *old World*, when he opened the windows of Heaven, and rained 40. dayes and 40. nights upon them, until the waters had ſwept *all the enemies of God away*. So, He deſtroyed *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* with fire and brimſtone, and the *Amorites* with hail-ſtones; Chap. 19. 24. Joſh. 10. 11. and the very *Stars* in their order, did fight againſt *Siſera*. And beſides, the *glorious* Angels are not only *inſtruments* of Gods mercies towards the godly, but they are alſo the *executioners* of his juſtice againſt the wicked: and Judg. 5. 20. Exod. 12. 29. therefore an Angel ſlew *all the firſt-born of Egypt*, and ſlew an hundred 2 Kings 19 35. eighty and five thouſand, in the Hoſt of *Senacherib*. And at the laſt Day, the *Angels* ſhall gather the *wicked*, and bind them up like *faggots*, for everlaſting fire. And

2. God hath his Terreſtrial Army. 2. God hath his *Terreſtrial* Army: as, the *Sea* drowned *Pharaoh*, and the *earth* covered *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; yea, the frogs, flies, lice, and rats, will *fight* for God, and deſtroy the wicked; as *Antiochus* and *Herod*, were eaten up with *worms*; and *Hatto*, Biſhop of *Mentz*, was ſtill followed till he was devoured of *rats*. And, as *Debora* ſaith, Thoſe creatures are *accurſed* that fight not with the *Lord* againſt the *wicked*.

Munſter, in his *Coſmogr.* anno 940.

What think you then will be the *end*, and the ſucceſſe of this War with God? It muſt needs be moſt *lamentable* to the wicked; for God is a *conſuming fire*, and it is *a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God*; *if his wrath be kindled, yea but a little, bleſſed are all they that put their truſt in him*; and *woe* be to them that *offend* him.

When as we find, how he deſtroyed ſome with *thunder-bolts*, and lightning, as the Emperour *Carus*: others with *fire* from Heaven, as the two 2 Kings 1. 10, & 12. Captains with their fifties in the time of *Elias*; and never *any* malefactor eſcaped out of his hands; but when the *Magiſtrate*, that ſhould revenge the *innocent* blood, neglects the ſame, He will execute *vengeance* with his own *hands*; as it is obſerved in the Hiſtory of *France*, that ſince the year of Chriſt, 1560. of a hundred murderers, that *eſcaped* puniſhment from the *hands* of men, not ten of them eſcaped the *revenging hand* of God: As you may read it in the Theater of Gods Judgements.

Mr. *Beard* p. 288.

2. King-killers, and murderers can have no peace 2. As the wicked, eſpecially the *blood-thirſty* murderers, have no peace with *God*, ſo they can have no peace, but a *continual* War, and a perpetual fighting and ſlaughter among *men*; *Nam ut mali ſemper perſecuti ſunt bonos, ita & boni ſemper perſecuti ſunt malos: hi per juſtam diſciplinam, illi per in-*

juſtam

juſtam ſuperbiam; and he that, like *Iſmael*, will have his hand againſt *every* man, ſhall have *every* mans hand againſt him. Therefore *Zimri*, after he had become a Traytor to his *King*, and had ſlain his *Maſter*, was ſo proſecuted by the true and honeſt ſubjects of King *Elah*, and ſo ſtraightly beſieged in *Tyrza*, that he burnt the *Royal* Palace, and himſelf therein; for the *juſtice* of God doth require, that as he *gave* the Law, ſo he ſhould have his Law *obſerved*, *i.e.* That he which ſheddeth *mans blood*, ſhould have his blood ſhed *by man*. For the fuller clearing of which point, I pray you look what the Lord ſaith in *Numbers* 35.31. and the reaſon that is rendered verſe 33. for that blood *defileth the Land*. And I might here make you a whole *Volume*, to ſet forth the declaration of the *juſt judgement* of God upon ſuch Traytors and Tranſgreſſors of this Law, as *Zimri* was, both of *former* times, and of theſe *later* years: And

You know what the Law ſaith, *An eye for an eye, tooth for tooth, life for life*. And you hear how the Prophets threaten, that *ſpoilers ſhall be ſpoiled*: and that our Saviour ſaith, *With what meaſure you mete, it ſhall be meaſured to you again*. And that the Holy Ghoſt ſaith, *He that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity, and he that killeth with the ſword, ſhall die by the ſword*; which is *lex talionis*, the law of *retaliation*, and is the *juſteſt* law in the World; and ſaid to be the juſtice which the Poets faign *Radamanthus* executeth in Hell, by puniſhing *every* offender according to his *demerit*. And *Adonibezec* ſaid, *As I have done, ſo God hath requited me*, and hath executed the very *ſame* puniſhment upon me, as I had *done* upon others. And *Juſtin* writes, that *Gryphus* King of *Egypt*, had a *poiſoned* cup offered him by his own *Mother*, who formerly had betrayed *Demetrius* into the hands of his enemies, and had cauſed *one* of her own ſons to be *killed*, that ſhe her ſelf might reign; but *Gryphus* being forewarned of the miſchief, cauſed her to drink *that potion*, which ſhe had brewed for him. And *Benzo* reporteth of *Attibalipa*, a mighty King of *Peru*, how the *Spaniards* having taken him *priſoner*, and agreed with him, that for two *millions* of Gold he ſhould be ranſomed; yet after the *receipt* of the Gold, did moſt *perfidiouſly* put him to death: but it ſo fell out, ſaith mine Author, that by the *juſt judgement* of God, all they that were *conſenting* to his death, came to a moſt *wretched* and a miſerable end.

Exod. 21. 23, 24. Matth. 7. 2. Judg. 1. 6, 7. *Bergo* in his Hiſtory of the *New World*. l. 3. c. 5.

So *Ælian* ſetteth down, how *Archelaus*, King of *Macedon*, had a *Minion* named *Cratenus*, *Elian* l. 1. that affecting the Kingdom, *murdered* his Maſter; but not many dayes after, he was *betrayed* and murdered himſelf. And *Melanchon* ſheweth, how *Arius Axer* ſlew *Numerianus*, that he might attain unto the *Empire*; but the *Prætorian* Souldiers, underſtanding the *matter*, rejected *Axer*, and choſe *Diocleſian* for their Emperour, that laid hold of *Axer*, and put him to death, as he well *deſerved*, for his diſloyalty. And further, the ſame *Melanchon* ſheweth, how young *Gordian*, the Emperour, was *treacherouſly* ſlain by *Philip Arabs*, whom *Gordian* had promoted to great *honour*; but the *juſtice* of God ſerved him with the *ſame ſauce*, when his own Souldiers *conſpired* againſt him, and *Decius* cauſed him to be ſlain. So *Domitian* was killed by *Stephan*, that was the *Steward* of his houſe, and he was *ſlain* for his pains in the time of *Nerva*. And the Learned *Caſaubon* hath obſerved, that *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and *all* the reſt of the Conſpirators againſt *Julius Cæſar*, were never free from *War*, but ſtill followed by *Auguſtus* and *Antonius*, until they ſlew themſelves, with the *ſame Paniards* wherewith they had ſtabbed *Cæſar*.

Melanchon Coron. l. 3. *Caſaubon animadver. in Sueton.* l.

But to what *end* ſhould I tell you of any *more* ſuch Stories out of *prophane* Authors, that are ſo full of the *like* examples? when the *holy Scripture* does ſufficiently teſtifie, by the examples that are *therein* ſet down, that ſuch *murderers* of their Lords and Maſters, never had any *peace* among men; but were ſtill *moleſted* with wars, *hatred*, and troubles, until they were *deſtroyed*.

For

For *Jozachar* the ſon of *Shimeath*, and *Jehozabad*, the ſon of *Shomer*, that ſlew their King, and their Maſter *Joaſh*, were ſo *hated* by the people, that the Kingdom was *confirmed* to *Amazia*, that ſlew theſe *murderers*, who had ſlain his *father*. So *Shallum*, the Son of *Jabeſh* ſlew his King *Zacharia*, and raigned in his ſtead; but he was therefore himſelf ſlain by *Menahem* the ſon of *Gadi*, within one *moneth* after he had ſlain his Maſter. So *Peka* the ſon of *Remalia*, conſpired againſt his King and his Maſter *Pekahiah* the ſon of *Menahem*, and ſlew him: and *Hoſhea*, the ſon of *Ela*, made a conſpiracy againſt him, and *ſlew* him, even as he had kill'd his King; which verified the old Proverb, *Proditoris proditor*, He became a *Traytor* of a *Traytor*. So the ſervants of King *Amon*, that ſlew their Maſter, the *Lord* ſtirred up the people *of the Land* to revenge his *death*, and to kill *all them* that had *conſpired* againſt their King, *i.e.* the common people. And ſo *here*, to name no more, *Zimri*, that ſlew his King and his Maſter, that was a *Drunkard*, hath no *reſt*, nor *peace*, but is begirt and brought to that *extremity*, as to throw himſelf into the *fire* to be burned; a very *juſt*, but a very *fearful* death.

2 Kings 12.21. Chap. 14. 5. And I think he did very well in it, as I would have done.

2 Kings 15.14.

2 Kings 15.30.

2 Kings 21.23, 24.

And therefore, let no *Zimri*, nor any that are of *Zimri*'s mind, King-killers and the *Murderers* of their Maſters, ever think, that they can have either *peace* or reſt, or any *happineſs*, but envy, hatred, and *wars*, or ſome *miſchief* or other, to follow them at their *heels*, until they be deſtroyed, as they have deſtroyed their Maſters. For the *Scriptures* muſt be fulfilled, that wickedneſs ſhall never *proſper*, and the murderers of their Kings can have *no peace*, nor any *good ſucceſſe* while they live; for having committed ſuch *horrible* Facts, they can have no *Aſſociats*, Patrons, or Protectors, but ſuch *vile Varlets* as themſelves; and therefore theſe they muſt *entertain*, and theſe they muſt *advauce* and protect. And remember what King *Boco* ſaid to the Senate of *Rome*, Wo to that *Realme*, where all are ſuch, as neither the *good*, among the evil, nor the *evil* among the good are known: Wo to that *Realme* which is an entertainer of all *fools*, and a deſtroyer of all *Sages*. Wo to that Realme where the good are *fearful* to do good, and the evil *too bold* to do evil. Wo to that *Realme*, where the patient are *deſpiſed*, and the ſeditious are *commended*. Wo to that *Realme*, which *deſtroyeth* thoſe that watch for the good, and *crowneth* thoſe which watch to do evil. Wo to that *Realme*, where the poor are ſuffered to be *proud*, and the rich *tyrants*. Wo to that *Realme*, where all do *know* the evil, and no man doth *follow* the good. Wo to that *Realme*, where ſo many evil vices are openly committed, which in another Country dare not ſecretly be *mentioned*. Wo to that *Realme*, where all *think* that which is evil, and all *ſpeak* that which they think; and finally, where all men do *what they liſt*: in ſuch, and ſo *unfortunate* a Realme, where the people are ſo *wicked*, let *every good man* beware, that he be *no inhabitant*; for, in a ſhort time, there muſt happen there, either the *ire* of the gods, or the *fury* of men, to the depopulation of the *good*, or the deſtruction of the *bad*; when as *nothing* can betide the people in ſuch a Kingdom, but *Oppreſſions*, and *Taxes*, murmurings, diſtractions, and diſſentions, until the *fire* be kindled among them, to *conſume* and to deſtroy one another. But if the *perſonal* ſhedding of the *innocent* blood be thus *haynous*, and ſo *ſeverely* puniſhed, what ſhall we ſay to *National* ſhedding of ſuch Blood, as was ſhed in theſe Kingdoms that was ſo *infinitely* more abominable than the other?

What King *Boco* ſaid to the people of *Rome*.

The Diall of Princes, *pag.* 393.

But, as Doctor *Turner*, when he was *terræ filius* in the Univerſity, ſaid to his *Opponent*,

Thinkeſt thou with terrible words, to terrifie terrible Turner? So theſe monſters of men, that dare to kill both *Kings* and their *Maſters*, and then to ſuppreſſe the *good*, and to advance the *wicked*, to ſilence the *wiſe*, and to magnifie fools, will ſay, theſe things are but *ſhadows* and bug-bears to frighten

ten *Babes*, and poor-ſpirited men, that have neither the *courage* of Heroicks, nor the *knowledge* of Scriptures; for they can tell us *well enough*, that although ſome King-killers have been *puniſhed* like *Zimri*, for ſlaying their *Maſters*, yet *à particulari non eſt ſyllogizari*, we muſt not conclude a *General* Rule from *particular* examples; for *Baaſha* ſlew his King and his Maſter *Nadab*, and yet he reigned 24. years, and died *peaceably* in his bed. And *Jehu* killed *Joram*, his King and his Maſter, and yet he reigned 28. years, and proſpered, and died *peaceably* in his bed: And *Menahem* ſlew *Shallum* his King, and reigned 10. years, and died *peaceably* in his bed; and ſo did many more that are recorded in *prophane* Authors; and the *ambitious* hunters after Kingdoms perſwade themſelves that they may ſpeed with the *beſt*, and not periſh with the *worſt* fortune.

And ſo likewiſe thoſe *Common-wealths* and Kingdoms that have *killed* their Kings, which they conceived to be *wicked*, did not only eſcape *free* from puniſhment, but were *proſperous*, and had good ſucceſſe, and were the inſtruments of *much good* unto the people. As it fared with the Senate of *Rome*, which as *Halicar.* l. 1. ſaith, *killed* and cut in pieces their King *Romulus*; and afterwards expelled *Tarquin*, and *judicially* ſentenced *Nero* to death, as *ſome* do write; (and is the *onely* ſentence for death, that I have read in *any* hiſtory; though, for *deprivation*, not ſo;) which ſentence *notwithſtanding* was *never* executed; yet was it decreed, and, as thoſe and the *like* Senators do alleadge, the Common-wealth proſpered after it. In the third ſpeech at the Conference of Parliament. *pag.* 15. *Eutrop. l.* 1.

I anſwer, that *una hirundo non facit ver*, and though *Balaams* aſſe once ſpake, ſhall we think that *all other aſſes* ſhall be able to ſpeak? So *one* or *two* examples in *particular*, are of no force in the *generall*: but the *truth* is, that Gods *judgements* are *unſearchable*, his wayes are in the *Seas*, his paths in the *great waters*, and his footſteps *are not known*; yet this we may *know* for certain, that *although a ſinner do evill an hundred times, and God prolong his dayes, yet it ſhall be well with them that fear the Lord; but it ſhall not be well with the wicked, neither ſhall he prolong his dayes, but he ſhall be like a ſhadow, becauſe he feareth not before God*; and ſo the Prophet *David* teſtifieth at large, and *Job* did the like before him. And we may *know* alſo, that although *Jehu* and ſome others, that had *ſpeciall* Commiſſions from God, to fulfill his will, *proſpered*, and eſcaped the *hand* of judgement, for their *zeal* to Gods *ſervice*, and their *repentance* for their tranſgreſſion; yet is it a moſt *certain* truth, that *murderers*, King-killers, and all other like wicked malefactors, ſhall never eſcape *unpuniſhed*; and yet God doth not alwayes puniſh them in *like manner:* Pſal. 37. 9. 10.

Either in reſpect { 1. Of the *time*, or / 2. Of the *puniſhment*, or / 3. Of the *perſons*, ---for

1. In reſpect of the *time*, he reſerveth the puniſhment of *ſome*, though they be never ſo wicked, for the *next* life, and ſuffereth them to *proſper* all their dayes in this world, as he did the *rich glutton*, what evill ſoever he did; and this both holy *Job*, and the good King *David*, do ſufficiently prove; and examples *enough* might be produced of moſt wicked *tyrants*, and *murderers*, and the *like* malefactors that eſcaped the *hand* of God in this life; but how they eſcaped the *next*, I cannot tell, themſelves by *this time* know; and this *future* puniſhment, is the *heavieſt* puniſhment in the world, and the *proſperity* of ſuch malefactors, is the *worſt*, and the unhappieſt proſperity that can be.

Others he puniſheth in *this* life; and yet thoſe, not all *alike*, in reſpect of the *time* of their puniſhment; but ſome *preſently*, as *Achan*, *Cosbi*, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; *Nadab* and *Abihu*, *Ananias* and *Saphira*, and the like; others have *ſome time* given them, to ſee if in that time they will *confeſſe* their ſinnes, *repent* them of their wickedneſſe, *amend* their lives, and make

Zimri 7. dayes. make *ſatisfaction* to the parties wronged; ſo *Zimri*, had 7. days given him before he was puniſhed. *Shallum* that ſlew *Zacharia*, had one month given him. *Otho* that cauſed *Galba* to be ſlain, had leave to reign four months before he *ſuffered* for his murders; and *Vitellius* that was the deſtruction of *Otho*, had 8 months before *Veſpaſian* brought him to death; *Philip Arabs* that ſlew young *Gordian*, had 5. years given him, before *Decius* revenged the death of *Gordian*; and *Decius* that was the death of *Philip* raigned 2. yeares, before he was puniſhed for the death of *Philip*: *Phocas* had 8. years after he killed his Maſter *Mauricius*, before he had his puniſhment; and *Peka* raigned 2. years after he killed *Pekahiah*, before *Hoſhea* revenged the death of *Pekahiah*; ſo the Prophet tells the *Ninivites* they ſhould have 40. *days*, before they ſhould be deſtroyed; the children of *Iſrael* 40. *years* in the wilderneſs; and *Jeruſalem* was not deſtroyed in 40 years after they had crucified Chriſt; the *Son* bearing with them juſt ſo long as his *Father* bore with them in the wilderneſs; the old world had 120. *yeares* given them to repent, before they were deſtroyed; and the wickedneſſe of the *Amorites* remained well-nigh 400. *years* before it was revenged, having continued from the wandring of the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſſe, even till the dayes of King *Saul*.

Otho 4. months.
Vitel. 8. mon.
Phil. Arabs 5. years.
Decius 2. years.
Niceph. l. 18. c 58.
Phocas 8. years.
2 Kings. 15.
Peka 20. years.

And therefore let no man wonder, that we ſee not *adulteries*, oppreſſions, and *murders* preſently puniſhed; neither ſhould we think, that becauſe they proſper, bear rule, and raign in a *flouriſhing* ſtate for ſome years, they ſhall therefore flouriſh for *ever*, and never be puniſhed; becauſe the Lord is ſlow to anger, and cometh to puniſh on *leaden* feet, uſing *much* patience towards the *moſt* wicked reprobates; to ſee, if his *long* ſufferance can lead them to repentance. But if they be *ſuch* as the wiſe man ſpeaketh of, that,

Eccleſ. 8. 11. *Becauſe ſentence againſt an evill work* [*treaſon, or murder, or the like*] *is not executed ſpeedily, therefore the heart of the ſons of men is fully ſet in them to do evill*; then will God recompence the *ſlowneſſe* of his coming with *ſeverity* of vengeance, and ſmite them home with *iron*-hands: for this law is *irrevocably* enacted in heaven, that murders, adulteries, oppreſſions, perjuries, and other ſuch wickedneſſes, ſhall not always proſper, but ſhall *undoubtedly* be puniſhed, though the *times* and the *manner*, are not by us to be known.

Te peccare ſinit, ſiquidem divina poteſtas Temporis ad ſpatium parcit quandoque nocenti: Sed gravius tandem tormentum rector Olympi Injungit, torquetque magis delicta nocentum.

2. For the *puniſhment* of malefactors, it is

Obadiah v. 15. 16. 1. Sometimes ταυτοπάθεια, and they ſhall ſuffer the *ſame ſtrokes*, and receive the *ſame meaſure* as they have meaſured unto others: *As thou haſt done, it ſhall it be done unto thee.* Even as *Pharaoh* drowned all the *male-children* of the *Iſraelits* in the waters of *Nilus*; ſo was *He*, and all his *Hoſt* drowned *in the red Sea*; and as the ſword of *Agag* had made many women *childleſs*; ſo did the ſword of *Samuel* make *Agags* mother *childleſs* among women; and as all the foreſaid examples, that have proved *Traytors*, and have *kil'd* their Kings, have been *kil'd* themſelves, juſt as the Lord had ſaid, *Whoſoever ſheddeth mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.*

Exod. 1. 22. & 15. 5.

2 Chron. 12. 5. 2. Sometimes ὁμοιοπάθεια, they ſhall ſuffer ſome puniſhment, that ſhall be *ſomewhat like* to the ſin, that they have committed; for ſo the Lord ſaith, *You have forſaken me, and therefore I have alſo left you*, and ſo it hapned to *Solomon*, that, as he divided Gods *ſervice* betwixt God and the Idols, ſo God divided his Kingdom betwixt *Rehoboam* his ſon, and *Jeroboam* his ſervant.

And this *likeneſs* of the puniſhment hath a reference,

ſometimes { 1. To the *Subject*, 2. To the *Place*, 3. To the *Time*, } of our ſinning; for

1 Kings 6. 11. & 6. 12. 1. As *Adam ſinned* in eating the *forbidden fruit*, ſo his *puniſhment* ſhall be, to eat the *fruit of the ground*, in the ſweat of his face: and *Hezechias*

for

for ſhewing his *Treaſure*, was puniſhed with the *loſs* of his treaſure: as many other men, for being proud of their *wealth*, do *loſe* their wealth, ſome one way and ſome another. 2 King 20.

2. The Lord ſaith, that, *In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, ſhall dogs lick thy blood, even thine*; which came to paſs *accordingly*, as you may ſee in 1 *King.* 22 38. 2 In reſpect of the place. 1 King. 21.20.

3. Sometimes the *puniſhment* hath reference to the *time* of our *ſinning*, as the *ſpies* that ſearched the land of *Canaan* 40 daies, and ſinned by their falſe report, were puniſhed by wandering in the wilderneſs 40 *years*; and it is obſerved, that *Pompey* was killed by *Septimius* and *Achillas*, as upon the *ſame day*, wherein, he had *formerly* triumphed for the ſpoile of *Jeruſalem*: and the *Jews* had their City *utterly* deſtroyed by *Titus*, at the *ſame time* of the year, and, as ſome think, on the *ſame* day of the month wherein they had crucified our Saviour Chriſt. 3. In reſpect of the puniſhment.

3. In reſpect of the *perſons* ſinning and puniſhed, we are to obſerve, that although the Lord ſaith, *The fathers ſhall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers*, but every man ſhall be put to death for *his own ſin, and the ſoul that ſinneth, that ſoul ſhall die*; and God will not have them ſay, *The fathers have eaten ſower grapes, and the childrens teeth are ſet on edge*. Yet, it is moſt *certain*, that many times, the *wickedneſs* of the fathers is *remembred* in their poſterity; and the *puniſhment* of that wickedneſs, is oftentimes *delated*, and after a ſort both *deferred*, and, in part, *transferred*, as well to the *children*, and to the *childrens children* of them, that walk in the *ſame ſteps* and follow the ſame courſes, as their fathers did, and ſometimes upon the very *innocent Infants*, as upon the *wicked* fathers, that are *murderers*, and *malefactors* themſelves. 3. The perſons ſinning. 2 King. 14.6.

For ſo the Lord ſaith, that for the ſin of *Jeroboam*, therefore (behold, and mark it well) *I will bring evil upon the houſe of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam him that piſſeth againſt the wall, and him that is ſhut up and left in Iſrael, and will take away the remnant of the houſe of Jeroboam*, as a man *taketh away dung till it be all gone*. 1 King. 14.10, 11.

And ſo, *Baaſha* the ſon of *Ahijah* ſmote *all the houſe of Jeroboam*, he left not to *Jeroboam* any that breathed, until he had deſtroyed him, according to the Word of the Lord; and the Lord threatneth the very *ſame* puniſhment, and the rooting out of *all* his poſterity to *Baaſha*, that killed his King *Nadab*, and did other *evils* in the ſight of the Lord; and this, *Zimri* the ſervant of *Elah*, brought to paſs according as the Lord had threatned; and the *very* like puniſhment happened to *all* the poſterity of *Ahab* even for *Naboths* murder, and other ſins of *Ahab*; and too many more murderers and wicked men, that by their *ſins* and deſire to *raign*, and unjuſt preferring of their *children*, have pulled down vengeance upon *themſelves*, and rooted out all their *poſterity*. 1 King. 15.29. 1 King. 16.3, 4. 1 King. 16.11, 12. 2 King. 9.9. and c. 10.17.

And for *Romulus*, *Tarquinius* and *Nero*, I ſay *neither* of them were either *good* or *honeſt*; and yet the holy Scripture doth not allow the *killing* or *ſentencing* of them to death; and the *proof* of the Senat's killing *Romulus*, or ſentencing *Nero* to death, is not *Authenticall*; nor the *examples* by any means to be *followed*, when they are ſo apparantly *contrary*, to the practice and *precepts* of the holy Apoſtles; and the *ſucceſs* which followed *Neroes* death, proved ſo *lamentable*, as the *Tragicall* butchering of three of their ſucceeding Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, that had been three moſt *famous* Captains, and had done very worthy exploits for their Countrey. *Corn. Tacit.* l. 20. & 21.

And therefore, whoſoever thinketh by *murder* and *ſlaughter* to *uſurp* another mans Kingdom, Inheritance, or Poſſeſſion, and thereby to raiſe his *houſe*, and to advance his *children*, as *Zimri*, *Baaſha*, *Shallum*, and others thought to do, or thereby to benefit the *Common-wealth*, as they pretend

to do, he *deceives* himſelf; becauſe this is the only way to bring *wars* and troubles unto himſelf, and to the Common-wealth, and a *curſe* at leaſt, if not a *rooting* out of his poſterity; while the *innocent* blood, that he hath ſhed, or *cauſed* to be ſhed, doth *continually* cry to God for vengeance againſt him or them that did it: And ſo you ſee that neither *Zimri*, nor any other *killer* of his King, and of his Maſter, or of any other man, can have any *peace*, either with God or with men.

3. King-killers and murderers and the like wicked men, can have no peace with themſelves.

3. The murderer and wicked man can have no peace with *himſelf*, nor any reſt, or quietneſs in his *own* thoughts and conſcience; for, as *Lipſius* ſaith, *Cognatum, immo innatum, eſt omni ſceleri ſceleris ſupplicium*, Sin bears its *own* puniſhment alwaies on his *back*; they are ſo *inſeperably* knit together, that the one cannot be *committed*, but the other will be *inflicted*; becauſe, as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Juſſit Dominus, & ita eſt, ut animus inordinatus ſit ſibi ipſi pœna*; the Lord hath ordained it, and *it is ſo*, that a wicked diſordinate mind, ſhould be a *puniſhment* unto it ſelfe; for, as God ſaid unto *Cain*, ſo it is with us; if we do ill, *ſin lyeth at the door*, that is, the *reward* of ſin, or the *puniſhment* due for that ſin, is alwaies at *hand*, like a wild Beaſt, to dog us, and to bite us, *whereſoever we go*; and the *conſcience* of ſin, eſpecially of theſe *bloody* ſins, beareth forth ſuch *bitter* fruit, as that nothing in the world can be more *grievous*, or more miſerable to a mortall man; for, as *Menander* ſaith, Βροτοῖς ἅπασιν ἡ συνειδησις θεός, The conſcience is as a *god* to all men, to be a witneſs of our *debts*, a judge of our *deeds*, and a tormentor of all our *tranſgreſſions*: and the wiſe man ſaith, *The ſpirit of a man will bear his infirmities*, that is, all the ſad *calamities* and misfortunes, that may happen unto him, a brave mind and a *Heroick* ſpirit will bear them all; but *a wounded ſpirit who can bear?* For, *as* the Poet ſaith,

Lipſius de conſtantia l. 2. c. 13.

Gen 4 7.

Ovid. Triſt. l. 5.

Strangulat incluſus dolor, atque exæſtuat intùs.

And the *Examples* that might be brought hereof are *infinite*, beyond number; I will name to you but a few. *Oedipus* that bloody inceſtuous King of *Thebes*, is ſaid to be led to *Athens* by his daughter *Antigona*, (i.e.) to be doggd up and down by his own *conſcience*, and to be buried in the Temple of *Erinnys*, (i.e.) to be overwhelmed with *ſorrows*, and perturbations for his *lewd* forepaſſed life; and his wife and mother *Jocaſta*, in like manner, ſtrangled her ſelf, ſaith *Sophocles*.

And *Procopius* writes that *Theodoric* King of the *Gothes*, after he had moſt unjuſtly put to death *Symmachus* and *Boetius*, two noble Senators of *Rome*; his own *thoughts* and conſcience did ſo moleſt him, that, as he was at *Supper*, with many friends about him, and a *Fiſh* his head of great bigneſs, being ſet on the table, his *imagination* conceited, It was the head of *Symmachus*, that with angry eyes, *grinned* upon him, whereby he was ſo oppreſſed with *fear* and trembling, that he *ſuddenly* roſe from the table, and could never afterwards be comforted; but his *conſcience* did continually ſo torment him, that he pined away moſt *miſerably*, till he died.

Polydor. l. 25. And *Polydore Virgil* ſaith, that *Richard* the third of this Kingdome, after he had ſlain his two Nephews, had the like *tormenting conſcience*, till he was ſlain by *Hen.* 7. at *Boſworth Field*. And we read that *Tiberius*, after he had been the *death* of very many that he hated, was ſo vexed with ſuch *grievous* torments of his wounded ſpirit, that he deſired all the gods rather to *deſtroy* him all at once, then to ſuffer him thus to *pine* away with the continual ſting and ſtripes of a tormented conſcience; wherein the *juſt* God dealt with *him*, as he had done to many others, to ſuffer many deaths, before he put them to death, as the ſubtle Fox was wont to ſay; and *Nero* the monſter of men, when he had moſt *unthankfully* put to death his own Maſter,

Maſter, and Tutor, *Seneca*; and moſt *unnaturally* cauſed his own natural *Mother* to be killed, with many others of the faithful ſervants of Chriſt; he was ſo *grievouſly* vexed in conſcience, that he could not be comforted by any means: but thought in his *mind*, that he did alwayes ſee his Mothers *Ghoſt*, ſtill crying for vengeance againſt him.

And to paſſe over thoſe *infinite examples* that might be produced of this kind; I will only alleadge that one of *Apollodorus* the Tyrant, who *dreamed*, that he was flea'd by the *Scythians*, and that his heart, thrown by them into a *boyling* Caldron, ſhould ſay unto him, I am the *cauſe* of all this thy miſeries my ſelf; ſo the heart and *conſcience* of every malefactor, eſpecially the ſhedders of *innocent* blood, will perpetually tell them, where they *are*, and what they muſt *expect*; and howſoever, they may put on a *ſeeming* countenance of *peace*, and a quiet mind of no diſturbance, yet *indeed*, they are but like the *glow-worm*, that in a dark night, makes a *fiery* ſhew, but being *preſt*, you ſhall find *nothing* in him, but *cold* moiſtures; for the *worm* of conſcience, doth alwaies *gnaw* their wretched ſouls *within* them, when their faces ſeem to ſmile *without*.

But, it may be, ſome will object that, all ſinners have not ſuch *unquiet* minds, and all murderers and King-killers have not, as we ſee, *wounded ſpirits*.

I anſwer, that *ſome* indeed are of ſuch *braſen* faces, that they can *laugh* their ſins out of countenance, and ſmile, with the *fool*, when they go to the gallows; but I aſſure my ſelf, their *hearts* bleed, when their *faces* counterfeit ſmiles, and they are like *Dives*, that ſaw *Lazarus* a far off in *Abrahams* boſom, but was himſelf *tormented* in Hell; for the heart and ſoul may be *ſorrowfull*, when the face and countenance may ſeem *cheerfull*. And it is a thouſand to one but it is ſo with all *murderers*, and the like *haynous* tranſgreſſors; for that it is *impoſſible*, that ſuch men ſhould ever want *furies*, ſo long as they have *themſelves*: or if they could find a way, to run away from *themſelves*, and to cauſe their *ſouls* to forſake their bodies, as *Saul*, *Zimri*, *Achitophel*, and *Judas* did; yet their *conſciences* will not flie away from their *ſouls*, nor their ſins from their conſciences; but let a murderer, *King-killer*, or *Maſter-killer*, or any other *man-killer*; flye, *ab agro in civitatem*, *à publico ad domum*, *à domo in cubiculum*, from the field into the City, from the City into his houſe, and from the houſe into his bed, and thence like thoſe *impatient* fiſhes, that leap out of the *frying*-pan into the fire; from the *private hell* of their own breaſts, into the *publick hell* of damned ſouls; yet, *Ecce hoſtem inveniet à quo confugerat*, behold, there he ſhall find the *enemy*, whom he feared, that is, a *tormenting conſcience*, joyned to the *burning* flame, for their worm dieth not, ſaith our Saviour.

Or if, it may be, that this *Vermis Conſcientiæ*, this tormenting ſpirit, and *wounds* of conſcience, do not *vex* and affright *theſe* wicked men; then muſt you remember that, as Saint *Bernard* ſaith, there are *four kinds* of conſciences,

1. A *good*, but not a *quiet*,
2. Both a *good*, and a *quiet*,
3. A *quiet*, but not a *good*,
4. Neither a *good*, nor a *quiet*,

} Conſcience.

But of theſe, I ſhall further ſpeak, in the next Treatiſe.

So you ſee the reſolution of *Jezabels* queſtion; *Had Zimri peace?* And what *application* will you make of it? but to demand, Shall they *have peace*, that have moſt *butcherly* maſſacred their brethren? and eſpecially they that have moſt *maliciouſly*, and in the *higheſt* degree of wickedneſſe, *judicially* murdered the *beſt* of all Chriſtian Princes, and their own *moſt juſt* and pious King? or ſhall we *ſuffer* them to jet up and down in *pride*, and

pardon thoſe ſhedders of *innocent* blood, whom *the Lord will not pardon?* That I ſhould *delight* in any mans blood, *God forbid.* Yet; If there be any *Zimri* living ſtill in *peace*, either by the *favour* of friends, or the *ignorance* of his fact, I ſay, *Nunquam ſera eſt ad juſtitiam via*: And, as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaid to *Theodoſ.* in a caſe of blood alſo; *Quod inconſultò factum eſt, conſultius revocetur*, If any thing be done *inconſiderately*, let us more adviſedly amend it; and it is no *diſparagement* to us: *quia ſecundæ cogitationes ſunt ſaniores.* And if you deſire *peace*, let *Juſtice* be done, and *Judgement* be executed; and then you ſhall have peace, becauſe *righteouſneſſe and peace have kiſſed each other*, or otherwiſe, where righteouſneſſe is not, but *unrighteous* men flouriſhing, and the *tranſgreſſours* walking ſtill in *pride*, and unjuſtly *detaining* what they have moſt unjuſtly poſſeſſed; we may preach of *mercy* and pardon, and of charity and peace, but I fear *that peace* will not long continue, if *Juſtice* and Judgement go not along with it, becauſe *there is no peace to the wicked, ſaith our God*; and the *cry* of the oppreſſed ſtill calleth for *vengeance* againſt them, but *righteouſneſſe exalteth a Nation*, and juſt judgements do prevent and *preſerve* us from the judgements of God.

THE

THE THIRD TREATISE.

Esay 57. 21.

There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God.

In which words you may

Observe { 1. A *Proclamation.* 2. The *Proclaimer.*

WE do read that *Aristotle* (the School-master of *Alexander* the Great, and the *Prince* of Philosophers, so much admired for his *Logical* wit) hath been *characterized* by Scholars, in three especial Epithites, as 1. That he was φιλοκαθολος. a lover of *Universalities*, and to deal in *Generalls*. 2. That he was φιλομεθοδικος, a great *lover* of Method. 3. That he was φιλαιτιος, a subtile searcher out of *causes*. 1. The Proclamation. 3 Excellent properties in *Aristotle*.

And these three *exquisite* points, we find here expressed in this *short* sentence of our Prophet; for

1. The Proclamation is *general*, No peace, to no wicked man, in no place, at no time.

2. Here is the *Cause* of it fully and plainly expressed, the *wickednesse of men.*

3. The Method is clear without ambiguity; *There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God.*

First then I say, the Proclamation is *generall*, and therefore more *grievous*; for you must understand that The generality of the Proclamation.

there is, { 1. *Nulla pax*, no peace. 2. *Nullo loco*, in no place. 3. *Nullo tempore*, at no time. 4. *Nulli impio*, to no wicked man.

And *Peace* is the most *excellent* of all earthly blessings; so the Jewes thought; and so the Fathers of the Church have ever taught; for, as the Poet saith,

Omnia pace vigent, & pacis tempore florent.

And

And therefore *Virgil* saith, *Pacem nos poscimus omnes.*

And yet the Lord saith, *There is no peace to the wicked*; no peace, or not any *kind* of peace; for we do read of a three-fold peace, whereof each one is exceeding *good*, and is desired by all, but not *one* of them is obtained by the wicked:

Peace is three-fold.

as, { 1. Peace *with men.* 2. Peace *with God.* 3. Peace *with our selves.* } For

1. The wicked have no peace with men. Math. 5. 9.

1 Wicked men are neither *Peace-makers*, nor *Peace-takers*: Our Saviour saith, *Blessed are the Peace-makers*; but wicked men are so far from *making* peace, and reconciling neighbours, that they are rather like a *pair of bellows*, to blow the coals of *contention*, and to set them *further* together by the ears; and if any be at oddes with them, then, as the Prophet saith, *when we speak unto them of peace, they make themselvs ready to battle*; and, as it was with King *Charles*, and some others, the more he *sought* and laboured for *peace*, and accommodation, the more averse were they from all *reasonable* conditions: so it is with *all* wicked men, the more we desire to live *peaceably* among them, the more will they prepare for *war*, and make themselves ready for battel.

Tertul. l. ad Martyres.

But for the *war*, that both we and they should make, they are *farthest* from it; for, though we all desire peace; yet, as *Tertullian* saith, *Pax nostra, bellum est contra Satanam*; Our peace consisteth, and is obtained, by our *war* against Satan: and we shall never have peace, unless we do, as Christ did, and as the Church of Christ must do; that is, to *suffer* in this war, and to overcome, *in medio inimicorum*: even as the Jews did, when they were re-edifying the *Temple*, and building up the *City* of God; they wrought with *one hand*, and held their *weapon* in the other: For, we have enemies *enough* on every side; as *Satan* on the one side, the *world* before us, the *wicked* behind us, and our own *carnal* lusts within us; *Contra quos viriliter pugnare, est pacem consequi*; To fight against these, is to obtain the true peace. Yet the *wicked*, the *worldlings*, and the *hypocrites*, will never fight against *any* of these their enemies; but think to escape *all* dangers, in that they are *Neuters*, and do hold of neither side. But that can never be; for the *godly* will never cohere with the *wicked*; neither can the *wicked* indeed, agree among *themselves*: but *Ephraim* will be against *Manasses*, and *Manasses* against *Ephraim*; an Egyptian against an Egyptian, a transgressor against a transgressor; and *Proditoris proditor*, one Traytor will betray another. As you may observe it *now*, amongst many of our *great* Commanders, and our late King's enemies. *Less peace* is betwixt them, than betwixt the *brute beasts*; for of the little Bees, S. *Ambrose* saith that, *ægrotante una lamentantur omnes.* And we say, that *Sævis inter se convenit Ursis*; and the sheep can live in *amity* without the *least* hurt, of the one to the other. Yea the Lions, the Hogs, and the Dogs, *qui mori pro dominis parati sunt*, which for a *crust* of bread, are ready to *die* for their Masters, can love their *kind*, and live in *unity* among themselves, and do good service unto man, and shew themselves *kind* and curteous unto him; as the Ravens brought *food* unto *Elias*; and the hungry Lions did no *hurt* unto *Daniel*, when he was thrown into their Den, to be *devoured* by them.

Nehem. 4. 17.

Esay 9. 21. & chap. 19. 2. & 21. 2.

Ambros. Hexam. l. 6. c. 4.

And yet *wicked* men will *plunder*, rob, fight, wound, and *kill* one another. Wherefore the holy Martyr, S. *Cyprian*, cryeth out, *O detestandam humanæ malitiæ crudelitatem; aves pascunt, feræ parcunt, homines sæviunt!* O the most *hateful* cruelty of humane malice; the fowles of the air do *feed* us, and the wild beasts do *spare us*, and serve us, and men that are of our own *flesh and blood*, perhaps our kindred, or our brethren, will *destroy* us, and prove Wolves and Lions one to another. And so, as our Prophet saith, *The wicked have no peace with men*; but are lawing one with another, and our

Cyprian. in serm. de oratione Dom.

our fighting, and our *warring*, makes this point plain *enough*, that we are a *wicked generation*; becauſe there is *no peace amongſt us.*

2. As the wicked have no peace with *men*, ſo they have leſſe peace with *God*; for he profeſſeth that they are his *enemies*, ſaying, *Ah, I will eaſe me of mine adverſaries, and avenge me of mine enemies*: and whereas Chriſt came down from Heaven, to be our *peace*, and to become the *Mediatour* between the *mortal* ſinner, and the *immortal* God, and ſo to make our *peace* with God; And, as the Apoſtle ſaith, to be *peace*, as well *to them that were afar off*, as to them *that were nigh*; that is, as S. *Hierom* expoundeth it, as well to us that were *Gentiles* (and ſo, far from the *Covenant* of Grace) as to the *Jews*, that were the children of *Abraham*, to whom the *Covenant* was made, that he would be *his God*, and *the God of his ſeed.*

2. The wicked have no peace with God. Eſay 1. 24. *Aug. Confeſſ.* l. 10. c. 43.

Hierom. in loc. Epheſ. 2. 17.

Gen. 17. 17.

But Chriſt is *no Chriſt* to the *wicked*; for if any man hath not the *Spirit* of Chriſt, the ſame *is none of his*: and the *Spirit* of Chriſt flieth from *deceit*, and *dwelleth not in the body that is ſubject unto ſin.* And Chriſt tells us plainly, that if we be *his ſheep*, and would have him to be *our Chriſt*, our Mediatour, and our *peace*, then we muſt *hear his voice*, and *follow* him; that is, to be as he is, *meek and lowly in heart*, loving one another, and ready to lay down their lives, the one for the other, even as he laid down his life for us all.

John 10. 27.

But the *wicked* will neither *hear his voice*, to believe it, and to obey it, nor *follow him* in any grace or goodneſs: but as the *Jews* followed him to Mount *Calvary*, to crucifie him, and to take away the *life* of his members, and true followers; as now you may ſee *they do*, in every place.

And therefore, as *Linacrus*, reading the *Sermon* of Chriſt in the Mount, ſet down in the 5th 6th and 7th Chapters of S. *Math.* and conſidering the *wicked lives*, oppreſſions, and wrongs, that were practiſed among the people in *every place*, by all degrees of men, he threw away the *Book*, and cryed out, *Certè aut hoc non eſt Evangelium Chriſti, aut nos non ſumus Chriſtiani*: Either this is not the Goſpel of Chriſt, or we be no Chriſtians. So I, ſeeing how *wickedly* men do live, and do *proceed* in their wicked wayes, from bad to *worſe*, from worſe to worſt of all, muſt needs conclude, they neither *have*, nor *can* have any *peace* with God; for, *there is no peace to the wicked, ſaith my God*: and eſpecially ſo long as they do thus *continue* wicked.

3. As the wicked *will* have *no peace* with men, and *can* have *no peace* with God; ſo they *have* no peace with themſelves; that is, no *quiet minds*, nor peace of *conſcience.* Where notwithſtanding you muſt obſerve, that, as S. *Bernard* ſaith, there is a fourfold conſcience: as

3. The wicked have no peace with themſelves. *Bernard.* l. *de conſcient. ſect.* 2. *fol.* 1784.

1. A *good*, but *not quiet*.
2. A *quiet*, but *not good*.
3. Both *good and quiet*.
4. Neither *good nor quiet*.

That there are four kinds of conſciences.

Whereof the *firſt*, that is the *good* conſcience, but not *quiet*; and the *third*, that is, the *good* and *quiet* conſcience, do both belong unto the *godly*, and the true ſervants of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that have made their *peace* with God; and yet may they *ſometimes* be troubled with *many doubts* and fears for ſome *offences* and infirmities, which, their *conſciences* tell them, have *offended* God. And though theſe *doubts* and fears may *diſturb* their conſciences, and *abate* their joy, and *leſſen* their aſſurance of Gods *love*, and their *peace* with God for a time: yet will they bring no *great damage* unto them; but rather produce very *good effects* and fruits of grace, as, to make them *ſorry* for thoſe offences, that are *paſt*, and do now *trouble* them; and to be more *careful* to prevent the like to come. But,

1. The good, yet not quiet conſcience.

The fears of the godly produce very good effects.

2. They that have a *good conſcience*, and a *quiet one*, have, as *Solomon* ſaith, *a continual feaſt*, and a Heaven upon Earth: And the very Heathen can tell us, that *Murus aheneus eſto, nil conſcire ſibi.* And therefore, S. *Gregory* ſaith, *Quid poterit obeſſe, ſi omnes derogent, & ſola conſcientia defendat?* What *hurt* is it to us, though all men *blame* us, if our conſcience doth *defend*

2. The good quiet conſcience. *Horatius.* *Greg. ſuper Ezeck. hom.* 6.

fend us? For, *Ut malam conſcientiam laudantis præconium non ſanat, ita nec bonam vulnerat convitium*: As all the *praiſe* in the world cannot *heal* a bad conſcience; ſo all the *aſperſions* and diſpraiſe can no wayes *wound* a good conſcience.

Aug. cont. lit. petil.

But, as *theſe* two kinds of conſciences do appertain unto the *godly*, ſo the other two appertain unto the *wicked*: that is,

1. A *bad conſcience*, and yet *quiet*, which is a *ſeared conſcience*, that tells them the truth, like *Caſſandra*, and ſhews them what *evils* they have done, and what they are like to *ſuffer* for it; but they like the careleſs *Trojans*, will give *no ear* thereunto. And this conſcience is like *that ſickneſs*, that takes away from the *patient*, all the *ſenſe* of his ſickneſs, which is therefore the more *dangerous*, becauſe it is *inſenſible*, and we cannot *perſwade* the ſick man, which is ready to *die*, that he is *ſick* at all. And *quid poteſt eſſe miſerius miſero, non miſerante ſeipſum*? What can be more *miſerable*, than a miſerable man, not *underſtanding* his own miſeries? And therefore, S. *Bernard* tells his friend, that, *Ideò dolet charitas mea, quòd cum ſis dolendus, non doleas; & inde magis miſeretur, quod cum miſer ſis, miſerabilis tamen non es*; And S. *Hierom* ſaith, in *like* manner, to *Sabinian*, *Hoc ego plango, quod te non plangis*. This do I *bewail* in thee, that thou doſt not bewail *thy ſelf*. For, as our Saviour ſaith, *when a ſtrong man armed keeps his houſe, the things that he poſſeſſeth are in peace*; So are *theſe wicked men in peace* and quiet, while the *ſtrong man* Satan keeps their *hearts*, as his houſe, to reſide in; but this *ſecret* peace with *Satan* is but an *open* war with *God*: and as S. *Hierom* ſaith, *Tranquillitas iſta tempeſtas eſt*. This calm, is a cruel ſtorm. And nothing can be more *miſerable*, than theſe *ſenſeleſs* ſinners, that perceive not their *miſerable condition*. But, as *Joſephus* ſaith, The *wickedeſt* men in *Jeruſalem*, that were the *deſtruction* of the City, profeſt themſelves to be the only *Zelots*: So *theſe wicked men* think themſelves the only *Saints* of God, walking towards *Heaven*, when as their *wicked* deeds do ſhew, they ride poſte to *Hell*: And as the Lord tells *Cain*; *If thou doeſt ill, ſin lieth at the door*. So will their *ſins* lie at the *door*, and like wild beaſts *dog* them, whereſoever they go, and perhaps *awaken* them at the *laſt*, to let them ſee their *miſerable* condition. And then

Aug. confeſ. l. 1. c. 13.

Bern. Epiſt. 2.

Hierom ad Heliodorum de vita eremit.

2. The bad tormenting conſcience.

2. Their *tormenting* conſciences will be a *hell* upon earth here unto them; for, as the godly have the *joy* of a good conſcience, as the *earneſt* of the heavenly happineſs: So the wicked have this *vermis conſcientiæ*, the vexation of a tormenting conſcience, as the *earneſt* of hell-torments whereſoever they are. And, as *Iſidorus* ſaith, *Nulla pœna gravior, quam pœna conſcientiæ, quia nunquam ſecurus eſt reus animus*: for, as *Solomon* ſaith, *The ſpirit of a man can bear his infirmities*; but *a wounded ſpirit, who can bear*? And *Lucan* ſaith, that a wicked man doth

Iſidor. l. 2. ſoliloq.

Lucan. pharſal. l. 7.

Nocte dieque ſuum geſtare in pectore teſtem; And that
Hunc omnes gladii, quos aut Pharſalia vidit
Aut ultrix viſura dies ſtringente Senatu,
Illa nocte premunt; hunc infera monſtra flagellant.

And as *Ovid* ſaith,

Ovid. de ponto. lib. 1.

Impia perpetuos curarum pectora morſus
Fine quibus nullo conficiantur, habent.
Nec prius hi mentem ſtimuli, quam vita relinquet:
Quique dolet, citius quam dolor ipſe, cadet.

And

And *Pictorius*, in his Epigrams, ſaith

Iſtud habet damni vitium inter cætera, quod mens
Palpitat aſſiduo flagitioſa metu.
Semper enim vel ſi non deprendatur, in ipſo
Seſe deprendi poſſe putat ſcelere.
Deque ſuo, alterius quoties de crimine ſermo eſt,
Cogitat, & credit ſe magis eſſe reum;
Inque dies timor hinc creſcit ———

And S. *Auguſtine* renders to us the *reaſon* of all this, ſaying, *Juſtiſti Domine, & ita eſt, ut animus inordinatus ſit ſibi ipſi pœna*; And, as the Poet ſaith,

Heu quantum miſero pœnæ mens conſcia donat!

For we do read how *Theodoricus*, being troubled in his *conſcience*, imagined that he *ſaw*, as he ſate at *Supper*, the viſage of *Symmachus*, whom he had *unjuſtly* ſlain, in a *fiſhes-head*; and after that he could never reſt *quiet*, nor be comforted by any means, but pined away moſt *miſerably*. *Procopius Lanquet. Chron. fol. 146.*

And *Sleidan* writes, how *Creſcentius*, the Pope's Vice-gerent in the Council of *Trent*, being conſcious of many *ill carriages* in that Council, ſaw the *Devil*, in the likeneſs of a black dog. And *Polydore Virgil* writes of *Richard* the Third, that after he had cauſed his two Nephews, the ſons of *Edward* the Fourth, to be ſecretly *murdered*, he could never have any *reſt* or *quiet* mind while he lived; but would be ſtill *ſtarting*, and clapping his hand on his *Dagger*. *Sleidan com. l. 23. in fine.*

And, to be briefe, ſo it is with all wicked men; that either they have a *ſeared* conſcience, void of all ſenſe; or, if it awakes, a *tormenting* conſcience, that vexeth and plagueth them *continually*. For, my Text is moſt *true*, that there is *no peace to the wicked*, neither with *men*, nor with *God*, nor with *themſelves*. And therefore, howſoever they deem *us* for their *enemies*, yet in very deed, they are the *greateſt* enemies, that can be found on earth, unto *themſelves*.

2. As there is *no peace* to the wicked, ſo they have no peace in *no place*; but, as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Fugiet ab agro in civitatem, à publico in domum, à domo in cubiculum, & à cubiculo in lectum; ecce hoſtem ſuum invenit, à quo confugerat, ſeipſum ſcilicet, à quo fugiturus eſt.* 2. The wicked have no peace in no place.

3. They have no peace, *ullo tempore*, at any time; but, as I ſaid before out of *Lucan*; the wicked do 3. The wicked have no peace at no time.

Nocte dieque ſuum geſtare in pectore teſtem.

both *night* and *day*, early and late, bear in their *boſome*, a *relator*, that doth accuſe them, and a *witneſſe* that doth teſtifie againſt them, the *great* and horrible wickedneſs that they have done, and a Judge that doth *continually* condemn them.

And therefore, the Text ſaith not, *non erat pax*, nor *non erit pax*; but, *non eſt pax*: and in the *Original*, the Text is ſet down *indefinitely*, without a *verbe*, as naming *no time*; that, *aſſoon* as ever we have *ſinned*, we might fear Gods *judgements* preſently, and expect our puniſhment *inſtantly*, and at *all times* thereafter. Becauſe, as *Lipſius* ſaith, *Cognatum, immo innatum, omni ſceleri eſt ſceleris ſupplicium*; And S. *Paul* ſaith, *The wages of ſin is death*, to ſhew, that as the work is *preſent*, ſo the *payment* muſt be *preſent*, *nec aufertur, nec defertur*; it ſhall neither be *remitted*, nor *deferred*: But as the Lord commandeth, not to detain the labourers wages *until the morning*, but *preſently* to pay him, aſſoon as ever he hath done his *work*, before the Sun *Lipſius de conſtantia l. 2. c. 13.*

goeth down; So, when the *sinner* hath done the *sin*, the punishment lieth at the *door* waiting for him.

So you see, here is *no peace*, in *no place*, at *no time*, after the wickedness is done, and the sin is once committed. And

4. There is no peace to no wicked man.

4. To make the *generality* of the sentence full, there is *no peace*, to *no wicked man*; that is, not to *any* man that is *wicked*; for with God *there is no respect of persons*: but if *Coniah* the Prince do sin, though he were *as the signet upon my right hand, I will cut him off*, saith the Lord. The Jews were Gods own *peculiar* people, of whom the Prophet saith, *You only have I chosen of all the Nations of the earth*; yet when they became wicked, God *cast* them off, and *scattered* them among all the Nations of the earth.

And therefore, whether thou beest *Jew* or *Gentile*, *Prince* or *peasant*, young or old, rich or poor, if thou wilt walk in thy *wickedness*, presume not of any *prerogative*, to exempt thee from Gods judgement; for the Lord hath *said* it, and he will *perform* it, There is no peace to *no wicked man*, let him be whom you will.

Object. But here, it may be, some will *object*, that we are all wicked, —— *ergo*, *pax nulli*.

Sol. I answer, That indeed we are *all wicked*, and there is *none that doth good, no not one*; but, that we are not all *alike* wicked: for

1. There are *divers kinds* of wicked men.

2. There are divers *differences* betwixt the wickednesses of wicked men: as

1. There are some that commit wickedness through *ignorance*, others of *knowledge*; and some that commit wickedness, through weakness and *infirmity*, and others do offend of malicious *wickedness*.

And so there are some *wicked* men *lesse haynous* than others, both in the sight of God, and men. And there are *others* more *odious*, and more *transcendently* wicked: and, I conceive, that the Prophet *principally* meaneth, Those *high* abominable sinners, have not, nor can have any peace: such as are, *Murderers*, Regicides, Rebells, Traytors, Idolaters, Adulterers, and the *like* wicked men; and especially if you consider,

2. That there is a *threefold* difference betwixt the sins and wickedness of the godly that are wicked men, and the sins and wickedness of the other *abominable* wicked sinners; whereof the Prophet speaketh; as

1. Before they sin.
2. When they sin.
3. After they sin.

} For,

1. Difference. 1. The godly *purpose* not to offend God, but do intend to *serve* him, and to keep his Commandments; but the wicked do *imagine mischief upon their beds*, their *feet are swift to shed blood*, and they resolve to *proceed* from one wickedness to another: And, as *Seneca* saith, *Scelera sua sceleribus tueri*; To protect and *hedge* about their wickedness, with *greater* wickedness; as their lyes with *perjuries*, their malice with *murder*, and their disobedience with *rebellion*, treachery, and treasons.

2. Difference. 2. The godly, when they *do sin*, they do it with a great deal of *reluctancy*; and, as the Apostle saith, the *evil that they would not do*, and what they hate, *that they do*, by reason of the *frailty* and *weakness* of their flesh, and the *greatness* of their temptation. But the wicked sin with *greediness*, and do rejoyce in the works of their hands, and make a *sport* of their sins.

3. Difference. 3. When the sin is *committed*, the godly are *sorry* for it, and do *repent* them of it, and resolve to do so no *more*: and therefore do *pray* to God, to *forgive* them, what is past, and to give them his *grace* to preserve them from the *like*; but the wicked *never repent* them of any wickedness that they do, nor *pray* to God for grace, to *amend* them; but think they do God *good* service, when they *persecute* the righteous, and *destroy* his servants.

And

And therefore the godly *endeavouring* to be at *peace* with all men, they are for their part in peace with *all men*; and being *juſtified* by the *faith* which they have in Chriſt *Jeſus*, they have peace towards *God*; and having peace with *God*, and ſo leading a *godly* life, they have peace with themſelves, which is the peace of *conſcience*, which is a Paradiſe of pleaſure, as S. *Aug.* terms it, and as the Poet ſaith, Ephes. 4. 3. Aug: *ſuper Geneſ.*

——Audebit dicere, Penthen
Rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
Indignum coges?—— Horat.

But the wicked, whoſe hands are like *Iſmaels* hands, againſt *all men*, ſhall have *all mens hands* againſt them: and being without *fear* in offending God, and without any true *faith* in Chriſt, they ſhall have *God* for their profeſſed *enemy*; and ſo being at *war* with God, and thirſting after wickedneſſe, they have no reſt, nor *peace*; but His thought ſeeth his puniſhment and his fear overwhelms him with miſeries.

Supplicium exercent curæ: tunc plurima verſat
Peſſimus in dubiis augur, timor. *Statius l.* 3. Thebaidos.

And ſo there is *no peace* to *no wicked* man, eſpecially to theſe tranſcendent and reſolved irrepentant wicked *men*, *Sed bella, horrida bella*; warres, warres, and *rumours of warres*. And theſe our *warres*, and preparations for war, our *fightings*, and our *plundering*, our *oppreſſions* and inſupportable *taxations*, and eſpecially this our unnatural rebellion againſt our own juſt and pious King, and above other horrible wickedneſſe, the barbarous murdering of ſo juſt, ſo innocent, and ſo godly a King, do ſufficiently ſhew that we are a *wicked generation*; and, as this our Prophet ſaith, *a ſinfull nation, a nation laden with iniquity, corrupt children, and the ſeed of evill doers; that have wholly forſaken the lawes of our God.*

And this our wickedneſſe, *vice verſa*, doth as apparantly ſhew, that there is *no peace* intended for us; and that we do but expect peace in *vain*, untill we fully intend to forſake our ſins; becauſe our *ſins* and wickedneſſes, our *injuſtice* toward men, and our *prophaneneſſe* in Gods ſervice, have made, and will make, a *ſeparation* betwixt us and God; and, how can we hope for *peace* among men, when God proclaimeth *warre* againſt us? *Quia conſcientia mala bene ſperare non poteſt.* Becauſe a conſcience guilty of ſuch wickedneſſe, as the men of this Nation have committed, knowes not how to hope for any good. Aug. *in* Pſ. 32.

2. This ſheweth that our *ſins* and wickedneſſe is the *cauſe* of all our *miſeries*, our *ſickneſſe*, our *wants*, our *warres*, and of all our *troubles*; for man ſuffereth for his ſins, and, as *Solomon* ſaith, *Miſeros facit populos peccatum.* Prov. 14. 4. It is our ſins that make us miſerable, and therefore, if we would be freed from *troubles*, eaſed of our *burdens*, delivered from theſe *wars*, and healed from our *diſeaſes*, let us forſake our *ſins*, and then God will turn all theſe *evills* from us.

2. Having heard the *particulars* of this generall Proclamation, we are now to conſider of the *Proclaimers*; and they are two, 2. The proclaimers of this truth.

1. The *Prophet*, as Gods *Herald*, and his meſſenger. 1. The Prophet.
2. God *himſelf*, who is the chief ſender forth of this Proclamation; for *there is no peace.*

1. The *Prophets*, Apoſtles, and Preachers of Gods word, are Gods *Heralds* to declare his *will*, and to proclaim his *Meſſages* unto the people; and, as one ſaith very well, they are Gods *mouth*, in preaching to the people, and therefore they ſay, *Os Domini loquutum eſt*, the mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it; and they are the peoples *mouth*, in praying for them, unto God, even as

Mediators betwixt God and the people; as *Moses* saith unto the *Israelites*, Matth.23.2.3. *I stood between the Lord and you, to shew unto you the word of the Lord.*

Which should be a *warning* to us, that, as the Apostle saith, *If any man speak, he should speak the words of God*; And

It should teach the people to *esteem* of their Preachers, as of the *Ministers* of Christ, and as *Legati à latere*, the Embassadours of Christ, and *the dispensers of the manifold mysteries of God*; and it should likewise move them to hear our *words*, not as the words of *men*, but, as the words of the *true* Preachers are indeed, the words of God:

Therefore Christ saith to his *Disciples*, that while the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* do sit in *Moses* chaire, and so teach the doctrine that *Moses* taught, *all whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do*; but do not ye after their works: *Dicunt enim quæ Dei sunt, & faciunt quæ sua sunt*: for they say the words of God, while they teach the *Doctrine* of *Moses*; but they do the works of their own *Wills*, when they do what *Moses* forbids them, saith Saint *Aug.* And that should perswade the people, to hear the Preachers *words* with more *reverence*, and to believe them with lesse *doubting*.

Aug. *adverss. lit. Petil. l.2. c.6.*

2. God himselfe.

2. As the Prophet is Gods *Herald* and Embassadour to proclaim Gods will, so God himself is the *chief Authour* of this Proclamation, and the *principall* proclaimer of this *war* against the wicked; for *there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God*. And God hath spoken it *once and twice*, and the Prophet heard the same; *That power belongeth unto God*; and he hath said it *once and twice*, that *there is no peace to the wicked*; as you see *here* in this Text, and in c.48.22. *Et verba toties inculcata vera sunt, viva sunt, plana sunt*; therefore we may be *sure*, we need not *doubt* it; *there is no peace unto the wicked*, because God, which proclaims this war, is able to make it *good* against them, because he is, as he is stiled, the *Lord of Hosts*;

Psal.62.2.

Aug. *ad Pollent. l.2.c.4.*

1. Part of Gods Host threefold.

And his Host is both { 1. *Celestial.* 2. *Terrestrial.* 3. *Infernal.* } And

1. Regiment of Gods Army, Aiery.

1. His *Celestial* Host is threefold, { 1. *Aiery.* 2. *Starry.* 3. *Glorious.* } And

By the first, he *drowned* and destroyed the *world*, for the *Windowes* of heaven were opened, —— and by the same Host he destroyed *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* with *fire* and *brimstone*, and the *Ammorites* with *hail-stones*; and we see great *winds* destroyed many on the Seas, and great *frosts* do devour many on earth; for if God *sends forth his Ice like morsels*, the Prophet demands, *Who is able to abide his frost?*

Gen 7.c.19 24 Josh. 10.

Psal.147.17.

2. Regiment starry.

The second part of his Host is the *starry* heaven, that is called *Cœlum, quasi cœlatum*, engraven, and *enamel'd* with such glorious aspects. And this *Host*, as it speaks for God, and *declares the glory of God*, as the Psalmist saith, so they fight for God, as *the stars in their order did fight against Sisera*, and the Sun stood still at *Gibeon*, and the Moon in the valley of *Aialon*, to assist *Joshua* to overthrow Gods enemies.

Psal.19.1.

Josh.5.20. c.10.13.

3. Regiment glorious, which is threefold.

The third, and most powerfull part of Gods *Host*, which is most *glorious*, resideth in the *Empyreal* heaven, and they are

{ 1. *Saints.* 2. *Angels.* } And

1. The Saints blessed souls. *Raynold. de Idol. l.2. c.1.*

1. The *Saints* and blessed *souls* departed, saith *Raynold*, *De sua felicitate securi, de nostra salute solliciti sunt*; and without question, they do *pray* for the Church in *Generall* against the wicked: and their *prayers* are very *available*.

2. The

2. The *Holy Angels* are instruments of Gods *love* and *mercy*, to help the *faithfull* servants of Christ; as you may see, how the *Angel* helped *Tobias*, and brought the *Apostles* out of *prison*: and they are the executioners of Gods *justice* against the wicked; as you may find, how an *Angel* slew all the *first-born* in *Egypt*; and an *Angel* of the Lord went out, and smote in the Camp of the *Assyrians* an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, *Behold, they were all dead Corps:* And if *one Angel* was able to slay so *many*, what cannot *millions* of *Angels* do? And we read, what a glorious King was *Herod*, and how he was *magnified* by the people, as a *god*, and not as *man*; but, because he gave not the *glory* unto God, the *Angel* of the Lord smote him, so that he was *eaten of worms*, and gave up the ghost; and our Saviour testifieth unto us, *what service*, the *Angels* shall do to *God*, and for his *servants* at the last day.

2. The Holy Angels. Act. 5. 19. Exod. 12. 29. 2 King. 49. 35. Act. 12. 23. Math. 24. 31.

2. Gods *terrestriall* Host is both { 1. The *Sea*. 2. The *Land*. }

2. Part of Gods Host, two fold.

And all that are contained therein: and you know,

1. How the *Sea* drowned *Pharaoh*, and all his mighty Army, and drowned many *thousands* since; and you cannot forget

1.

2. How the *Earth* opened her mouth, and swallowed up *Corah* and his companions. So the *frogs*, *flies*, and *worms* do fight for God, against the *wicked*; and, as the Prophet saith, *The stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it, Wo to him that buildeth his house with blood*; and so all the parts of the earth shall fight against the wicked.

2. Num. 16. 32. Ps. 106. 17. Hab. 2. 11.

3. Gods *infernall* Host, are the very *Divels* and damned spirits, that can do nothing without Gods *leave*, and must do all that he *commands* them; For so we read that an *Evil spirit from the Lord troubled Saul*, and vexed him for his *wickedness*. And so they will do to all wicked men, vex them and *plague* them for their wickedness.

3. Part of Gods Host. 1 Sam. 16. 14.

And so you see, how it is impossible for any transcendent wicked man, *Murderer*, *Rebel*, *Idolater*, or the like, to have any peace, either with *himself*, or his *neighbour*, or especially with *God*; that is so *powerfull* a *God*, so *able* to destroy all his *wicked enemies*; And therefore let all *such wicked* men repent, and all others take heed of being *wicked*; because, my God, which is the *true God*, and the God *of truth*, proclaims *this truth* unto the world, that, *There is no peace unto the wicked.*

THE

THE FOURTH TREATISE.

Jer. 14. 10.

Thus ſaith the Lord unto this people, Thus have they loved to wander, they have not refrained their feet, therefore the Lord doth not accept them; he will now remember their iniquity, and viſit their ſins.

WHAT our Saviour ſaith of the Propheſy of *Eſaias*, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears*: which was a very *joyfull* fulfilling of it indeed; ſo I am affraid, I may ſay of this Propheſy of *Jeremy*, that in *theſe daies*, you may ſee this Scripture *fulfilled* amongſt us; becauſe this *Text* ſeems to me to be, *The lively picture of theſe lewd times*. Which muſt needs be a *ſad* fulfilling of it to all *good* men. Eſay. 61. 1. Luk. 4. 21.

The *Principall* points to be conſidered are theſe four,

Four Points to be conſidered.

1. A *Meſſage*, *thus*, or *this*, which followeth.
2. The *Author*, or ſender of the meſſage, the *Lord*.
3. To *whom* it was ſent, *unto this people*.
4. The *Meſſenger* by whom it was ſent or ſhewed, *viz.* 1. The word of the Lord that came to *Jeremiah*.

Touching which points, as Chriſt ſaith in *another* caſe, ſo I will do herein; begin with the *laſt* and ſo proceed unto the *firſt*. And

1. I told you, the *Meſſenger*, by whom this meſſage was ſent unto this people, is the Prophet *Jeremy*; and he was, 1. Point the Meſſenger.

1. A *Man*, and no Angel.
2. A *Jew*, and no Gentile.
3. A *Lover*, and no hater of this people.

1. The Meſſenger was a man like themſelves.

And

And yet for all this, we find that he was mightily *hated*, and exceedingly *perſecuted* by them.

Exod.20.1. 1. When God delivered his *Laws* upon *Mount Sinai*, he was pleaſed to be his *own* meſſenger, to write them with his *own* hands, and to utter them Heb.12.29. with his *own* mouth; but our God being a *conſuming fire*, as the Apoſtle ſaith, and if he doth but *touch* the mountains, they ſhall *ſmoak*, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*; therefore his *deſcending* to deliver that Law, was ſo *terrible* that Heb.12.21. *Moſes* himſelf ſaid, *I do exceedingly fear and quake*; And they, that *ſaw* the Mount burning, and the *blackneſs*, *darkneſs*, and *tempeſts*, and heard the ſound of a *Trumpet*, and the *voice* of the words, intreated, *That the* Verſ. 19. *word ſhould not be ſpoken to them any more*; that is, by God *himſelf*; becauſe they were not *able* to endure the great and *glorious Majeſty* of the deliverer.

Gal. 3. 19. Heb. 2. 2. And yet in very deed, God being an *Infinite* incomprehenſible ſpirit, that hath neither *hands* to handle, nor *mouth* to ſpeak, this *delivery* of the Law *was ordained by Angels*, and the *Word ſpoken by Angels was ſtedfaſt*, ſaith the Apoſtle; And therefore, it being above our *Capacity*, to underſtand the *Language* of the *Angels*, which the great *Angelicall* Doctor, the *beſt* of all the *Schoolmen*, could not yet determine, what it is; and it being likewiſe beyond the *ability* of our weakneſs, to indure the *ſight* of thoſe *Celeſtiall* ſpirits; God was pleaſed, out of his great *goodneſs*, to condeſcend unto the *infirmities*, and to yeeld unto the *requeſt* of this people, and to ſend his *meſſages* unto us, by ſuch as *dwell* amongſt us (*i. e.*) *men* like our *ſelves*; that we need, neither to fear their *faces*, nor to ſhun their *preſence*.

The Language of the Angels we know not what it is.

The Hearers condition ſafer then the Preachers condition. So that now, as S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh, *Tutior eſt conditio audientis quàm dicentis*, the hearers are in a *ſafer* condition, then the ſpeaker; and the fear is only of the *Teacher's* ſide, who muſt now take heed *what he ſaith*, and is oftentimes become your *enemy* for ſaying the *truth*, as S. *Paul* ſheweth, Galat.4.16. when as you may *freely* hear, whatſoever is ſpoken, without *fear*, as you do many times without *faith*, when our words, though never ſo *true*, ſhall yet be received but as *Caſſandra's* Propheſies, that were *ever* true, but *never* regarded; ſo that, we may *juſtly* cry out with the Prophet, *Who hath* Eſay 53. 1. *believed our report?*

2. He was their own Country-man. 2. This *Meſſenger*, that God now ſent unto the *Jews*, was himſelf a *Jew*, and no *Gentile*, no *Grecian*, no *Barbarian*; and it is *naturall* for all men to love thoſe of their own *Countrey*; Even as we ſee *Crafts-men*, love thoſe Act.19.24,25. of the ſame *Trade*, as you may find in *Act.* 18. 3. Therefore, that they might the more *readily* imbrace him; the Lord ſaith, *A Prophet ſhall the Lord your God raiſe unto you of your brethren, like unto me*, in countenance, in favour, in faithfulneſs, and in all meekneſs and gentleneſs, *Him ſhall you* Deut.18.15. *hear in all things*: and you ought the more *readily* to hear him, and the more undoubtedly to believe him, and to love him, becauſe he is of your *brethren*: for, though the Schools have determined, that there is no *love* in hell, nor *charity* among the damned; yet, for his *own* ſake, *Dives* ſeems Luk.16.28. to have a *care* of his brethren, that they ſhould not come into that place of torment: and though the *Jews* hated Saint *Paul*, yet when they heard Act.22.2. that he ſpake unto them, in the *Hebrew Tongue*, which was their own *native* Language, *they kept the more ſilence*.

That men of the ſame Countrey ſhould love one another. And for this cauſe, the ſooner to gain *favour*, and to win the more *good-will*, this prudent Apoſtle tels the *Roman* Captain, that he was a free-born Act.22.25. Citizen of *Rome*; and he tels the *Jews* he was a *Jew*, and a *Phariſee*, of the Act.23.6. tribe of *Benjamin*; and ſo accordingly, when the men of *Iſrael* were angry with the men of *Juda* for receiving *David*, and conducting of him home again to his *Throne*, after he was driven out of his *Royal* City, by the rebellion of *Abſolon*; the men of *Juda* anſwered moſt *juſtly*, that they had very

good

good *reaſon* ſo to do, not only becauſe he was their King; but alſo, becauſe he was near of *kin* unto them, and of their own *Tribe*, the Tribe of *Judah*; therefore why ſhould they not *receive* him, and *love* him, that was of their own *Country*, and of their own *fleſh* and blood? Which ſheweth unto us, what a *ſhame* it is, for a Prophet to be without honour, among his *own Countrymen*, and in his own Country, where he ſhould be honoured moſt of all? And what an *abominable* thing it is, for a Prince, or a Prophet, to be *treacherouſly* betrayed and ſold into the hands of their enemies, by their own *Countrymen*, and their own familiar friends? 2 Sam. 19.42.

But as our Saviour Chriſt, coming amongſt his *own*, as the Evangeliſt ſaith, *and his own receiving him not*, but ſlandering, perſecuting and betraying him unto death, ſaith, *If a ſtranger had done me this diſhonour, I could well have born it*; but I think very *much*, that I ſhould be thus uſed by my *Countrymen*, and by mine own *familiar* friends. So this holy Prophet, going not to the *Perſians*, and preaching not to the *Grecians*, but to the *Jews*, his own *native* Countrymen, and his own *kindred*, could not chooſe but be *exceedingly* troubled, to be *ſo uſed* as he was amongſt them. For that it is a *greater* ſhame, and a more intolerable ſin, for the *ſervants* of God to be perſecuted and rejected by their own *Countrymen*, and thoſe that profeſſe and *ſeem* to ſerve the ſame God, and to believe in the *ſame Savicur* as they do, than if they were expelled and deprived of their means, or *perſecuted* unto death, in any *other Country*, where they ſhould be but like *Jonas* among the *Ninivites*, meer ſtrangers. Yet thus was *Jeremy* uſed, and thus are we.

3. This our Prophet, was not only a Jew, preaching unto the Jews: for ſo many a man, as *Cateline* among the Romans, *Vortigern* among the *Britains*, *Speed*, l. 7. c. 4. and *Simon*, *Jaſon*, and others among the Jews, and ſome others nearer home, have betrayed their own Country, & the truſt that their Country repoſed in them: but he was a *faithful* Patriot, a *hearty* lover, and no *hater* of his people. *Tertullian* noteth, how dearly *Moſes* loved this *Nation* of the Iſraelites, when rather than God ſhould *deſtroy* them, he *earneſtly* requeſted, that his own *name* might be blotted out of the Book of *Life*. S. *Paul* ſheweth the *like* love unto the *Jews*, when he ſaith, he could wiſh himſelf *accurſed from Chriſt*, for his *brethren* and kinſmen according to the fleſh. And this our Prophet ſheweth *no leſſe* love unto them than the other, as you may *eaſily* ſee, by this his Propheſie, and his *Preaching* to them, and his *Lamentation* for them. Yet all the *love* of theſe men, and put all together, was not *comparable* to the love of Chriſt, who *gave himſelf for them*, and prayed for them, when they *Crucified* him. And therefore, well might he ſay, *Greater love than this hath no man, that a man lay down his life for his friends*; which none of all the *Prophets*, nor of the *Apoſtles*, nor of the *Martyrs*, that died all for *themſelves*, and ſuffered death for their *own ſins*, did lay down their life for *others*; as our Saviour Chriſt did, lay down his *life*, not for himſelf, but for his enemies: and yet they loved them very *much*, and very *dear*, as I ſhewed to you before. 3. He was a dear lover of them. 2 Machab. 4. Rom. 9.3. John 15. 13.

And ſo muſt all the *Meſſengers* of Chriſt, and Preachers of God's Word, imitate theſe *holy* men, to *love* Gods people; for that the people can *hardly* reap any *good* from them, whom they perceive not to *love* them: but as we ſuſpect the *gifts* of an enemy, to be as the Belt of *Ajax* was to *Hector*, and *Hectors* Sword to him in like ſort, the *death* of each other; So we *diſeſteem* and regard not the *words* of them that *love* us not. How the Miniſters, and Preachers of Gods Word, ſhould love their people.

But you ſee how the *true* Prophets and Servants of God *loved* this people, and *laboured* all that ever they could for the good of the people, to bring them unto God, and to turn away Gods *anger* from them. And what *reward* did this people render to *theſe*, and to the *reſt* of Gods Meſſengers and Teachers, for all the *love* that they ſhewed unto them, and the *pains*

they had undertaken for them? The very Heathen tells us, that *Amor amoris magnes, & durus est qui amorem non rependit*; Love is a *Loadstone* to draw love again: and if we will do nothing else, yet we can do no *lesse*, than love them that do so *dearly* love us: The very *publicans* and sinners do the same.

The ingratitude of the Jews.

Yet behold, O Heavens, and wonder, O Earth, at this *ungrateful* people, who rendered to Gods Messengers *evil* for good, and instead of *loving* them, *stoned* them. For they murmured against *Moses*, rebelled against *David*, persecuted *Elias*, beheaded *John* the *Baptist*, and, as our Saviour saith,

Luke 13. 34.

they *killed the Prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto them.* And it is no strange thing, for us, to find *many* men, walking in the same *wayes*, and treading in the same *steps*, as these Jews have done; but it were very strange that we should be used any *better* than those *better Messengers*, that were sent before us. For our Saviour tells us, with an *Ecce*, Behold, and consider it well, *I send you forth as lambs into the midst of wolves.* And you know the Fable, how the *silly* lamb, *procul infrà bibens*, for drinking far enough *below* the wolfe, was notwithstanding *torn* all to pieces, by that cruel wolfe, upon pretence, that he *stopt* the current, which was *impossible* for him to do.

Luke 10. 3.

2. The parties to whom this Message was sent.

2. The *Parties*, to whom the Message was sent, are shewed in these words, *this people*; and that is, the people of the *Jews*, that were then *flos florum, & medulla mundi*, the choisest, and the *noblest*, of all the people of the world; for, *You only have I known*; that is, acknowledged for mine *own* people, and mine own peculiar inheritance, *of all the families of the earth, saith the Lord.* And God shewed his *great* love towards them, by the *wonderful* works that he had done for them. For, as the Prophet saith, *He eased their shoulders from their burdens, and their hands from making the pots*; and he delivered them out of that *Egyptian*-bondage, and from the tyranny of cruel *Pharaoh*. Then he gave them such Laws, so *holy*, and so *just*, as neither *Solon* nor *Lycurgus*, nor any other *Nation* of the World had the like. And he fed them in the Wilderness, 40. years together, with *Manna*, that was the bread of Heaven, and the *Angels food*: and after that, he *thrust* out 7. other Nations, to make *room* for them, and he gave them the *labours of the people in possession*, and planted them in *Canaan*, which was a Land that *flowed with milk and honey*; and there he hedged them about (as we were *of late* hedged here) with all kind of blessings; *beneficia nimis copiosa*, most ample benefits: And, as the Schools say, *Privativa & positiva*; for they had *plenty* in peace, and *victory* in war: and, what was it not, that this people had not?

Amos 3. 2.

Psal.

The great favours of God unto the Jews.

And yet this people, this *peculiar* people of God, must hear this *hard Message*; and they must undergo this *sharp censure*. For, as the Lord saith of *Coniah*, were he as the *signet upon my right hand*, yet would I pluck him thence, and *give him into the hands of those that seek his life.* So will he do with *this people*, and with any other, when they do *prevaricate* and offend him. He will *cut them off*, and cast them from him, were they formerly never so *precious* in his sight; for, no *priviledge*, no *prerogative*, no former *piety*, can prevail with God, to prevent his *judgements*; when, with this people, they *love to wander*, and refrain not their feet from their *evil wayes*: But, as these, his *dearly beloved* people, the Jews, *were cast off* when they did cast off the *true service* of God; and as those seven Churches of *Asia*, *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, *Pergamos*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Laodicea*, that were planted by the *Apostles*, and watered with the blood of *Martyrs*, had their Candlesticks *removed*, and themselves *delivered* up, to groan under the *Turkish* tyranny, and to have the *blasphemous Alcoran* of that accursed false Prophet *Mahomet*, for their *Bible*, instead of the *Glorious Gospel* of Jesus Christ; and all this, because they had forsaken their *First-love* to the true service

Jeremy 22. 24.

How God dealeth with his dearest children, when they depart from his service.

ſervice of their God: So will the juſt and *jealous* God do with any other Church or people, that ſeems never ſo *dear* unto him, when they are ſo wavering, and ſo ready to *wander*, with this people, from the *true ſervice* of God, and to forſake their *firſt-love*, with thoſe *Aſiatick* Churches, and to derogate from the *firſt faith* that they have received.

And as the Jews *proteſtation*, that they did all for the *worſhip of God*, and therefore cryed, *The Temple of the Lord*, three times re-iterated in the ſame Chapter, could not preſerve them from this *juſt judgement*: So the pretence of erecting a *Goſpel-diſcipline*, and the gathering of *pure Churches* out of Chriſt his Church, contrary to the Doctrine of the *true Church*, will hardly ſerve the turn, to turn away Gods anger from us, when, upon theſe, and the like pretended ſhews of *ſanctity* more than ordinary, we love to wander from the *old way* of Gods true Worſhip. Jer. 7. 4.

3. The *Perſon*, that is the ſender of this Meſſage, is *the Lord*; for, *thus ſaith the Lord unto this people*; and that is, the Lord which profeſſeth himſelf to be, *ſlow to anger, and abundant in goodneſs, and in truth*, and that his mercy *endureth for ever*, and is like the boundleſs and the bottomleſs *Ocean*, that cannot be drawn dry. Yet here this *gracious* God doth, as it were, diſrobe himſelf of his *mercy*, and lay aſide his *loving kindneſs*, and put on *judgement* as a garment, that he might render *vengeance* to them that abuſe his *patience*, and prefer their own *humours*, before his *holy Worſhip*; and like the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, perſwade themſelves, and the world, that they are the *only Saints*, when Chriſt knows, they are the *only hypocrites*, and ſo the *vileſt* in Gods ſight, of all other ſinners whatſoever; as it appeareth by thoſe *many woes*, that Chriſt denounceth againſt theſe *holy hypocrites*, more than againſt all the *Publicans* and *Sinners*; which, though they be open and *apparent* offenders, yet are they *ſooner* converted, and brought to Chriſt, and ſhall ſooner obtain *mercy* at the hands of God, than theſe *outward Saints*, that *inwardly* are Devils; That, as our Saviour ſaith, do come unto you *in ſheeps-cloathing*, with fair ſpeeches, and nothing but *Scripture-phraſes* in their mouths; but inwardly they are *ravening wolves*, and devour the *poor*, the *fatherleſs*, and the *widows*, under theſe holy ſhews. 3. The Perſon that is the ſender of the Meſſage.

But here, as we know, the Lord is merciful in his *judgements*, and, as *Ezra* ſaith, *puniſheth us leſs than our iniquites deſerve*, and is alſo juſt in his *mercies*, becauſe he is, *righteous in all his works, and holy in all his wayes*. So, we muſt remember, and we may *aſſure* our ſelves, the Judge of *all the earth* will do *right*, and will not *deſtroy the righteous with the wicked*. And therefore, you muſt underſtand, Ezra 9. 13. Gen. 18. 25.

1. *Cui bonus*, to whom the Lord ſheweth himſelf *merciful* and gracious.

2. *Cui juſtus*, to whom he will ſhew himſelf *angry* and *juſt*. For, To whom God ſheweth himſelf merciful, and to whom juſt.

As Chriſt ſaith, that we muſt not give the childrens bread *unto dogs*, nor a *Scorpion* to thoſe children, that call for *Fiſh*, nor a *Stone* to them that deſire *Bread*; but we muſt give to every one his *own portion*, and that in *due ſeaſon*; that is, *mercy* and favour to the *godly*, and to pardon the penitent ſinner: and ſo in like manner, *indignation* and wrath, and the *heavy judgement* of God upon the *oppreſſors* of their brethren, and upon thoſe that offend of *malicious wickedneſs*; and that, with this people here ſpoken of, do *love to wander* out of the right way of *Gods ſervice*, to worſhip him after the new *Mode*, and direction of the *falſe Prophets*.

And this may ſerve for an *exceeding comfort* unto the godly, and conſtant worſhippers of God, that the Lord is ſo gratious and ſo juſt, as *not to to deſtroy the righteous with the wicked*: But, as he preſerved *Noah*, when *all the World* periſhed; and delivered *Lot* out of *Sodom*, when he rained *fire* and *brimſtone* upon it, and upon the other Cities; So when a thouſand ſhall fall *beſides thee*, and ten thouſands on thy *right hand*, yet will he give his How God preſerveth his ſervants in the midſt of judgements.

Pſ. 91. 11. Angels charge *over thee*, and they ſhall keep thee *in all thy waies*, that thou hurt not thy foot againſt a ſtone.

Or if it be, as it *ſomtimes* happeneth, that the good and godly men, living among the wicked, do partake of *ſome puniſhments* and afflictions with the wicked, as the good and bad ſayling in the *ſame Ship*; muſt be liable to the *ſame Tempeſt*; yet, the *ſame troubles*, croſſes and afflictions, whether they be Plague, Famine, War, or the like, do not proceed from God, either *in the ſame manner*, or for the *ſame end*, againſt the *godly* as they do againſt the *wicked*; for they are but his *fatherly chaſtiſements* unto his children, but they are the ſignall teſtimonies of his *wrath* and *fury* againſt the wicked; and therefore, they drive the Godly to *repentance* and amendment of life, or do tranſlate them to *everlaſting happineſs*; but they fill the wicked with *rage* and *fury*, and drive them with deſpaire, from *one ſin to another*, untill they deſcend to eternall torments.

The different effects of Gods puniſhments upon the godly and upon the wicked.

4. The *meſſage* that God ſendeth unto this people, containeth two ſpeciall things,

4. The meſſage comprehendeth two things.

{ 1. The *doings*, 2. The *doome*, } of this people.

1. In their *doings*, you may obſerve theſe four particulars,

1. Their doings of this people.

Four things wherein are conſiderable.

1. Their *Errors*, and tranſgreſſions; *they wandred.*
2. Their *Love* of Errors; *they loved to wander.*
3. The *Manner* of their wandering, *thus*; that is, from one ſin to another, from one error to another, from bad to worſe, from worſe to worſt of all.
4. Their *Greedineſs* to proceed without any *ſtop* or ſtay in their wicked waies: *They refrained not their feet.*

1. Their wandering.

1. *Diligrunt evagari*, ſaith *Tremelius*; And a *vagrant* is he, that knoweth not where *he is*, nor whither *he goeth*; *diligunt errare*, ſaith the *vulgar Latin*, they love to erre. And, *Errare eſt extra viam ire*, to wander is to *walk* or to run out of the *way*; and I take the word *wandering* here in the *largeſt* ſenſe, and not reſtrain it, as M. *Calvin* doth, to one *particular* ſin, which he underſtands to be their *wavering minds*, and unconſtancy in Gods ſervice: *now* ſerving him after the *old manner*, ſet down by *Moſes*, and preſcribed by God himſelf; and *by* and *by* ſerving him after the *new faſhion*, deviſed by the falſe Prophets: *now* ſerving him in his *Temple*, and conſecrated houſe dedicated for his worſhip; and *preſently* ſerving him in *Chambers*, in the *Groves*, and under every *green Tree*.

What M. *Calvin* takes their wandering to be.

But I conceive, that the Prophet means, according to *Tremelius* tranſlation, that they erred from the *right ſervice* of God, and from the performance of *their duties unto their neighbours*, and ſo ſtraid, like *loſt ſheep* without a ſhepherd, both from the way of *piety*, and from the rules of *equity*: and the *further* they go on, the *harder* it is for them to return to the *right way*: for you muſt know, that the *way*, wherein we ought to walk, is the *Law of God*, even as the Prophet *David* ſheweth, ſaying, *Bleſſed are they that are undefiled in the way, that walk in the Law of the Lord*, and not in the way of *ſinners*, which is the tranſgreſſion and aberration from the *right way*, that is, the *Law* of the Lord.

The Law of God is the way wherein we ought to walk.

Pſal. 119. 1.

And this *people*, the *Jews*, were, as *we are* for the moſt part of us, like unto the *Egyptians* that received the moſt plentifull *benefits* of the river *Nilus*; and yet they knew not the *fountain* from whence it ſprang; ſo did they reap all the *favours* of God, his Oracles, his Prophets, and his bleſſings, more then *any other Nation* of the World; and yet they neither knew *God*, nor the *will* of God; for, as the Prophet *Hoſea* ſaith, There was neither *truth*, nor *mercy*, nor *knowledg* of God in the Land; and therefore, they *wandered indeed*, and wandered far out of the way.

The *Jews* and our ſelves, like the *Egyptians*, and why.

Hoſ. 4. 1.

Vide Eſay. 1. 3.

But

But you will ſay, it is *very ſtrange*, that the *Jews* of all other people, ſhould be *ignorant*, either of God or of the law of God, when, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Unto them were committed the Oracles of God*; and, as the Prophet ſaith, *In Jurie is God known and his name is great in Iſrael*; and he gave unto them, *Prieſts* and *Levits*, *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, that ſhould continually *expound his Laws*, both to them, and to their children for ever; and when they failed to do their duties, he raiſed up his *Prophets* to direct them to the *right way*, and to ſhew them, how they ſhould both *worſhip God*, and *love* their *neighbour*; and, as the Prophet *Amos* ſaith, *Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but he reveileth his ſecrets unto his ſervants the Prophets*; and therefore, How could this people be *ignorant* of God, or *wander* out of his waies?

Rom 3. 2. & chap. 9. 4. Pſ 1. 76. 1. What great means the *Jews* had to underſtand & learn the true ſervice of God. Amos 3. 7.

To this, the Prophet anſwereth, in the *next* point; and ſheweth the *true cauſe* of their wandering, and of all their deviation and ſtarting aſide from the right ſervice of God; for

2. He ſaith, *They loved to wander*; therefore what wonder is it, that they *ſhould erre*, and go out of the *right way*, when they *loved*, deſired, and were *well pleaſed* to go out of it? but it is ſtrange, and a great deal *more ſtrange*, for men to *love* to erre, then it is to *erre*; For *humanum eſt errare*, God alone is *truth*, and every man *a lyer*, the beſt of us all is *ſubject* unto error: when as ever ſince the fall of *Adam*, there were *four things*, ſaith *Beda*, moſt juſtly impoſed upon all his ſeed for his unjuſt tranſgreſſion;

Where the *Jews* erred.

Four things impoſed on *Adam*, and on all his ſeed, for his tranſgreſſion.

1. *Ignorance.*
2. *Impotence.*
3. *Concupiſcence.*
4. *Malice.*

For the healing of which *four maladies*, the *ſecond Adam* was made unto us, as the Apoſtle ſaith,

1. *Wiſdom.*
2. *Righteouſneſs.*
3. *Sanctification.*
4. *Redemption.*

1 Cor. 1. 20.

Therefore, ſeeing *ignorance* is incident unto *all men*; and every man is *born blind*, every one may well ſay with the Eunuch, *How can I underſtand without a Teacher*, or, how can I walk in the *right way* without a *guide?*

Act. 8. 31.

But for a man to *put out the light*, or for a *blind* man to refuſe a *guide*, and for an *ignorant* man to refuſe *knowledge*, this is *the condemnation*, whereof our Saviour ſpeaketh, *That light is come into the world, and men love darkneſs more then light.*

Joh. 3. 19.

And yet this was the *Epidemicall* diſeaſe of this people, and it hath *continued* among all Nations to this *very day*; for, as the Scripture teſtifieth of the ungodly, *Noluerunt intelligere ut bene agerent*, but they ſay to God, *Depart from us; for we deſire not the knowledge of thy waies!* So it is true of too too many; they will not underſtand *the truth*, that they might *do right*; they will not hear the *true Preachers:* but as the King of *Iſrael* would not hear *Micaiah*, but hated him; ſo will not many men hearken to the true *Prophets*, but they will do, as *Ahab* ſaid he did to *Micaiah*, hate them; and as the *Jews* dealt with the *teachers* of Gods *true worſhip*, that is, ſtone *the Prophets* and kill them that *were ſent unto them*; as *Samuel* was rejected, *Eſay* ſawed in pieces, *Jeremy* thrown to a filthy dungeon, *Zachary* the ſon of *Jehoida* was ſtoned with *ſtones*, even in the court of the Houſe of the Lord; *Micheas* thrown down by *Joram* to break his neck, becauſe he *rebuked* him for the ſins of his father; *Amos* killed with a club, *Ezechiel* ſlain,

Job. 21. 14. 2 Chr. 18. 7.

Urim

Jer.26.23. *Urias* the ſon of *Semeiah* for Propheſying againſt *Jeruſalem* was killed by *Joakim*; *Elias* perſecuted and threatned to be killed by *Jezabel*; and the ſpirit
Act.7.52. of God demandeth of the *Jews*, *Which of the Prophets had not their fathers perſecuted?* Even ſo do *many* men in *many* places, and in *moſt* Countreys, uſe the *true Preachers* and teachers of Gods *true worſhip*, and the repairers of their errors, *in theſe very daies*; and if the *true Preachers* ſay, with this Pro-
Jer.6.16. phet, *Ask for the old pathes, where is the good way and walk therein*, and you ſhall find reſt for your ſouls. I am affraid, *our people* will *anſwer* with the words of *this people*, and ſay, *We will not walk therein.*

But to proceed, to ſhew unto you the *doings* of this people; the Prophet tels us, they have not only *rejected* the true Prophets, and *refuſed* the bright ſhining light of the truth, and *right ſervice of God*, offered unto them by the legitimate meſſengers of God; but, as our Prophet ſpeaketh, they have committed *two evils*,

Jer.32.33. & chap.7.25. 1. They have forſaken the *Fountain of living waters.*
2. They have hewed them out *Ciſterns*, even *broken Ciſterns*, that can hold no water.

And theſe *two evils* do *commonly* go together: to *ſilence* and deprive the old and *true Preachers*, and to *advance* and magnify the *young novices*, that are fitter to be taught then to teach; yea, to forſake *God*, and then to adore the *Calf*; to throw away the ſervice *of the Lord*, and then to ſet up the ſervice of *Baal*; to perſecute the *true Prophets*, and then to magnify the falſe teachers; 400 of them muſt be *royally* fed on *Jezabels* table, when
1 King.18.19. ſhe would not entertain one *true Prophet*. And when, as the Prophet ſaith, *corruit in platea veritas*, truth is fallen, and ſhall be troden down, as *mire* in the ſtreets; then *lies* and falſhoods, errors and hereſies, and all blaſphemies ſhall be *generally* apprehended, and the broachers thereof, not worthy the *name* of Preachers, ſhall be *liberally* maintained, as they were by Queen *Jezabel*, and are now by our Parliament-governours in every place.

Therefore, though the Prophet ſaith, It was *a wonderfull* and a horrible thing, that the Prophets *ſhould Propheſy falſly*; yet, I think it was a
Jer.5.30. *greater wonder* for the people *to love to have it ſo*, to hire them ſo *dearly*, and maintain them ſo *bountifully*, for Propheſying *falſly*, and teaching *lies* unto them: For, if *Ahab* and *Jezabel* had not magnified, and ſo *bountifully* maintained thoſe *falſe Prophets*, and the people had not *loved* to hear them Propheſying *lies* and falſhoods unto them; it is like enough, they would not have been *ſo ready* to broach ſo *many errors*, and hereſies unto them.

But what wonder is it for men to *wander*, when they *love* to wander; and to *erre*, when they *deſire* to erre, for, as *Theognis* ſaith,

Ὅτι καλὸν φίλον ἐϛι, τὸ δ' ὃ καλὸν ὃ φίλον ἐϛι.

So we may as truly ſay,

Ὅτι φίλον καλὸν ἐϛι, τὸ δ' ὃ φίλον ὃ καλὸν ἐϛι.

For, as another ſaith,

Quiſquis amat ranam, ranam putat eſſe Dianam.

He that loves a *Black-moore* thinks her to be as fair as *Venus*; he that loves an *Idol*, makes it his *good god*; and he that loves *lies*, errors, and hereſies, embraceth them for *divine* verities.

But

But is it not a *wonderful*, and a horrible thing, that men endued with *reaſon* and underſtanding, and men that *pretend* and *ſeem* to be *wiſe* and religious, ſhould notwithſtanding be ſo *brutiſh* and ſottiſh, as to *love to wander*, and love to be *deceived* and guided out of the *ſervice of God*, to follow after the *vain fancies* of the falſe Prophets?

Why the people love to follow their falſe teachers, rather then the true Preachers.

Yet you ſee our Prophet tells us, it is ſo with *this people*, and you ſhall find it ſo *with many more*: for as the wicked love the *world*, better then the godly do love the *Lord*; ſo the Schiſmatick and Heretick, the *Quaker*, the *Anabaptiſt*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independants*, and the *Papiſts*, are more ready to *maintain*, and more affectionate in *their love* to the *falſe teachers*, then the *true Proteſtants* are, to relieve the true and *faithful* Preachers. And the reaſon hereof is two-fold.

1. Becauſe the *falſe* Prophets are more *ſedulous* to gain *Proſelytes*, then the true *Preachers* are to make Chriſtians; for ſo our Saviour tells us, that while the husband-man *ſlept*, the envious man *ſowed tares*; and while the faithful diſciples *ſlumbered*, the traytor *Judas* was very *watchful*, and ran from Chriſt to the *high Prieſts*, and from them back again into the *garden*, and never reſted untill he had *finiſhed* his intended treaſon, and delivered the *King of heaven* into the hands of his *own ſinfull ſubjects*, to be crucified. 1. *Reaſon.* Matth. 13. 25.

And the ſecond reaſon of this *their* more *eager deſire*, and more earneſt love *to errour*, then love to truth, is; becauſe, as our Saviour ſaith, *The children of this world are wiſer in their generation, then the children of light*: For though, as our Prophet ſaith, *This people were fooliſh and ſottiſh children, that had no underſtanding to do good, yet they were wiſe to do evill*; And ſo are all the children of this world; and that makes them more *ſecret* in their plots, more *ſtudious* in their doings, and more *ſubtle* in all their actions, then are the children of God: and when they have done any *foul fact*, and committed ſome great offence, then, as the Tragedian ſaith, *Scelera ſceleribus tuenda*, their *horrible acts* are upheld by far *more horrible projects*; and as thieves, to conceal their *robberies*, do commit *murder*; and lyars, to juſtifie their *lies*, will *forſwear* themſelves; ſo will all wicked men uphold, and maintain their wickedeſſe by *greater wickedneſſe*: and as *Medea* ſaith, *Quæ ſcelere pacta eſt, ſcelere rumpatur fides*, the covenant which they have *wickedly* made, they will as wickedly *break*, and the faith which they have *deceitfully* given, they will as *readily* fruſtrate. 2. *Reaſon.* Jer. 4. 22.

And thus, as *Demodicus* ſaid of the *Mileſians*, that they were no fools, but they did the very ſame things that *fools* did; ſo the wicked politicians, and the hypocritical Saints of this world, they are *no Jews*, but they *do* the verie *ſame things* that thoſe *Jews* did; they *wander* and erre from the truth, becauſe they *love to wander*. And I would to God we would take as much pains to *go to heaven*, as they do to *run to hell*; and that we would as zealouſly love the *true ſervice* of God, as they love to wander from this *right worſhip* of God.

3. For the *manner* of their doings, it is ſet down in the word, *thus*, or after *this ſort*; and it is likewiſe implyed in this word, *wander*; for he that wanders, ſtands not ſtill; but ſtill goeth on from the *thickets* unto the *briers*, and from the briers unto the *bogges*; and ſo from one errour unto another. 3. The manner of their doings

So you ſee we are here in a *wilderneſs*, where this people went *aſtray*, and I muſt follow them with the beſt *Method* I can to declare unto you their *wandring courſes*: but as *Moſes* ſets down only their *principal ſtations*; and not every *ſtep*, that they made in the wilderneſſe of *Sinai*; ſo will I follow his *example*, and ſhew you *only* their *principal aberrations* in the wilderneſs of ſin: and becauſe their ſin is *morbus complicatus*, a *twiſted* and a decompound wickedneſſe, containing many *ſeverall* branches; I will rank them into theſe three heads.

1. Their

Their aberrations, principally conſiſted in three things.

1. Their *abuſe* of Gods *ſervice.*
2. Their *rebellion* againſt their *Governours.*
3. Their *injuries* unto their *neighbours.*

The which threefold ſin, is *circulus diaboli*, the very *circle* of the *devil*, wherein he driveth the wicked to run their round.

1. The abuſe of Gods ſervice.

1. Their *abuſe* of Gods ſervice was in their *idolatry* and idolatrous worſhip of God; for ſo the Prophet ſaith, *According to the number of thy Cities, were thy gods, O Juda*, and according to the number of *the ſtreets of Jeruſalem, have ye ſet up altars to that ſhameful thing.* Where you may obſerve,

Jer. 11. 13.

That the ſame God ſhould have the ſame worſhip in all places.

That, as there is but *one God*, ſo *this God* ſhould be ſerved *in every City*, and in every ſtreet of every city: and, as God is the *ſame* in every place, in every city, and in every ſtreet of the city; ſo ſhould his ſervice be the *ſame* in every place. And to that *end*, the Lord gave unto his people the ſame *Law*, the ſame *Sacraments*, and the ſame *Goſpell*, that the *ſame God* might have the *ſame worſhip* in all places, and that his people might believe the *ſame faith*, uſe the *ſame prayer*, receive the *ſame Sacraments*, and do the *ſame publick ſervice* unto God in every City, and in every place; that ſo they might attain unto the ſame *end*, which is the kingdom of heaven.

The ſet form of prayers and ſervice of God, juſtified

And therefore the *Reverend Biſhops*, and Governours of Gods Church, were ſo careful herein, to preſerve the *unity* of the Church, and the *uniformity* of Gods ſervice, that they preſcribed the ſame *prayers*, the ſame *Pſalms*, the ſame *Chapters*, and the ſame *Service*, to be uſed in all *Churches*, that all the world might know, we *worſhip the ſame God*; And to juſtifie this their practice, of *a ſet form of Prayers* and *Service* of God, they have

1. By the people of God.

1. The *Precept* of *God himſelf*, ſaying unto *Moſes*, Speak unto *Aaron*, and to his ſons, ſaying, *On this wiſe, ye ſhall bleſſe the children of Iſrael*, ſaying unto them, *The Lord bleſſe thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face to ſhine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace*; and ſo likewiſe he preſcribeth unto them the *very prayer* that they ſhould make, and the *very words* that they ſhould uſe, both as they went *forth*, and as they *returned* home from Battle; for when the Ark ſet forward, *Moſes* ſaid, *Riſe up, O Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee*; And when the Ark *reſted*, he ſaid, *Return, O Lord, unto the many thouſands of Iſrael:* and the Prophet *David* uſeth the very *ſame prayer*, and the *ſame words* ſaying, *Let God ariſe, and let his enemies be ſcattered; let them alſo that hate him, flee before him.*

Numb. 6. 22.

Numb. 10. 35.

Pſal. 68. 1.

2. By the Precept of Chriſt. Luke 11. 2.

2. They have the Precept of *Chriſt himſelf*, that biddeth us to uſe that prayer which he taught us ſaying, When ye pray, ſay, *Our Father which art in heaven*, &c.

3. By the practice of the godly people in the Old Teſtament.

3. They have the *practice* of the godly people of the *Old Teſtament*, as you may ſee the *very words* that they were to uſe in Gods ſervice, when they offered *their firſt fruits*, and the *very prayer* that they were to make in *Deut.* 26. from the third verſe to the tenth, and verſe 13. And ſo the *very words* that the Prieſts were to uſe unto the people when they came nigh unto the battle; as you may ſee in *Deut.* 20. 3. And the godly King *Hezechias* made certain *Pſalms*, after his *recovery from his ſickneſſe*; and ſaith, *We will ſing my ſongs to the ſtringed inſtruments all the days of our life in the houſe of the Lord*; and when he *reformed* the ſervice of God, that the people had *neglected*, and the wicked Kings had *corrupted*, he preſcribed *a ſet form* of Gods worſhip, and commanded the *Levites* to ſing praiſe unto the Lord; not as every *ſimple Prieſt*, or ſilly *Levite* pleaſed, but with the *words of* David *and* Aſaph *the Seer.*

Eſay 38. 20.

2 Chro. 29 30.

And

And Mr. *Selden* in his Notes upon *Eutychius* sheweth, that since *Ezra's* time, when after their return from *Babylon*, the *true Service* of God was *restored*, the Jews constantly used a *set form of Gods worship* in all their Synagogues; every Synagogue using the same Service. Selden *in* Eutych. *pag.* 41. *dist. ad pagin.* 25.

4. They have the *practice* of all the *Saints* under the *New Testament*: as 4. By the practice of all the Saints, under the New Testament.

1. Of *John Baptist* that taught his disciples a *Set form* of serving God, and a set form of *Prayer*.

2 Of *Christ himself*, that used the *same form* of prayer, and repeated *the same words* three times together, and commanded us to do the like; and when he was upon the *Crosse*, he used the *very words* of the Psalmist, changeing onely the *Hebrew phrase* into the *Syriack Dialect*. Luke 11.1. Matth. 26.44. Psal. 22.1.

3. Of the *Primitive Church*, as the Lyturgy of Saint *James*, Saint *Basil*, S. *Chrysostom*, and the *short Form* of serving God, which Saint *Peter* left at *Rome*, and the other, which Saint *Mark* left at *Alexandria*, do sufficiently testifie

4. Of the whole *Catholick Church*, as it appeareth out of *Cassander*, and other Writers of the *Lyturgica*. And

Therefore the religious Emperour *Constantine*, εὐχὰς ἐνθέσμους ἀπαιτῆσαι, rendered *Set Formes* of prayers unto the Christians, saith *Eusebius*; and his Nobles used εὐχαὶ βασιλεῖ φίλαι, Prayers that the Emperour liked; and they were all brought πάντων πράττειν, to pray the *same prayer*; yea he prescribed a *Set Form of Service* for his souldiers, as the same *Eusebius* testifieth. Euseb. *de vitâ* Const. *l.* 4 *c* 17. *Idem l.* 4. *c.* 20.

And Saint *August.* saith, that *Sursum corda*, lift up your hearts, are words *ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus petita*, used in the Church of Christ even from the *very times* of the Apostles, and are agreeable to the Constitutions of the Apostles. *L.* 8. *c.* 16.

5. They have the *practice* of the *Heathens* that were so wise herein, as to use the *same Service* to every false god, as both *Plato* and *Alexander ab Alexandro*, do bear witnesse; and they caused their *prayers* to be read *out of a Book*. 5. By the practice of the heathens. Plato *de legibus. l.* 7. Alexand. *ab* Alexand. *l.* 4. *c.* 17.

1. That so the people might *learn* to repeat the *same Prayers* with the Priest, when the same Prayers are constantly used in Gods service, which they shall *never* be able to do, when they shall have a *new Prayer*, and a new *Service* upon every new day.

2. Their Prayers were prescribed and read, lest the simple and ignorant *Priest* should ask of God *any evill thing*, that should not be asked; and Why the Gentiles used the same set prayers in their service.

3. *Ne quid prepostere dicatur*, their Petitions were set down, *in verbis conceptis*, as we use to send messages to *great* persons, in these, and these very words, lest we should *offend* either in the *matter*, or in the *manner*; in the *thing* requested, or in the *words* wherein we have requested it.

Out of all which you may perceive how necessary it was for the Governours of Gods Church, to see that the *same God* should have the *same Service*; and that *very Service* which himself prescribeth, and not what *new Prayers* and new worship, in what *Form*, and under what *words* soever, every *ignorant Priest* should extemporarily pour forth to the Almighty *God*: For if we ought to be very *carefull* to keep our *feet*, when we go to the house of *God*, *Eccles.* 5.1. then how much *more carefull* ought we to be, to keep our *mouths*, and look to our *words*, which we come to speak in the presence of *God*.

And yet you *hear* what our Prophet saith of this people, that *according to the number of their Cities, were their gods*; and, according to their *streets*, so were their *altars*, that is, new gods, and a *new Service* of God, in *every City*, and in every street; go to *this street*, and to *this Church*, and you shall have *such Prayers*, and such Chapters, and such a *Service* used unto the people; but go to that *other street*, and to that other Syna-

gogue of *Jerusalem*, and you shall have *another Altar* set up, another Sacrifice, and another Service, as if they served *another god*. Such was the *deplorable* condition of the Jews; and I only wish, it may not so be amongst us.

1. How this people rebelled, and alwayes resisted their Kings, & their subordinate Magistrates.

2. Their *Rebellion* against their Governours, is the second *branch* of their deviation; and this did ever accompany their abuse of Gods service; for, the King, that is the Supreme Governour under God, is *Custos utrinsque tabulæ*, The keeper of *God Laws*, and to have a care that God should be *rightly* served; therefore, they that will serve God, as they *list*, will never obey *their King*, nor submit themselves to his under-Governours as they ought; for while the *highest* wheel of the Clock is put out of temper, and thrust out of place, all the *rest* must be disordered.

And therefore, as this people were most prone to *Idolatry*, and most greedily desirous of *changes*, and new forms of Gods *Service*; So were they most frequent in their *disobedience* unto their lawful Governours; as you may see how *often* they murmured against *Moses*, against the sons of *Gedeon*, against *Samuel*, and *David*, and *Solomon*, and *Rehoboam*, and almost against all the rest of the *succeeding* Kings, even to *Zedechias*, that governed them at *this time*, when our Prophet lived; and was so terrified, and *domineered* over by his Nobles and Princes, that he could do just nothing, either for the *Service* of God, or the *protection* of Gods Servants. For they said, *We have no King, because we fear not the Lord, what then should a King do to us?* Hos. 10. 3. Just as I told you, No regard to *Gods service*, and to obey his Precepts, no *obedience* to their King, and his under-Magistrates.

Chap. 8. v. 4. And yet, if you look but two Chapters before, the Prophet tells us, the Lord saith, *They have set up Kings, but not by me; and they have made Princes, and I knew it not*: as now we have done, set up those for Kings, that God never set up. Where you may observe, what the Lord *utterly disliketh* in this people, and what they *principally desired*; for he blames them for rejecting the *Monarchical* Government, and saying, *We have no King*, or, What shall we do with a *King*, or a *Monarch*? We cannot endure that any *one man* should rule and govern us. And then you see how (Chapter 8.4.) he blames them a great *deal more*, for affecting the *Aristocratical* Government, and making *many* Kings and Princes to govern the people; which is the *greatest plague* that can happen to any people; and which none but the *Tribe* of *Issachar* would suffer to rule over them.

Chap. 10. 3.

Chap. 8. 4.

And therefore I say, these Dominions are herein infinitely obliged to his Highness the Lord Protector, for dissolving, and disabling those *many Kings* and Princes, that tyrannized, or were such Tyrants over us, and reducing our Government again, to be as it is, most *acceptable* unto God, and most *excellent* among men, *Monarchical*, under the Rule of *one* supreme Governour.

And we should all be *doubly obliged* to his Highness, if God should put it into his *heart*, and he submit *himself* to Gods will, for his own *honour*, which he might gain thereby, and for the *tranquillity* and happiness of all the people of these Kingdoms, to bring, and settle our Government, which I believe he might easily do, in the right Line, and on the right Heir, which God and Nature have designed for it. For,

When God hath designed a King, to be the Governour over his people, as he did *Moses* and *David*, over the Israelites, and other Kings successively over his people, how *odious* and how abominable is *disobedience* to any of those Kings in the sight of God, you may easily perceive, if you *mark* how God seems to be *more angry* with the contestation and *rebellion* of *Corah* and his confederates against *Moses*, and of *Absolom* against *David*, and of this people against *Zedechia*, than he was for the *Idolatry* and impiety they committed against himself; for if you weigh the *haynousness* of the sin by the

the *ſeverity* of the puniſhment, which is the only *ballance* that we can judge by, you ſhall find, that *Abſolom's* rebellion againſt his King, that was his Governour, was more *ſeverely* puniſhed, than his *Idolatry*, or any other his *impiety* againſt God. And leſt you ſhould deny *Abſolom* to have committed any idolatry, by that *Pillar* which he reared in the Kings dale, you may ſee, that the *firſt* and greateſt *Idolatry* of the Iſraelites, when they worſhipped their *golden Calf*, was puniſhed, but with the death of about 3000. men; and yet when they diſobeyed *Moſes*, and *rebelled* againſt him, and it was but a *privative rebellion*, no taking up of *arms*, no plotting of his *death*, but the very *embrio* of a rebellion, and the *beginning* of diſobedience, *We will not come at thee*; there died in the plague, *fourteen thouſand* and *ſeven hundred men*; beſides them that died about the matter of *Corah*, which were no leſs than two hundred and fifty men. For God having appointed the Emperour or King, to be the *Soveraign* Magiſtrate, and commanded him to be the Governour of his people, and to have a ſpecial care of his *Worſhip*, and to be the *Defender of the Faith of Chriſt*, What can this Governour do, to *uphold* the Faith, and to hinder the ſervice of God to *fail* and to fall to the ground, when the people *diſobey* him, and refuſe to be ruled by him, and ſpurn againſt him? as our people have done againſt our King.

2 Sam. 18.14.

2 Sam. 18.18.

Exod. 32.28.

Numb. 16.49.

How ſeverely God puniſheth the rebellious, and diſobedient people.

And therefore, though this *diſobedience* to the Magiſtrate, and *rebellion* againſt our King, that is Chief Governour, in it ſelf, if you conſider the *object* of either ſin, is not *equivalent*, nor ſo haynous, as *Idolatry*; yet, becauſe Government is *ſuſtentaculum*, the prop and ſtay of the *true Religion*, and diſobedience, againſt our lawful Governours, hath alwayes produced the *corruption* of Gods *true Service*, as you may ſee in the rebellion of *Jeroboam*, who no ſooner fell from his obedience to his King, but he preſently fell from his duty to his *God*, and corrupted his Service with groſs *Idolatry*; Therefore is God ſo *extreamly* angry, and doth ſo *ſeverely* puniſh the rebellion and *diſobedience* of the people, as here, becauſe *Zedechia* was not ſuffered by theſe *ſtubborn* and diſobedient people, to follow the advice of this our Prophet; therefore they were all delivered into ſeventy years Captivity.

Why God is ſo angry with them that rebel againſt their Kings.

And as the Lord is *extream* angry with thoſe rebellious people, that *diſobey* and labour to diſplace the Kings and Governours that he ſets over them; So he ſheweth abundance of his *love* and kindneſſe to them, that ſubmit themſelves to his ordinance, and behave themſelves dutifully and *loyally* towards thoſe Kings whatſoever they be, that God placeth over them; as you may ſee it in the whole *courſe* and Story of King *David* and *Saul*: for as he was the moſt dutiful and moſt *faithful ſubject*, that ever we read of; ſo God was pleaſed to raiſe him to be the *beſt King* that ever reigned over Iſrael; for, his King, and his Governour was *Saul*, the very *firſt* of that Order among the Jews; and he was an *hypocrite*, a perſecutor, a murderer, a tyrant, and a mad man; yet when *David*, whoſe life he thirſted after, had him at his *mercy*, and could as eaſily have taken off his *head*, as to cut off the *lap* of his garment, he ſaid, *The Lord forbid*, that I ſhould do this thing unto *my Maſter*, *the Lords Annointed*, to ſtretch forth my hand *againſt him*; and his heart *ſmote* him, becauſe he had cut off his *skirt*.

1 Sam. 24. 6.

And when he had him again in the *like trap*, he ſaid unto *Abner*, Art not thou a *valiant man*, and who is like thee in *Iſrael?* wherefore then haſt thou not kept *thy Lord the King?* this thing is *not good*, that thou haſt done; *As the Lord liveth*, you are worthy to die, becauſe you have not *kept your Maſter*, the Lords *Annointed*, and his oath; *As the Lord liveth*, ſheweth, that he ſpake it in *good earneſt*, and jeſted not.

1. Sam. 26.16.

And if they be worthy *to die*, that *defend* not, and protect not, ſuch a *wicked* King, eſpecially in going about ſo *vile* an action, as the murdering of ſo *good a man*, and ſo dutiful a ſubject as *David was*; then what ſhall be-

come of them, and what are they worthy of, that murmur, and grudge, and *plot* againſt *the life* of ſuch a good King, as maintained *peace* and *juſtice* amongſt his people, and offered no *ſpecial* injury to any *particular* man of us all?

Surely, if I had the wiſdom of *Solomon*, and the eloquence of *Demoſthenes*, I were not able to expreſſe the *odiouſneſſe* of their ſin, that conſpired againſt the perſon, and proceedings of ſuch a King, as is *inoffenſive* before God, and all good men.

But to go on to ſhew unto you, how faithful this *good ſubject* was to this bad King, when the young man, that was an *Amalekite*, and none of *Saul* or *Davids* ſubjects, came of his *own accord*, to bring tidings unto *David* of *Sauls* death, and of the *good ſervice*, that he thought he had done unto *Saul*, at his own requeſt, to put him out of his pain; *David* preſently cauſed him
2. Sam. 1. 15. to be put *to death*; becauſe he durſt preſume to offer *any violence*, though that *violence* ſeemed to be a *favour*, unto the *Ruler* of the people, whom we
Exod. 22. 28. are ſtraightly forbidden to *revile*, or to ſpeak evil of him.

So dutiful and ſo *loyal*, a ſubject was *David*, to ſo evil a Governour, and ſo wicked a King as *Saul*. And this his loyalty and *fidelity* unto *Saul*, was one of the *chiefeſt* vertues that we find *commendable* in him, before God had, according to his fidelity to his King, raiſed him to the Rule and *Government* of his people.

And I wiſh that all, and every one of us, would ſtrive and ſtudy to imitate this good man in our obedience, fidelity, and loyalty, to our King and Governours, that God hath placed over us.

But here, it may be, ſome troubled and *diſcontented* ſpirit will ſay; I could willingly yield all due reſpect and obedience unto our Kings and Governours, could I be ſatisfied, that God *appointed* them to be the Kings and Governours of his people; but as the Lord ſaith of the *falſe Prophets*,
Jeremy 23. 21. *They run and I ſent them not*; So he ſaith, *They have ſet up Kings, but not by*
Hoſea 8. 4. *me, and they have made Princes, and I knew it not*: And, ſhould we be *obedient* and faithful to ſuch Kings and Governours, that *ambitiouſly* ſet up themſelves, and are not *righteouſly* ſet up by God?

To theſe men, that ſtumble at this *block*, I anſwer,

1. That the Prophet ſpeaketh there, as I ſhewed to you before, not of any *Soveraign Monarch*, but of the *Ariſtocratical* government of *many men*, that will *all* be as Kings and Princes, ruling and domineering over the people; for ſo you ſee, the Prophet ſpeakes in the *plural* number, of *many Kings*, that in all the whole Scripture, you ſhall never find, to be either *appointed* or *approved* by God to be the Governours of his people; for indeed thoſe many Kings and Governours of *equal authority*, are none of Gods Governours, neither are they *ſet up* by God, nor, as I find, *approved* by God, in any place of all the Scripture: But as God is *One*, and the *only Monarch* of all the World; ſo he ever appoints *one Monarch* only, to be his *Deputy*, to govern the people or nation that he committeth under his charge.

2. I ſay, that *this Monarch* and Governour, whom God raiſeth to govern his people, attaineth unto his Throne and right of Government, even by the *ordination* of God, divers wayes: as

1. Sometimes by *Birth*, which is the moſt *uſual*, beſt, and *ſureſt* way, and moſt agreeable to Gods *will*.

2. Sometimes by *Choice*, and the election of the people; as *Herodotus* ſaith, the *Medes* choſe *Deioces*, to be their King; and the Princes of *Germany*, now chuſe their Emperour, and they commonly chuſe him that is by Birth the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed King.

3. Sometimes by the power of the *Sword*, as God gave the Monarchy of the *Medes* unto *Cyrus*, and the Kingdom of *Darius*, and of many others unto *Alexander*, and the Empire of the *Romans* unto *Auguſtus*; and many other

other Kingdoms unto others, that had no *other* right unto their Dominions, but what they purchaſed with the edge of their *Sword*. Which *right*, though it be nothing elſe but *Uſurpation* and *Intruſion*, in theſe ambitious hunters after rule and dominion; yet notwithſtanding, it muſt needs be a very *good right*, as the ſame cometh from the juſt God, who is the *God of war*, and giveth the *victory* unto Kings, when as the Poet ſaith,

——*Victrix cauſa diis placuit.*

And he having the right and power *Paramount*, to tranſlate the *rule*, and transferre the *dominion* of his people to whom he will; he hath oftentimes, for their ſins, thrown down the *mighty* from their ſeat, and tranſlated the government of his people unto others; whom ſome waies he thought *fitter* to effect his Divine will; as, he did give the Kingdom of *Saul* unto *David*, and of *Belſhazzers* unto *Cyrus*, and the like.

4. Somtimes by the wit wiſdom and *policy* either of *themſelves* or of their *friends*, as *Darius*, by the policy of his horſe-keeper, attained to the Kingdom of *Perſia*, as *Juſtin* writeth. *Juſtin. l. 1. verſus finem.*

5. Sometimes by the *Sword* or *Policy*, and by the choice and *election* of the people together: as *David*, both by warring againſt *Iſhboſheth* the ſon of *Saul*, and by the choice and *election* of the men of *Judah*, attained to the government of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*; and ſo many others, when either by their *wiſdom* or *valour* they prevailed againſt their oppoſers, were *elected* and confirmed by the people, as were *William* the Conqueror, and *Henry* the 7. in this Kingdom. 2 Sam. 2. 4. & chap. 4. 1.

And which way ſoever of theſe waies, or any other way, the Lord God ſetteth up a Prince to rule and govern his people, or ſuffereth the God of this world to ſet up an Uſurper, and a wicked Tyrant, to domineer over them; it is not ſafe nor wiſdom for the people, ſo long as that Uſurper hath the commanding power, and the generality of the people weak and unarmed, tumultuouſly and undiſcreetly to diſobey ſuch commands as may, without offending God, be lawfully performed; but as the high Prieſt *Jehoida*, and the people in the time of *Athalia*, did moſt patiently indure that Uſurpation, untill, in a fit opportunity, God gave them ſtrength and power to ſhake off that yoak, ſo ſhould we and all other people do in the like caſe; and not to ſtir, before a fit time, to undoe our ſelves, and to do no good.

And therefore, as our Saviour Chriſt, when the young man came unto him, and ſaid, Bid my brother to divide the inheritance betwixt him and me: Anſwered, *Who made me a Judg*, of theſe temporall things, *or a divider over you?* Luk. 12. 14. for mine office and calling is, to ſave your ſouls, and not to divide your lands; So ſhould every one of us ſay, in ſuch deſperate times as theſe, Who hath made me a Judge to determine, whom God hath been pleaſed to make the governor of his people, or to inquire what *intereſt* the governor hath, or by what means he *came* to that intereſt, in his government? For my duty is, not to rebel, but in all things, to ſtudy to be quiet; And our Lawers ſay, this Doctrine is agreeable to the laws of our Land: that ſay, *Poſſeſſio Coronæ tollit omnes defectus*, and requireth all obedience unto the preſent powerfull governor; and they tell you, how an Act of Parliament confirmed this truth in *Henry* the 7. for the adherents of *Richard* the 3. And in ſuch a caſe, and at ſuch times, of a powerfull Uſurpation; it ſeems, that our good God will excuſe us, for our paſſive, unwilling and inoffenſive obedience, when we cannot poſſibly do otherwiſe.

1. Becauſe the Prophet tels us *plainly*, that the moſt high God, beareth *rule* over the *Kingdom* of men, and he appointeth over it, *whomſoever he pleaſeth*

Dan. 4. 14. *pleaſeth*; and he placeth them over it, *which way ſoever* he pleaſeth, unknowen, and perhaps *unlikely* in our eyes, and it may be, *unjuſt* in our judgment; yet, moſt juſt to him and in his ſight; becauſe his waies are not *as our waies*, nor his thoughts *as our thoughts*; but his waies are in *the Seas*, his pathes in the *great waters*, and his foot-ſteps are *not known*.

2. Becauſe Chriſt himſelf, by his own *example* hath taught us to yeeld this obedience to our governors; *whoſoever* they be, and *whatſoever* they be, good or bad, and which *way ſoever* they came into their government; by the true and *lawfull* right of Succeſſion, or the *unjuſt* and powerfull Uſurpation; For when the *Jews*, that thought the *Romans*, eſpecially *Tiberius* that was but the *ſecond* Emperor, after that *Julius Cæſar* took the government from the *Senate*, had *no right* in the Kingdom of *Jurie*, came unto him, and asked, If it was *lawfull to pay tribute unto Cæſar*; he doth not ſay, He was an *Alien*, an *Uſurper*, and a *Tyrant*, the which things as I conceive, were all true; but leaving him as he was, and no waies medling with his *right* or *intereſt*, he bids them *Give unto Cæſar, what was Cæſars, and to*
Math. 22. 21. *God, what was Gods*. So when he ſtood to be judged before *Pilate*, and before *Herod*, he ſaid to neither of them, that they had *no right* unto their government, nor any *lawfull* Authority over him; but he tels *Pilate*, that *He could have no power at all, except it were given him from above*; whereby
Joh. 19. 11. he ſheweth that *Pilate's* power, over the *Jews*, by *whomſoever*, or by what *means ſoever* he came to it among men, was notwithſtanding a *power given to him*, and a government committed to him, by *God*.

3. Becauſe the *Apoſtles* of our Saviour Chriſt, and the *Fathers* of the primitive Church, did all of them teach the ſame Doctrine of ſuch obedience, as I ſhewed, unto the preſent powerfull governors, & never intimated unto the people, that they ſhould either fooliſhly revolt or ſimply conſpire againſt the powerfull *preſent* Ruler, be he what he will, *either Tyrant*, or *Uſurper*; for, though *Nero* was ſuch a monſter of men, as that *infamous libell* publickly written of him, doth declare,

Quis neget Æneæ magna de ſtirpe Neronem?
Suſtulit hic matrem, ſuſtulit ille patrem.

Who can deny, of great *Ænea* our *Nero* ſprang to be
That rid his Mother of her life, as Sire from fire did he?

Yet S. *Paul* never queſtioning *what* he was, good or bad, nor by what *right* he came to be the *Emperor*, to govern all the Provinces, by the ſubtilty of *Agrippina*, as the Hiſtorians teſtify; but conſidering that, as *Daniel* ſaith, God placeth whom he will, and which waies he will, and for what time he will, upon the Throne of Supreme Majeſty, *He exhorteth every ſoul* therefore cordially, and not hypocritically, *to be ſubject to the higheſt power*; and he ſheweth the reaſon why they ſhould do ſo, *videlicet* becauſe there
Rom. 13. 1. is *no power but from God*; and the powers that are, *are ordained by God*; and
1 Pet. 2. 13. S. *Peter* confirmeth the ſame Doctrine.

And ſo, according to this *example* of Chriſt, and theſe inſtructions of his *Holy Apoſtles*, all the *Martyrs*, and all the *Holy Fathers* of the primitive Church, never reſiſted, but were alwaies *dutifull* and obedient in all things, ſo far *as the Law of God gave them leave*, to the worſt, the moſt *Tyrannicall*, and greateſt *Uſurpers*, of all the Emperors, as well as to the beſt; they never examined *what* they were, nor *how* they came unto their government, but whom they found to poſſeſs the *Imperiall Robes*, to have the *Crown* on his head, and the *Scepter* and *Sword* in his hand; to him they readily yeelded their inoffenſive obedience, and ſerved him in *his wars* againſt his enemies, as they did unto *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Decius*, *Diocleſian*, *Julian*, *Phocas*,

and

and others; whereof ſome were *unlawfull*, ſome *unjuſt*, and ſome *ungodly* and moſt wicked Uſurping Emperors. For they wiſely conſidered, that if the war was *unjuſt*; yet, as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Reum facit regem iniquitas imperandi, & innocentem militem oſtendit ordo ſerviendi*; the iniquity of commanding makes the *commander* guilty, and the order or *duty* of ſerving ſheweth the Souldier to be *innocent*; becauſe that being *commanded*, he may not refuſe, and he muſt not *reſiſt*, nor lift up his *hand* againſt his Governour, but tolerate whatſoever is inflicted upon him, unleſſe he can by a *fair* and lawful means prevent it; becauſe it is far better to be a *Martyr*, then a *Traytor*; and, as the Prophet ſaith, *Obedience is better then Sacrifice*, and Rebellion it is as the ſin of *Witchcraft*. Aug. *contrà* Manich.

And if the Apoſtles and Martyrs, and the Primitive Chriſtians were thus dutiful, obedient and loyal ſubjects, to ſuch Tyrants and Uſurpers, and Perſecutors, as the aforeſaid wicked Governours were; how much more dutiful, and obedient, (and thankful to God for him) ought we to have been to ſuch a *loving*, mild, and godly Chriſtian King, as wronged *none* of us, but did preſerve *peace* in theſe dominions, and upheld *Juſtice* and *Judgement* among us, untill that Antichriſtian long-Parliament rebelled againſt him?

And ſo the premiſes being well conſidered, to the *boyling ſpirits* of diſcontented perſons, that diſtaſt *all meats*, that ſute not with their palats, and have not the *patience* to tarry Gods leiſure, and to eſpic a *convenient opportunity* to do the work that is *juſt*, and ought to be done in its due time; but will *inconſiderately*, and *unſeaſonably*, like *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, attempt to do *good ſervice* unto the Common-wealth, by taking the *uſurper* out of the way; I ſay their intention is *very good*, and their *deſire* moſt laudable: yet, leſt with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, they diſturb the *Common wealth*, and loſe their own wealth, and deſtroy *themſelves* by their *unſeaſonable* proſecution of their *commendable* deſign; I would adviſe them, and all of their mind, in all places where *ſuch Uſurpations* are maintained, to follow the example of *Jehoiada*, to watch their opportunity, and then to do it *throughly*, and not to fail; which, as I conceive, is both a juſt, and a *wholeſome* counſell.

But this people, whereof this our Prophet ſpeaketh, murmured, and ſpurned, and, like our Parliament, rebelled and kicked, not againſt an *Uſurper* (which had been commendable in them) but againſt their own lawful king, which was moſt diſpleaſing unto God.

And therefore theſe Jewes, and all that imitate theſe Jewes, are here *juſtly* threatned to be rejected and caſt off by God, for their *ſtubborneſſe*, diſobedience, and rebellion againſt their lawful King For, as *Samuel* ſaith, that obedience is more *acceptable* to God then *ſacrifice*; ſo I ſay, that obedience to our lawful King and his Magiſtrates, is the *beſt thing* that we can do to procure the peace and tranquillity of the Common-wealth. 1 Sam. 15. 22.

3. The *laſt branch* of their wandring from the *right way*, was their *injuries and oppreſſions* againſt their neighbours, and this was three-fold. 3. Branch of their wandring three-fold.

1. The robbing of their *goods*.
2. The impriſoning of their *perſons*.
3. The taking away of their *lives*.

6. Robbing their neighbours of their good.

1. The Prophet tells us, the *heart of this people was for covetouſneſſe*, and for oppreſſion, and for violence; they builded their houſes by *unrighteouſneſſe*, and their chambers by wrong; they uſed their neighbours *ſervice* without *wages*, and gave him not for his *work*; and this they did, ſaith the Prophet, that they might build them *wide houſes*, or ſtately Palaces, with *large chambers*, and great windowes, cieled with *Cedar*, and painted with *Vermilion*; They cared not what *wrongs* they did to others, ſo they might get it unto *themſelves*; they had no regard to juſtice, as you may ſee it Jerem. 22. 17. *Ezek.* v. 13. V. 13.

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in the 15. and 16. verſes; but *whatſoever* they did to inrich themſelves, and from whomſoever they took it, it muſt be reputed *juſt*, and none dare ſpeak againſt it.

Jer. 5. 27. And yet the Prophet tells us, that *as a Cage is full of birds, ſo are their houſes full of deceits*; and therefore *they are become great, and waxen rich*; yea, *they are waxen fat and ſhine, and do overpaſſe the deeds of the wicked.*

Amos 8. 6. And, as the Prophet *Amos* ſaith, *they bought the poor for ſilver, and the needy for a pair of ſhoes*: So *greedy* was this people to ſcrape together the *wealth* of this world, and had no regard to *equity*, honeſty, or good conſcience.

Jerem. 6. 13. Eſay 56. 1. And which is more wonderful, *from the leaſt of them even to the greateſt of them, every one is given to covetouſneſſe, and from the Prophet even to the Prieſt, every one dealeth falſely*; and the Prophet *Eſay* calleth them *greedy dogs, that could never have enough.*

And whether any ſuch *covetouſneſſe* and *oppreſſion* be amongſt *our men*, and eſpecially amongſt our *Levites* in theſe dayes, let them that are *oppreſſed* with over-heavie Taxes, Cuſtoms, Exciſe, &c. judge. I leave it to you that have *beſt experience* of theſe times, to determine; and I will not be the accuſer of my brethren; as ſome *Duns Scotus* of them, have been of me, though to no purpoſe.

But whether it was the love of *Juſtice* to puniſh us for our ſins, or *covetouſneſſe*, to inrich themſelves, and their aſſociates, that made our Grandees of late years, to take away the *reward of our labours*, even of *all our labours*, from our very youth to our decrepit age; I leave it to the *Judge of all the world* to determine: for they have done it, and he knoweth beſt, why they did it; onely we profeſſe it to *all the world*, that our *conſciences* cannot tell us of any thing that we have done, to *deſerve* to be deprived of it; And therefore we preſume to pray to God, though we taxe them not,

Jerem. 22. 13. that the *woe* which the Prophet denounceth againſt *this people*, for their *covetouſneſſe*, and injuſtice, may *not light* upon any of them, that took away the *bread* out of our mouthes, and our childrens, and left many of the *moſt painful* labourers in Gods Vine-yard, to *dig*, or *beg*, or *ſtarve*.

2. Impriſoning their perſons. Jerem 5. 26. 2. This people *laid wait*, as he that ſetteth ſnares to *catch men*, (*i.e.*) they had *ſpies* in every corner; and if they found *any* that ſpake any thing againſt *them*, or againſt their *covetouſneſſe*, or injuſtice, though it were never *ſo true*; then, as they did with *Jeremy*, they would throw him into the *dungeon*; ſo *Herod* did with *John Baptiſt*, and with S. *Peter*, and with the *reſt* of Gods *Servants*, that reproved their injuſtice, and ſpake the truth to them. And do I ſay, that *any* of our men in theſe dayes did ſo, or doth the like?

But, as when the *Sons of God* came to preſent themſelves before the Lord, in the dayes of *Job*, Satan came alſo among them; ſo I fear, that when the *children* of God do now come to preſent themſelves in his *Church*, *Satan* hath ſome of his *Emiſſaries* amongſt them, that come as the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* came to hear Chriſt, not to be *inſtructed* by him, that they might be *ſaved*, but to *catch* at ſome things in his words, *that they might accuſe him.*

3. Taking away their lives Jer. 19. 4. c. 22. 17. Jer. 2. 34. 3. They filled *Jeruſalem* with the blood of *innocents*, and that which was a great deal *worſe*, even the *worſt* of all, *In their ſkirts was found the blood of the ſoules of the poor innocents*; which I take to be not only an *Hebraiſm*, but alſo to ſhew unto us, how they ſought to deſtroy both the *bodies* and the *ſouls* of men; and that is, as I conceive, by *forcing* them, for fear of being undone, and to have all their *lively-hood* taken from them, to *forſwear themſelves*, as the Prophet *Hoſea* ſheweth; *they have ſpoken words, ſwearing falſely, in making a Covenant*; and, *ſhall I not viſit for theſe things*, Hoſea 10. 4. ſaith the Lord? For, though they pretended this, out of *zeal* to Gods ſervice; to compell men to ſuch a *Form* of Gods worſhip, and to profeſſe

ſuch

ſuch and ſuch a Religion, as they conceived beſt, or elſe to deprive them of their poſſeſſions; yet I find the *beſt Divines* proteſting, that this is *contrary* to Gods will, that would have *faith* wrought in us, by *preaching*, and not by *fighting*, and Religion ſettled in us by *perſwaſion*, and not by *compulſion*. For, as *Lipſius* ſaith, The *greateſt thing* that any Prince is *able* to bring to paſſe, by his *terrour*, is, to make that he, who doth moſt of all *ſeem* to be obedient, doth in *outward ſhew* conſent, but never in his *heart*; for as, *Lactantius* demandeth, Who can compel me, either to *believe* what I *liſt not*, or *not to believe* what I *will?* And therefore, conſtraint bringeth *diſſimulation*, and not *Religion*, and maketh *Hypocrites*, and not *Saints*, when the *conſtrained* perſons do worſhip the *power* of the conſtrainer, and not *his God*: which made King *Theodorick* to ſay, That he could not *command* Religion, becauſe no man could be *inforced*, to believe *againſt his will*: and there is nothing more *free* than Religion, which the mind no ſooner *withſtandeth*, but forthwith it *vaniſheth*, and is no more Religion; ſaith *Lactantius*.

Lipſius polit. l. 4. c. 4.

Lactant. l. 5. c. 14.

Faith, and Religion, not to be forced.

Eccleſ. hiſt. l. *quò ſuprà.*

And yet theſe *Jews*, whereof the Prophet *Hoſea* ſpeaketh, ſought with all rigor, to *compel* men to *ſwear* unto their *wicked covenant*; and thereby, ſaith our Prophet, *Their ſkirts were filled with the blood of the ſouls of the poor innocents*; when, to ſave their *eſtates*, they believed their *faith*, and became ſuch *hypocrites* before God, for fear of men, as made them moſt *liable* to Gods heavy *judgements*; which muſt needs be *no ſmall* offence in *this people*, and in all thoſe, that *imitate* them herein.

Hoſea. 10. 4.

But let this *wickedneſs*, and the ſin of this people, be what it will, it proceeded all from the *Aſſembly* of their Divines, and falſe Prophets; *For they cauſed my people Iſrael to erre, and they ſtrengthened the hands of the evil doers, that none doth return from his wickedneſs*, ſaith the Prophet. For indeed, we that are the *Teachers* of the people, are juſt like *Jeremy*'s Figs, They that were *good*, were very good, and they that were *bad*, were *very bad*: So are we, either the *beſt*, or the *worſt* of men; and we either bring men to Chriſt, or ſend them to the Antichriſt; either make them *Saints*, or make them *Seditious* and Hereticks; and through our pride, covetouſneſs, and ambition, we *lead them*, like fools as they are that follow falſhood, into *all miſchief*.

The Aſſembly of their Divines, the chiefeſt cauſe of their wickedneſs.

Jer. 23. 13. 14.

And therefore from the *King* to the *peaſant*, from the higheſt to the loweſt, all men ought to be *wary* whom they affect, and chuſe to be *their Teachers*; For it is moſt true, that, as the Prophet ſaith, *Like Prieſt, like people*; unleſs it be, as S. *Bernard* ſaith, That now, *the Prieſt is worſe than the people*. For we know, the *Arian Biſhops* made *Conſtantius* an Arian Emperour; and the *falſe Prophets*, made *Ahab* and *Jezabel* ſo *zealouſly* affected to the ſervice of *Baal*. So the *Anabaptiſtical* Prieſts, make their followers *Anabaptiſts*, and the *popiſh* Prieſts make *Papiſts*.

And therefore all *great men*, Kings, Princes, and Governours, ought to have a *ſpecial* care, to chuſe *Orthodoxal* men to be their *Chaplains*, and all men ought to have the *like care*, to follow the Doctrine of the *true Preachers*, and to be as willing to hear the *Orthodox* and *true Preachers*, as the *Heterodox* and falſe Prophets. For if *Ahab* and *Jezabel*, would have hearkened to *Micaiah* as well as they did to the *Prophets of Baal*, it is very likely *Baal* had not been ſo much *worſhipped*, nor the *true Service* of God ſo much *neglected*. But S. *Gregory* l. 4. *Epiſt.* 38. ſaith moſt truly, *Rex ſuperbiæ prope eſt, &, quod dici nefas, ſacerdotum ei præparatur exercitus.*

And herein *this City*, and this Kingdom, is now very happy, that God hath ſent them ſo *Religious*, and ſo Noble a *King*, as doth favour and countenance the *true Proteſtants*, and is not *apt*, to believe the *aſperſions*, that the *falſe brethren* are ſo ready to caſt upon them.

But to proceed, to ſhew to you, how this *great wickedneſs* of the people proceeded from the *Prieſts*; our Prophet ſaith, That *from the Prophets of Jeruſalem* (which was in *Judea*, as *London* in England, and *Dublin* in

Ireland, *Lisbon* in Portugal, and *Paris* in France, the chiefest City of the Kingdom) *is prophaneſs gone forth into all the land*; that is, they of the *Head-City* were the *cauſe* that all the *other Cities* of the whole Kingdom do ſo prophanely, and ſo *irreverently* ſerve the Lord. And therefore the Prophets of the *Metropolis*, ought to be *very careful* and circumſpect, what *example* they give to *other Cities*.

Jer. 23. 15.

The Head-City is the Leader of all the other Cities of the Kingdom.

And this our Prophet further ſheweth, How this great miſchief, of prophaneſs, covetouſneſs, injuſtice, and all other wickedneſs, happened to become ſo *general* among this people; and that was, When the *unity* of the Clergy, and *uniformity* of Gods ſervice, was divided into many *Sects*, and different ſorts of ſerving God; for, *many Paſtors have deſtroyed my vineyard*, ſaith the Prophet: not becauſe they were *many*, had they been all of one mind; but becauſe they were of many *different* minds; as were the *Scribes*, Phariſees, Sadduces, Herodians, Eſſeni, and many *other* inferiour Sects among the Jews; as now *Presbyterians*, Independants, Anabaptiſts, Papiſts, Quakers, Dippers, and many *Sects* and Factions are among us: when the Church of God that ſhould be, *tanquam Acies ordinata*, like a well-ordered Army, as *Solomon* ſaith, (*i.e.*) governed by the General, and his ſubordinate Officers, and not be commanded by a multitude of unequal, and all *diſſenting* Commanders, ſhall be inſtructed by a company of diſagreeing Preachers; whereof moſt of them ſhall be like *Jeroboam*'s Prieſts, and each one of them an Independant, to command in *Chief*, to gather a Church for himſelf, whereof no man elſe ſhall have any intereſt from them; and then only Gods *pleaſant portion* as the Prophet calleth the Church, *becomes a deſolate wilderneſs*, that brings nothing but thorns and bryers, errors, hereſies, and all *wickedneſs*.

Jer. 12. 10.

Jer. 12. 10.
Chap. 4. 26.

And therefore queſtionleſs, great is the *account* that theſe Prophets have to *anſwer* for, at the laſt Day; not only for their *own ſins*, which they never look into, but do reprove *others* for their covetouſneſs, and are *more covetous* themſelves; and do moſt *eagerly* inveigh againſt the *pride*, hatred, and malice of the *people*, and never look into their *own pride*, nor conſider of their own *fouler faults*, but eſpecially for thoſe ſins alſo, which either by their *evil example*, or their *falſe Doctrine*, they are the *cauſe* thereof in the people.

But will you hear what the *Lord* ſaith of this *aſſembly* of falſe Prophets, or theſe *many Paſtors*, that by their *diſcord*, and diſſenting from their *Governours*, deſtroy the Church. *I have not ſent theſe Prophets, yet they run*; therefore thus ſaith the Lord, *Hearken not unto them*; and though they ſpeak *fair* words, yet *believe them not*. And ſo *Moſes*, and our Saviour Chriſt do give the *ſame* counſel unto us, that we ſhould neither *believe* them, nor *hearken* unto the *ſmooth words* of the falſe Prophets; for if the people did not *love* to hear them, and ſo love to be deceived by them, they would not be ſo ready to propheſie lyes, errors, and falſhoods unto them. And therefore I could wiſh, the people would follow the *counſel* of Chriſt, and our Prophet, not *to hearken* unto the *Sermons* of thoſe Prophets, that God profeſſeth, he hath *not ſent them*. And ſo you have heard,

Jeremy 23. 21.
Chap. 27. 14.
Chap. 29. 8.
Chap. 12. 6.
Chap. 14. 14.

1. How this people *wandred*.
2. How they *loved* to wander.
3. The *manner* of their wandering.

} And now reſteth,

4. Their haſte or greedineſs to proceed in their wickedneſs.

4. The laſt thing conſiderable in the *doings* of this people is, their *haſte* and greedineſſe to *proceed* in their wicked wayes; for *they refrained not their feet*; but as the Prophet *David* ſaith, *Their feet were ſwift to ſhed blood*, and they would have *no delayes* in their dealings, but cryed out with the Poet,

Semper

——*ſemper nocuit differre paratis.* *Lucan.*

Nothing is ſo *dangerous* in great affairs, as to lye *lingering* about the matter; therefore our Saviour ſaith to *Judas*, *Quod facis, fac citò*: and when he bad his diſciples go to Preach the Goſpel, he bids them to *ſalute no man by the way*, not that he diſliked and prohibited *civil reſpects*, and curteous *ſalutations*, as, Good morrow, *God be with you*, or, God ſpeed you, and the like: But that they ſhould not ſtay complementing, and neglect the *great* and *waighty* buſineſs that they were ſent about, to *Preach the Goſpel of God*.

And ſo the wicked, having a *greater* deſire to do *evil*, then the godly have to do *good*, do make all the *haſte* they can, to bring their work to paſs, and to effect all their *projects*: and they are very *active*, and very nimble in all their actions; I remember *Horace* ſpeaks of *Lucilius* that,

——— *in hora ſæpe ducentos*
Ut magnum, verſus dictabat, ſtans pede in uno; *Horatius Serm. l.1.p.212.*

He would powre out *two hundred verſes* in an hour; but in his book *De arte Poetica*, he reprehendeth the verſe,

——— *quod non*
Multa dies & multa litura coercuit, atque
Perfectum decies non caſtigavit ad unguem. *Idem de arte Poet. p.369.*

which had not taken up *many daies*, and undergon a *ten fold* correction, before it came to be perfect. For you know the old proverb, *Canis feſtinans cæcos parit catulos*, the haſty bitch bringeth forth *blind* whelps: and it is the *ſoft fire* that maketh the ſweet maulc; and therefore, as the faithfull Chriſtian, *Qui crediderit, non feſtinabit*, will not preſently believe all that he heareth, when, as *Solomon* ſaith, *Sultus credit omni verbo*, he is a fool that believes *every* word he heareth: but the wiſe Chriſtian, with the noble men of *Beræa*, will examine and *ſearch* what things are *true*, and what are not; ſo the wiſe and carefull *Preacher* cannot *powre forth* his Sermons as faſt as *Lucilius* could do his verſes, or as our *Enthuſiaſts*, that ſpeak all by the ſpirit, which teacheth them *in illa hora*, in that inſtant, what they ſhould ſay: ſo that they do far exceed *thoſe*, whereof *Boſquierus* ſpeaketh, *Septennes pueri concionantur in Ordine Franciſci: quarta naufragii tabula, in dominica poſt Pentecoſt.* pag.241. that at ſeaven *years old*, they could Preach in the order of S. *Francis*; but the *true* Preachers think, they ought to be *more carefull* to correct, and *weigh* every word of their Sermons, before they Preach them than the Poet ought to correct his Verſes, when as the Prophet flatly pronounceth, *Curſed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently*: for the negligent *Preachers*, make negligent *hearers*; and that muſt needs be *negligence* when they do ſo *haſtily* powre forth, *quicquid in buccam venerit*, what comes firſt into their mouth.

Our new Preachers can powre forth their ſermons as faſt as *Lucilius* his verſes.

Act.17.11.

What children could do in the order of S. *Francis*.

And yet, as the children of *Iſrael* would not ſtay for *Moſes*, his coming down from the mount, though he was all that while preparing and providing *good laws*, and inſtructions for them, but they muſt *preſently* change their *good God* for a *golden Calf*, and as *Jeroboam* after his revolt from the houſe of *David*, and his diſlike to the *true ſervice* of God, in the Temple of *Solomon*, muſt preſently frame a *new Religion*; So muſt all *Innovators* and all other tranſgreſſors *ſpeedily*, without any conſultation, either with God or good men, overthrow what they diſlike, and eſtabliſh what they *pleaſe*;

as in former times, I will not ſay of *late*, we have had moſt *woefull* experience of this *haſty* ruinating of the *Orthodox* Doctrine, and erecting the heterodox; and the *ſudden* plucking down, in *an hour*, what had ſtood one *hundred years*; and the *ſudden* ſetting up of things, like *Jonah's* gourd, which perhaps ſhould fall under the *like fate*, as being but the emblem of ſuch *fiery Prophets*.

The wicked cannot endure to be hindered to deſtroy themſelves.

But the words are yet more *Emphatical* then this making *haſte* to proceed in their *evil* doings; becauſe they not only made *haſte*, ſpeedily to *finiſh* all their evil-begun work; but, *They refrayned not their feet*, ſaith the Prophet, that is, they could not endure any *remora*, or any means that might *hinder* their own *haſty* deſtruction: but, as *Jeroboam* was inraged againſt the *man* of God, and *Ahab* againſt *Elias*, becauſe they ſought to *preſerve* them from ruine; ſo were this people *mad* againſt *Jeremy*, and caſt him into the *dungeon*, and adjudged him to be put to *death*; becauſe he ſought to *ſtop* them in their *Pegaſine* race unto their *own* deſtruction.

And therefore, ſeeing they were ſo *impatient* to be reproved, and ſo violent againſt them that ſought their *preſervation*, there was no means uſed to prevent and hinder their *evil* deeds, and the progreſs of their tranſgreſſions; for, as our Prophet ſheweth,

1. Their Preachers were flatterers.

1 Their Prophets and Preachers *flattered* them, and reproved not their wicked waies; but they ſowed *pillows* under their elbows, & ſo, *ſtrenghthened* them in their wickedneſs. And thoſe *other Prophets*, that did not flatter them, yet were they *ſilent* for fear of them, following the counſell of the Poet,

Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori:
Difficiles aditus impetus omnis habet.

To give place unto their *fury*, to prevent their *own* calamity. Which notwithſtanding was but to eſcape the *ſmoak* and fall into the *fire*; but to avoid mans anger by *not reproving* them, and to be liable to Gods wrath, *for not reproving them*.

2. Their judges were corrupt.

2. The Judges and Magiſtrates did not execute the *laws* againſt them; for though the Lord commandeth them, to execute *true judgment*, and ſhew *mercy* and compaſſion every man to his *brother*, and oppreſs not the *widow*, nor the *fatherleſs*, nor the *ſtranger*, nor the *poor*; yet, as our Prophet teſtifieth, they judged not the *cauſe* of the fatherleſs, and the right of the *needy* did they not *judg*; and the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, *Their Princes were rebellious, and companions of theeves; every one loved gifts, and followed after rewards*, and judged not the *fatherleſs*, neither did the cauſe of the *widow*, come unto them; but they ſuffered *oppreſſions*, *robberies*, and *murders* to go *unpuniſhed*: and ſo the Laws lay as *dead*; becauſe the *execution* of the law, is the *life* of the law; and I *fear* not, I *care* not, to be condemned by the Law, ſo I be freed by the *Judg*, and ſaved from the *Execution* of the Law.

Zech. 7. 9.
Jer. 5 28.
Ezay 1. 23.

The ſin of one man doth often bring a plague upon many.

And this *twofold* remiſſeneſs, and double error of the *Magiſtrates*, and *Miniſters*, did exceedingly *multiply* the ſins of the people; and as highly *provoke* the wrath of God, not only againſt the *offendors*, but alſo againſt the *whole Nation*, and eſpecially againſt thoſe that were *ſo ſlack*, in the puniſhing of theſe offences and performance of their duties; For if you *ſearch* the Scriptures, you ſhall find, that the ſin of *one man*, which is left unpuniſhed, brings a plague upon *many*, and the *execution* of juſtice upon a tranſgreſſor, doth avert Gods judgment from a *multitude*: As when *Achan* ſinned, *all Iſrael was troubled*, and he was called the *troubler* of *Iſrael*; who tranſgreſſed in the thing accurſed. And when *Zimri* and *Cozbi* offended, the *whole people* ſuffered, ſo that twenty four thouſand of them died;

Joſh. 7. 21.
1 Chr. 2. 7.
Numb. 25. 8.

died; but when that *Phineas* executed judgment, then the *plague ceaſed*, ſaith the Text; and when *Achan* ſuffered, the wrath of God was *pacified*. Pſal.106.11.

And therefore *Moſes* very often, and in many places exhorteth the children of *Iſrael*, that whenſoever *any man* committed Idolatry, or Murder, or Sodomy, or any other *haynous* crime, they ſhould take *no ſatisfaction* for his offence, but the *tranſgreſſor* ſhould be put to death: their eye ſhould not ſpare him, neither ſhould they have *pity* upon him; ſo ſhould they turn *away* evil from *Iſrael*. For it is moſt certain, as the wiſe man ſaith, that becauſe *ſentence*, or *judgment*, againſt *an evil work* is not ſpeedily *executed*, but deferred, though not pardoned, yet the *heart of the children of men is altogether*, or fully, *ſet* in them *to do evill*; and it is the greateſt *incouragement* that can be for *wicked* men, to *proceed on* in their wickedneſs, to ſee *other* wicked perſons *pardoned* and not puniſhed. Numb.35.31. Deut.17.12. The not puniſhing of tranſgreſſors incourageth others to tranſgreſs. Eccl.8.12.

And I pray God, the *judgments* of God, as ſickneſſes, death, wars, and the like, may not *proceed* on us for our *not proceeding* to the execution of juſtice, againſt Prophane *oppreſſors*, the Kings *murderers*, and other like wicked offendors, *the murderers* of the Kings Loyall ſubjects. For we know how *Saul* ſpared *Agag*, that was *deſtined* by God for his wickedneſs to be put to *death*; and how, for *ſparing* him, he loſt both his *life* and his *Kingdom*, and had all his *poſterity* rooted out; and we know how the *Iſraelits* ſpared the *Canaanits*, whom God commanded to be *ſlain*, and how for ſparing them, they became *thorns* in their eyes, and *briars* unto their ſides; And I beſeech you to *conſider* what the Prophet ſaith unto *Ahab*, *Thus ſaith the Lord, becauſe thou haſt let go out of thy hand*, and ſo pardoned, *a man whom I appointed to utter deſtruction*, that is, to death, *therefore thy life ſhall go for his life, and thy people, for his people.* 1 King.20.42. So hatefull it is to God, that we ſhould pardon ſuch tranſgreſſors, as he will not pardon.

And it is no wonder, that God ſhould *thus deal* with them, that *thus ſpare* the tranſgreſſors; for as he, *Qui non prohibet peccare cum poſſit, jubet*; which doth not hinder a man to ſin, when he can hinder him, *ſpurres* him on to ſin, ſaith *Seneca*; ſo, *Qui juſtificat impium*, he that *juſtifieth* the wicked, and *ſpareth* a tranſgreſſor whom he ought and can puniſh, is *partaker* of his tranſgreſſion; and is as abominable before God, as he is, that *condemneth the* innocent: ſaith *Solomon*. Prov.17.15.

And theſe are the *two chiefeſt ſorts* of evil, that the Lord hateth in the *doings* of men towards men; that is, The two things that God chiefly hateth in the doings of men towards other men.

1. To *oppreſs*, *condemn*, and *wrong* the *good* and *godly men*.
2. To *promote*, *juſtify*, and *free* the *wicked men*, and ſuffer them to flouriſh, notwithſtanding all their *bloody* ſins and tranſgreſſions.

And againſt theſe evils, we the *Preachers* of Gods Word, are injoyned ſtill to denounce the *judgments* of God; and if we *tell not* the people of their faults, and *reprove them not* for theſe doings, they ſhall die *in their ſins*, and their blood ſhall be required *at our hands*; as the Lord ſaith unto his Prophet: And therefore as S. *Clement* ſaith, *Nos quod vobis expedire novimus, tacere non poſſumus*, We cannot, but we muſt *tell* the people of their *doings*, and the more *abominable* we ſee their doings, the more *bound* are we to *cry aloud* and ſpare not, *to cry* againſt their wickedneſs. And ſo much for the *doings* of this people. *Clement.* recognit. l.1.

2. In the *doome*, and due deſert of this people for their doings, you may obſerve theſe three things. 2. The doome and judgment of this people for their wickedneſs.

1. Their *renunciation*, *The Lord doth not accept them.*
2. Their *compenſation*, or reward; which is two fold:
   1. *Privative*, in the diſcuſſion of their deeds, *He will remember their iniquity.*
   2. *Poſitive*, which is an infliction of puniſhment, *He will viſit their ſins.*

3. The

3. The *time* of their judgement, which is *very near*, for he will *now* remember their iniquities, and viſit their ſins.

1. Their Renunciation.

1. The not *accepting* of them is a moſt *fearfull* judgement againſt them, and one of the *heavieſt* conditions that can be incident to any man; for when the Lord doth not *accept* the *perſon* of any one, the *actions* of that perſon, whatſoever they be, can never be *acceptable* unto God; for ſo the Scripture teſtifieth, that the Lord had reſpect unto *Abel*, and to his offering; that is, the Lord ſeeing *Abel* to be juſt and honeſt, he accepted and approved of his *work*: but to *Cain* and his offering, he had no reſpect; that is, ſeeing he was but an *hypocrite*, and his ſervice was rather to *deceive* men, then to pleaſe God, the Lord had *no regard* to any thing that he did, nor reſpected *any offering* that he brought unto him. So he tels the Jews, that *their incenſe* and their *ſacrifices*, their burnt-offerings, and the fat of fed beaſts, were *an abomination* unto him; becauſe the *doers* thereof were *abominable* and wicked: which is a very *fearful* thing, that the very *prayers* and *preaching*, the *faſting*, and the *Alms-deeds*, and all *other things*, that hypocrites, oppreſſors, and unjuſt men do to pleaſe God, are moſt *hateful* in Gods ſight.

No work is acceptable, when the perſon is not accepted.

Eſay 1.13.

All the beſt deeds of the wicked, are abominable before God.

And if it be a *lamentable* thing that God refuſeth *their prayers*, and hateth the *zeal* of the hypocrites, and abhorreth their *pretences* to do Him ſervice, O then, how *doleful* a thing is it, when God not only refuſeth their *ſervice*, but alſo renounceth their *perſons*? For, as, *non datur vacuum in natura*, there can be no *vacuity* or emptineſſe in Nature, but when *one body* paſſeth away, *another* preſently ſupplyeth the place; ſo man cannot be without a *Maſter*: but when God refuſeth him, the devill preſently *ſeizeth upon him*; as you may ſee in *Judas*, who no ſooner parted with Chriſt, but he was immediately poſſeſſed by *Satan*; And this is the *firſt part* of the Tragedy of this people, that for their *abuſe* of Gods ſervice, their *diſobedience* unto their Governours, and the *wrongs* they did unto their neighbours, one to another, the Lord doth *not accept them*, but gives them a Writ, *De juſta abdicatione*, and a bill of divorcement, that he will be their God *no longer*, and they ſhall be *no longer* his people. And if this were all, it were *bad enough*, but here is ſomewhat more: For,

Man cannot be without a Maſter.

2. The remuneration, or reward of their wickedneſs, two-fold.

2. Here is the *reward* of their wanderings, and the *wages* of their iniquity expreſſed unto us: and that in *a double* form.

1. *He will remember their iniquity.*
2. *He will viſit their ſins.*

} And

1 The deniall of his reward.

The firſt of theſe I call a *Privative* puniſhment, becauſe the Lord intimateth hereby the denial of his reward, that is, the *reward* that he *would* have given them, if they would have *faithfully* ſerved him; for, as he ſaith unto thoſe *hypocrites*, that *faſted* and *prayed*, and gave *almes*, and pretended to be the only Saints, that ſo they might be *ſeen*, and be ſo taken of men,

Matth. 6. 2.

for the only *true ſervers* of God, *they have their reward*; that is, *habent mercedem ſuam, ſed amiſerunt meam*, they have the reward which they *aimed at*, the applauſe of men; but they loſt that which *I intended* to beſtow on them, that is, *eternal life*: ſo here, when he ſaith, that he will *remember their iniquity*, he plainly inferreth, they ſhall have none of thoſe *good things*, which he *prepared for thoſe that truly ſerve him*, though they ſeem not ſo among men.

And what a *fearful note* of Gods hatred againſt theſe men is this, that *he will remember their iniquity*? For the firſt argument that our Church heretofore uſed to invite ſinners to repentance, and to return to God, is, that whenſoever a ſinner doth *repent* him of his ſins, from the *bottom* of his heart, the Lord hath promiſed, *to put out all his wickedneſſe out of his remembrance*; and howſoever the late *wiſe Reformers* of Gods ſervice, have now caſt off that *godly courſe*, yet was it the *firſt requeſt*, that the true Proteſtant

teſtant Church *made to God* in their *Liturgy*, ſaying; *Remember not Lord our offences, nor the offences of our fore-fathers, neither take thou vengeance on our ſins*; becauſe *vengeance* muſt then preſently light upon us, when our ſins are called into *Gods remembrance*, and the Lord ſaith unto us, as he doth unto the *Iſraelites*; Are not *theſe things laid in ſtore with me, and ſealed up among my treaſures?* The ſtrequeſt that our Church makes to God. Deut. 32. 34.

And therefore, as for God to *remember* his holy Covenant that he made with *Noah*, and with *Abraham*, and with all his faithful ſervants, that he will be *mercifull to them that fear him*, and blot their ſins out of *his remembrance*, is the *greateſt comfort* of the godly; which made the good Thief to ſay no more to Chriſt, but, *Lord, remember me when thou comeſt into thy Kingdome.* And *Nehemiah* for all the *good ſervice* that he did to Gods Church, to ſay no more to God, but, *Remember me, O my God, concerning this*; ſo the Lords threatning, that *He will remember the iniquity of the wicked*, ſhould be a *mighty terrour* unto them; for this is the inference that the Prophet *Amos* maketh of this doctrine, when, after he had told the Jewes, that the Lord had *ſworn* by the excellency of *Jacob*, ſaying, Surely I will *never forget any of their works*; he preſently addeth, *Shall not the Land tremble for this, and every one mourn, that dwelleth therein?* The good Thiefs prayer. Luke 23. 42. Nehem. 13. 14. Amos 8. 7, 8.

And ſo I conclude this *point* againſt the *prephaners* of Gods ſervice, and the *oppreſſors* of their neighbours, as *Nehemiah* doth in the like caſe; ſaying, *Remember them, O my God*, becauſe they have defiled the *Prieſthood*, and inſtead of the true Prophets, and Reverend *Fathers* of the Church, have with *Jeroboam* entertained Prieſts without *Orders*, and Prophets without *learning*, which have cauſed the peple to *wander out of the way*, and of whom the Lord profeſſeth, *They run*, but he *ſent them not.* Nehem. *ult.* 29,

2. The Lord ſaith, that *he will viſit their ſins*, and a *viſitation* is either for the *conſolation* of the diſtreſſed; as when *Zachary* ſaith, *God hath viſited and redeemed his people*: or for the *correction* of the delinquents, as here, when the Lord ſaith, *he will viſit their ſins*; that is, to puniſh them for their tranſgreſſions; for as God is moſt merciful, *in retributione Bonorum*, in bleſſing them that ſerve him, ſo he is moſt juſt, *in punitione Malorum*, in the puniſhment of evil doers; and you ſhall ſeldom or never find that *prophane men*, and *great* ſinners, did eſcape their *juſt deſerved puniſhment*, without *great* repentance; nor ſo, many times, for *that part* of their puniſhment, which concerned this preſent life. 2. The inflicting their puniſhment. Great ſins and offences never eſcape unpuniſhed.

And therefore, when this people *liſtened* to the falſe Prophets, and rejected the *right way* of Gods ſervice, taught them by the *true Prophets*, and *rebelled* by their diſobedience againſt their King, and his under-Governours, and then *oppreſſed*, robbed, and *killed* their quiet, poor, and *feeble neighbours*; the Lord ſaith unto this our Prophet, *Pray not for this people, for their good*; for, though *Moſes* and *Samuel* ſtood before me, yet my mind could not be *towards* this people, but I *will caſt them out of my ſight*, ſuch as are for death, *to death*, and ſuch as are for the ſword, *to the ſword*; and ſuch as are for the famine, *to the famine*; and ſuch as are for the captivity, *to the captivity*; and I will appoint over them four kinds, or four families, ſaith the Lord. Jer. 15. 1, 2, 3, 4. & c. 19. 7.

1. The Sword to *ſlay*,
2. The *Dogs* to *tear*,
3. The *Fowls* of the heaven; and
4. The *Beaſts* of the earth, to *devour*, and *deſtroy*.

2 King. 24. 25. *Chap. per totum* 2 Chron. 36. *per totum.*

And *all this* happened unto them, according to the *Prediction* of the Prophet; and that, becauſe they have not *obeyed the voice of the Lord*, as ſaith the Prophet.

And ſhall we think that people, which *exceeds* them in *all* tranſgreſſions, ſhall be *freed* from all puniſhment? It is an old Rule, and a good counſel,

Ut

Ut quorum vitia imitamur eorum exitum perhorreſcamus, That we ſhould be afraid of their *end* and puniſhment, whoſe wayes and *vices* we do follow and *imitate*; becauſe the *ſame way*, will ever bring men to the *ſame end*; and the *like ſins*, without repentance, can expect none other than the *like puniſhment*. And I beſeech you *mark*, what the Lord ſaith *to the King of Babylon*, and to the King of *Egypt*, and to *all* the Kings of *all other Nations*; Loe, *I begin to bring evil on the City that is called by my Name*, and ſhould you be utterly unpuniſhed? *You ſhall not be unpuniſhed*. And conſider what S. *Peter* ſaith, *The time is come, that judgement muſt begin at the houſe of God; and if it begin at us, What ſhall be the end of them that obey not the Goſpel of God?*

Jer. 25. 29.

1 Pet. 4. 17.

And therefore, if this people, *the Jews*, that knew not the *Goſpel* of Chriſt, that had not *ſuch knowledge* of God, as we have, and at whoſe hands God required not *ſuch piety*, and ſo much *charity* of one towards another, as he doth at *our hands*, were *thus ſeverely* puniſhed, for their *prophane ſerving* of God, their *diſobedience* to their lawful Governours, and their *injuries*, oppreſſions, and wrongs, done to their poor neighbours, and their *perſecuting* of the *true Prophets*; What ſhall we think of *thoſe Nations* that profeſs *Chriſtianity*, and yet do *exceed* this people in *all kind* of the like impiety, iniquity, and wickedneſs? Shall they eſcape unpuniſhed? No, no, they ſhall be ſure of puniſhment, unleſs they do *ſpeedily* repent, and reſtore the King to his *Right*, the Biſhops to their *Offices*, the Service of God *as it was formerly uſed*, and make *ſatisfaction* to their poor neighbours, whom they have ſo cauſeleſſely, and ſo abundantly wronged: Becauſe it cannot ſtand with the *Juſtice* of God, to ſuffer ſuch *tranſcendent* ſinners to go unrepented, and ſo unpuniſhed.

And therefore the expectation of *peace*, and proſperity to the *unrepentant* tranſgreſſors, is but juſt like the perſwaſion of the *falſe Prophets*, in the time of this our Prophet; for they ſtill cryed *Peace, peace*, unto this people, when the Prophet *Jeremy* proteſted from the Lord, there could be *no peace* to ſuch *wicked ſinners* as they were: For though they might think

Juvenal. Satyr. 2.

——— *quòd illos*
Defendit numerus junctæque umbone phalanges;

their *ſtrength* and *number*, with their *wealth* and *wit*, is able to *preſerve* them from all dyſaſter; yet as *Jehu* anſwered *Joram*, when he demanded, *Is it peace? What peace, ſo long as the whoredom of thy mother* Jezabel, *and her witchcrafts are ſo many?* So ſay the *true Prophets* unto the wicked, What peace or happineſs *can you look for*, ſo long as you continue *prophaning Gods Service*, keeping out your *King*, ſuppreſſing your *Biſhops*, and abuſing your *neighbours?* For, as *Solomon* ſaith, *Though hand joyn in hand, yet the wicked ſhall not go unpuniſhed*, if you ſtill *continue* to do theſe things.

2 Kings 9. 22.

Prov. 11. 29.

4. Time when the puniſhment ſhall light upon th's people. Now preſently.

4. When this puniſhment ſhall *light* upon them, it is expreſſely ſet down in the word, *Now*; *I will now remember their iniquity, and viſit their ſins*. And this *now*, ſheweth the *time preſent*; not only becauſe, as the Philoſopher ſaith, There is no time, but τὸ νῦν, that which is *preſent*; but *eſpecially*, becauſe, as the Divines ſay, all times are *preſent* with God, *apud quem nec prius eſt, nec poſterius*, in whoſe ſight nothing is *afore* or *after* another, as the Schools rightly ſay, but the things that are *to come*, are as *preſent* with him, as if they were *already paſt*.

God heareth nor, and relieveth not, his ſervants alwayes alike.

Yet the puniſhment of our ſins in reſpect of the time, *quoad nos*, is not alwaies the ſame, nor alike; but as God doth ſometimes *preſently relieve* his diſtreſſed children, and ſometimes *deferreth* his aid, and maketh as though he *heareth not* their cries, that he might trie *their faith* and their patience, and their conſtancy in his ſervice, *Et ut diu deſiderata dulciùs obtineantur*,

tineantur, and that being for a *long time* desired, they may seem the *sweeter* when they are obtained; and sometimes heareth them *not at all*, but lets them *die* in their wants and miseries, as he did to *poor Lazarus*, for reasons, *best known*, unto himself; so the *punishment* of the wicked, which God inposeth upon them in this life, is, *Aut serò aut citius*, sometimes *presently* inflicted, and sometimes for a *long time* delayed; For as he dealt with *Nebuchadnezzar*, while the word was *in his mouth*, he was Metamorphosed from man to beast; so he dealt with the *Israelits*, while the meat was in their mouthes, *The heavy wrath of God came upon them*, and smote down the chosen men that were in *Israel*; so he did with *Zimri* and *Cozbi*, with *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with *Uzzah*, *Ananias* and *Saphira*, and with abundance more, that we read of in *Prophane* Histories, which for their sins were *suddenly* destroyed, and their punishment was *not delayed*, that others by their example, might be *affraid* to offend God, lest his wrath should as *suddenly* consume them, as it had done the *others*, before they had any time *to cry for pardon.*

So the punishment of the wicked is not alwaies alike.

Psal. 78. 31.

Yet sometimes he beareth *long* before he *seems* to be angry, as the punishment of the *Ninivits* was to be deferred forty daies, which forty daies were extended to forty years, before *Ninivy* felt the smart; and of the *Israelits* the Lord saith, *Forty years was I grieved with this Generation*; and to the old world he gave *one hundred* and *twenty years* to repent, before he punished them; and to the *Amorits* 400 years; and, which is more to be admired, that the punishment of such a *transcendent* sin should be so long deferred, The *Jews*, that murdered their King the son of God, remained full *forty years*, before *Jerusalem* was destroyed; and the death of *Candaules*, slain by *Gyges*, was not punished untill the daies of *Crœsus*, which was four Generations after; as *Herodotus* saith, out of the mouth of the oracle; as the Prophet saith the *like* of *Jehu*, for the *slaughter* that he committed: so the Murderers of King *Charles*, and of his Loyall subjects, may perhaps escape for some *time*, and yet their punishment may come at last, and it may be with them as it was with *Joab* for the murder of *Amasa* and *Abner*.

So wounderfull is the *long suffering*, and the patience of our God, which he useth as the Apostle sheweth, that he might lead them, by that *great patience*, unto *repentance*; or, if they repented not, that they might be *without excuse*, and that, as *Lactantius* saith, the *long sufferance* of God in expecting their *amendment*, might be recompensed with the *severity* of *vengeance* in their punishment; for the offendors must not think, that because their payment is *deferred*, therefore it shall be lessened, or that the Lord hath *forgotten* it, because they think not of it; but, as the longer you keep the *Usurers* money, the more *interest* he expecteth, and the more *debt* is on your score; and the *higher* you *lift* up your hand, the *heavier* the blow will fall; so the *longer* God beareth with the *wicked transgressors* of his laws before their punishment cometh, the *sorer* and the *severer* will be their punishment, when it cometh. And therefore the *long deferring* of Gods aide, and help to relieve his distressed servants, and their often *over-throws* in their just defence, is *no argument*, that God hath forsaken them, and *will not* help them, no more then he *forsook* holy *Job*, when he seemed, to leave him *destitute* of all help, or the ten Tribes, when they fought, and were *twice* beaten by the Tribe of *Benjamin*; and the *long flourishing of the wicked*, their good successes in all their *bad causes*, their prevailing against the *righteous*, and their freedome of *all punishment* in this life: but especially the *deferring* of their punishment, is *no token of Gods love* unto them, or especially of his *acceptance* of them; no more then it was to *Dives*, that, without any *rubs*, ran *all his race* in pleasure; or to them whereof *Job* speaketh, that spend their daies *in wealth*, and *in a moment go down*

The deferring of Gods help no argument of Gods hate.

The long prosperity of the wicked, no argument of Gods speciall love.

Job 21. 13.

down to the grave, becauſe God dealeth with the wicked herein, as *Claudian* ſaith he did with *Ruffinus*,

——Tolluntur in altum
Ut lapſu graviore ruant ——

God lifteth them up, and, they abuſing that favour, he *caſteth* them down and deſtroyeth them.

The very time.

But the Prophet *David* ſeems to tell us the very *ſet* time, when God moſt commonly uſeth both to *help* and to relieve thoſe that *ſerve him*, and to puniſh and *deſtroy thoſe* that prophane his ſervice, and continue in their wickedneſs under the *Hypocriticall* ſhew of holineſs: for he ſaith, that the Lord is *Deus in opportunitatibus*, a God in the needfull time of trouble; that is, as a *holy* Father expounds it, *Tum incipit auxilium divinum, cum deſinit auxilium humanum*; God will then help us, when we cannot help our *ſelves*; and when we are, as *Moſes* was, at the red ſea, betwixt two huge *Mountains*, and the raging ſea before him, and *Pharaohs* mighty hoſt *behind* him, ready to be *deſtroyed*, either *drowned* in the waters, or ſlain by the ſword, or *break their necks* if they aſſaid to climb thoſe rocky Mountains; or as the *diſciples* of Chriſt were in the *ſhip ready* to periſh, as themſelves confeſs. When they ſee no *hope* of any human help, *then* will God ſhew himſelf, and ſend them help, *out of his holy place*, as he did to *Job* to reſtore his *health*, when all his friends could not *eaſe* his pain; and delivered *Daniel* out of the Lions den, when the *King himſelf* could not free him from it; And ſo will he do to all them that *ſerve him*, and put their truſt in him, ſend them *deliverance*, when man ſeeth *no hope* of aſſiſtance; as he doth many times raiſe the ſick, when the Phyſitian giveth him over.

1. When God helpeth his ſervants.

Why God deferreth.

And the *reaſon* of this manner of his proceeding, and the *long deferring* of his help, is, to teach us with *Moſes*, *Gideon*, *Daniel*, *Job*, *Jonas*, and the reſt of Gods ſervants, to aſcribe *all the glory* of our wonderfull, and extraordinary deliverances *to God*, and not to our *ſelves*, nor to any other creature, but *to God*: and ſo to ſay with the pſalmiſt, *Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name give the praiſe.*

Pſal. 115. 1.

2. When he puniſheth the wicked.

Pſal. 92. 7.

And for the *time*, when God *uſually* puniſheth the *tranſgreſſors* of his Laws, the ſame Prophet ſaith, *When the ungodly are green as the graſs, and when all the workers of wickedneſs do flouriſh, then ſhall they be deſtroyed for ever*; that is, when they have brought all their *projects* to their own *wiſhed ends*, ſubdued their *adverſaries*, trampled the *juſt* & *harmleſs* men under feet, and perhaps, with *Ahab*, killed and taken poſſeſſion too, of poor *Naboth's* Vineyard; and, with the rich man in the Goſpel, pulled down their *old barns* and cottages, and builded *large Palaces*; filled their *coffers*, and laid up *ſtore* for many years, and now thought *to eat, drink and be merry*; then *ſuddenly*, when they look not for it, will the Lord *awake* as a Giant out of *ſleep*, and will ſmite his enemies *upon the cheek bone*, and put them to *perpetuall ſhame*, and ſay unto them, as he did, to that *fool* in the Goſpell, *This night ſhall they fetch away your ſouls from you*, and your lives ſhall pay for the lives of them that you have murdered; and then, Who ſhall have thoſe *treaſures*, that you have ſo *unjuſtly* ſcraped together, and thoſe *poſſeſſions* that you have ſo *wrongfully* plucked and detained from the *right* owners? And you your ſelves might have *obſerved* within theſe few *luſtra's* many *famous men*, that have been *ſuddenly* taken away from thoſe great *treaſures* and *poſſeſſions*, which they had *ſuddenly* attained unto.

And

And therefore, let not the *righteous*, that rightly ſerveth God, *fret himſelf becauſe of the ungodly*, neither let him be *envious againſt the evil-doers*, when he ſeeth them in ſuch *proſperity*; for, when God ſeeth the time, they *ſhall ſoon be cut down, like the graſs, and be withered even as the green herb*; Pſal: 37. 1. 2.
But, as the Poet ſaith,

——— *animum ſervate ſecundis.*

And as the Prophet ſaith, *Let them that ſerve God, put their truſt in the Lord*, and tarry the Lord's leiſure, and pray with the words of our rejected Liturgy, *O God make ſpeed to ſave us, O Lord make haſte to help us*: And in his *good time*, he will deliver us, *out of all our troubles*. Amen.

THE FIFTH
TREATISE.

1 Pet. 2. 17.

Honour all men. Love the brother-hood. Fear God. Honour the King.

IT is an old received *Rule*, conſented unto by *all*, and contradicted by *none*, that all the Commandments of God, are 1. *Brevia*. 2. *Levia*. 3. *Utilia*. That is, 1. Few and ſhort. 2. Leight and eaſie. 3. Sweet and profitable. For,

1. They are not *many*, like our Laws, or the precepts of the *Alcoran*, or the Popes *Canons*, that are *multiplied* above number; for theſe are *but* ten in all: But *two*, but *one*. Ten ſaith *Moſes*. Two ſaith *Chriſt*. One ſaith S. *Paul*; and all ſay the truth; For the Ten Precepts of *Moſes* contain nothing elſe but, Firſt *our duty to God*; And Secondly *our duty towards our Neighbours*; as our Saviour ſaith: And *both theſe duties* are compriſed in this *one act* and affection of *Love*; as S. *Paul* ſaith. For thy duty to God is, to *love him* with all *thy heart*, and with all *thy ſoul*, and with all *thy mind*: and if you *love me*, *keep my Commandments*, ſaith our Saviour Chriſt, and my Commandment is, *That ye love one another*. And *love* worketh *no ill* to his neighbour, ſaith S. *Paul*; therefore is *love the fulfilling of the Law*. Math. 22. 37. John. 15. 12. 1 Cor. 13. Rom. 12. 10.

So all the *Commands* that God gives unto us, is but *one word*, one ſyllable, *Love*. So he gave to *Adam* but *one Precept*, to abſtain from *one Tree*; and therefore you need not burden your *memories*, nor take the pains to learn the *Art* of Memory, for fear you ſhould *forget* it; God hath thus provided to prevent this *excuſe*, That the *multitude* of Precepts have cauſed you to *forget* your duties.

And as God, ſo all *good* and *wiſe* men, imitating God herein, have given *ſhort Precepts*, and brief Rules unto their Schollars, which we call *Aphoriſms*, or *Dicta ſapientum*, The words of the wiſe; as the ſeven *wiſe* men of *Greece* left ſeven *brief Sentences* unto thrir Followers: For, *Dicta ſeptem ſapientum.*

1. *Cleobulus* ſaid, *Keep the mean.*
2. *Chilon* ſaid, *Know thy ſelf.*
3. *Periander* uſed to ſay, *Reſtrain wrath.*

4. *Pittacus*

4. *Pittacus* ſaid, *Nothing too much.*
5. *Solons* wiſe ſaying was, *Remember the end.*
6. *Bias* was wont to ſay, *The wicked are many.*
7. *Thales*'s ſaying was, *Flee ſuretiſhip.*

And *Solomon* uſeth the ſame *Method* of teaching men, in his *Proverbs*, and Book of the *Preacher*, which is, *Eccleſiaſtes*. And ſo doth S. *Peter* here, in this *firſt Epiſtle* to the diſperſed Jews. His Sentences are *very ſhort*, but exceeding *pithy*; *Ineſt quoque gratia parvis*: and abundance of *worth* may lie in a *little* thing; as you ſee a *little Diamond* is of a great value. And therefore as *Democharis* ſaith, μὴ ῥεμίσα βαιοῖσι, *Ne deſpice parva*; Slight not the *ſmalleſt* things. *Nam verbum ſapienti ſat eſt*, A word is enough to the wiſe: And the *longeſt Sermons* do *little* or *no good* to the wicked.

Μὴ ῥεμίσα βαιοῖσι, χάρις βαιοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ.

2. The Commandments of God very eaſie and light. Math. 11. 30. 1 Joh. 5. 3. Pſal. 119.

2. As the Commandments of God are *ſhort*, ſo they are *leight* and eaſie; for, *my yoke is eaſie, and my burden leight*, ſaith our Saviour; And *Mandata ejus gravia non ſunt*, ſaith S. *John*, His Commandments are not *grevious*; but they are ſo *leight* and ſo eaſie, that the Prophet *David* ſaith, *I will run the way of thy Commandments*. And S. *Paul* ſaith, *he can do all things through Chriſt that ſtrengtheneth him*. And our God is not ſo *tyrannical*, as to give ſuch *Commandments* as are *impoſſible* to be obſerved, eſpecially in the *outward* acts, and the *inward* alſo, if we conſider the *aid* and aſſiſtance of Gods *Spirit*, that Chriſt *giveth* to them that *ſeek* it.

And therefore, if our *hearts* be indued with *grace*, and we deſire the *Spirit* of Chriſt, we need not *murmur*, and lie down with *Balaam*'s Aſſe, for the *great weight* that is upon our backs, or complain of the *heavy yoke* that Chriſt hath laid upon *our necks*, and ſay with thoſe drones in the Goſpel, *Durus eſt hic ſermo*; *This is a hard ſaying*, Who is able to endure it? For if *Leander* did ſo *much* for the love of *Hero*, and *Pyramus* for *Thiſbe*; then certainly, the *Commandments* of God are *leight* and ſweet enough to every one, that *loveth* God; *Da amantem, & ſentit quid dico*; And if you bring me *one* that *truly loveth God*, he will *confeſſe* this truth, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*. Even as the Prophet *David* doth *Pſal.* 119.

Love makes all labours eaſie.

And ſuch are all the *Precepts* of this our Apoſtle, you may *obſerve* them without *pain*, without *loſſe*, without abating your *ſtrength*, and without waſting your *wealth*. And

3. The commandments of God bring great profit to them that keep them. (Pſal. 119.)

3. They are not ſo *leight*, and ſo eaſie in themſelves, as they are *beneficial* and profitable to thoſe that obſerve them; for, *Great is the reward of thoſe that keep thy Laws, O God*, ſaith the Prophet *David*, and *Moſes* ſetteth down the many-*many bleſſings* of the *Iſraelites*, if they would *obſerve* Gods Commandments. And ſo theſe *ſhort* Sentences of S. *Peter*, and theſe *leight* Precepts of our Apoſtle have abundance of *wiſdom* in them, and do bring an *infinite* deal of *commodity* and profit, unto the *true obſervers* thereof. And therefore, if nothing elſe, yet the *benefits* of keeping Gods Commandments, ſhould perſwade us all, to be ready to *hear*, and willing to *obey*, theſe Precepts of the Apoſtle, which he delivereth from the *Spirit* of God; for we are *naturally* given to love our own *profit*. And, as the Poet ſaith,

Et reditus jam quiſque ſuos amat, & ſibi quid ſit
Utile ſollicitis computat articulis.

Every man reſpecteth his *own advantage*, and loveth his own *benefit*; And I do aſſure you, there is *nothing* in the world, that any of you all *can do*, and let him do what he can, that ſhall bring him *more profit*, than the *right obſervance* of theſe few Precepts. *Honour all men*, &c. Wherein you ſee, there are four ſpecial Precepts.

And theſe *four Precepts* are like unto the *four Rivers* of *Eden*, that watered

tered the Garden of *Paradiſe*, to make the ſame both *profitable* and *pleaſant*.

The 1. concerneth all men, Πάντας τιμήσατε; *Honour all men.*

The 2. concerneth all Chriſtian men. Τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε. *Love the Brother-hood.*

The 3. belongs to God, Τὸν Θεὸν φοβεῖσθε. *Fear God.*

The 4. belongs to the King, Τὸν Βασιλέα τιμᾶτε. *Honour the King.*

That is, Honour all men in *general*; Love all Chriſtian men, more *eſpecially* than any others; Fear God *above all things*; And Honour your King *next to God.* And if you do theſe *few* things, theſe *eaſie* things, you ſhall *never fail*, but you ſhall be *for ever happy.*

The firſt *Precept* is, *Honour all men*: touching which, two things are to be obſerved,

1. The Act.
2. The Extent.

And 1. this word *Honour*, doth properly ſignifie *that reverence* and reſpect, which we owe, and do render to *any one*, for any cauſe.

What is meant by Honour.

And becauſe there are *many things* for which we yield and exhibite *honour*, it followeth that this word *Honour* doth not ſignifie the *ſame thing* in all places; But *pro diverſitate diverſæ materiæ, diverſa ſignificat*; it ſignifieth *divers things*, according to the diverſity of the *ſubject matter*: As,

Among *prophane* Authors it is taken many wayes.

1. Sometimes for the *beauty*, and comelineſs of any thing; as where the Poet ſaith,

Frigidus & ſylvis Aquilo decuſſit honorem.

The cold *Northren wind*, ſhook off all the *honour*, that is, all the *beauty* and grace of the Wood.

2. Sometimes it is uſed for that Obſervance and *worſhip*, that we yield unto our *Superiours*, for the good that we receive from them; as when the Poet ſaith,

Semper honore meo, ſemper celebrabere donis.

I will alwayes *worſhip*, or ſerve, and reſpect you.

3. Sometimes it is taken for the *reward*, that is given for any thing; as where it is ſaid,

Ipſis præcipuè ductoribus addit honores.

And ſpecially, he rewarded the Captains and Commanders. And

4. Sometimes it is put for the *Rites* and Ceremonies of our *Funerals*; as where *Virgil* ſaith,

Cernit ibi mæſtos & mortis honore carentes. *Virgil. Æneid. 6.*

And there he beheld them ſad, that wanted the *due Rites* and honour of their Burials; which now, many *Worthy* men do want, among our *new* Prognoſticks.

So in the *holy Scripture*, it is likewiſe taken *ſeveral* wayes. As

1. Sometimes for *eſteem* and worth, as where the Apoſtle ſaith, Thoſe Ceremonies, *Touch not*, *Taſte not*, *Handle not*, are not in *any honour*; that is, of *any worth.* Coloſ. 2. 23.

2. Sometimes for an *honeſt care*, and proviſion for one; as where S. *Peter* ſaith, That the Husband *ſhould give honour to the wife*; that is, to care and *provide* for her, as for the weaker veſſel. 1 Pet. 3. 7.

3 Some-

Rom. 13 7. 3. Sometimes it is put for that reverence, *worship*, and *service*, which is due to *our governours* and magistrates, as where S. *Paul* saith, *render to all their dues, honour to whom honour belongeth*; that is, render to every one that *honour* which is due to *him*, and is not due to another; and so it is taken *here*, in the *last Precept*, *Honour the King*, that is, with *such* an honour, as is due to the *King*, and is not due to *all others*; because *all men* are not to be honoured *alike*; and to have the *like* honour, as well the one as the other: otherwise *the King*, or *the Father*; the *Pastor*, or the *Master* is to have no *more honour*, then a *beggar*; and therefore, when the Apostle saith, *Honour all men*, he

1 Tim. 5. 17. doth not mean, that *all men* should be honoured *alike*, when the Apostle tels us, *The Elders that rule well* are worthy of *double honour*. And

4. Sometimes this word *Honour*, signifieth *any kind* of duty, reverence, obedience, relief, *& quælibet charitatis officia*, and all other offices of love and charity; as where the Apostle saith, *Be kindly affectionated one to another, with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another.*

Rom. 12. 10.

1. We are to help all that are in need of our help.

And so here, *honour all men*, signifieth *esteem*, love, aid, and *help all men* that have *need* of help, so far forth as you are *able* to help them; comfort those that *mourn*, relieve those that *want*, instruct them that are *ignorant*, and so *help* all that are in *need* of your help; for, as *Boetius* saith,

Boetius *de cons. l.* 3.

Omne hominum genus in terris,
Simili surgit ab ortu;
Unus enim rerum pater est,
Unus cuncta ministrat;
Ille dedit Phœbo *radios.*
Dedit & cornua lunæ.

God *at first* made but *one man*, and all the *generation* of men proceeded from *that one man*, to teach us what *unity* and *love* ought to be among *all men*. *Quia homines hominum causa generati sunt, ut ipsi, inter se, alii aliis prodesse possent*; because men are *born*, not for *themselves*, but for mens sake, that they might *help* and benefit *one another* among themselves; and even *Nature* it self teacheth this, saith the Orator, *Ut homo homini, quicunque sit, ob eam ipsam causam tantum, quòd homo sit, consultum velit*; that a man should not be *strange to any man*, but should *help* him, and further him in *any thing* that he can, only for *this cause*, though there were *none other*, that he is *a man*, that is, of the same *nature* as himself is; and therefore *Lactantius* saith, that *Lucretius* erred not, when he said,

Cicero *de Offic. l.* 1.

Idem. l. 3.

Lactant. *divin. instit. l.* 6. *c.* 10.

Denique cœlesti sumus omnes semine oriundi,
Omnibus ille idem Pater est;

That we are *all* sprung from the same *cœlestial seed*, and are *all* brethren, that have the *same God*, the same *Father* of us all; *Et ita conjunctiores animis quàm corporibus*, and so more *neerly* allyed in *respect* of our *minds* and soules, then of the *form* and shape of our *bodies*:

Job 31. 13. And *this* was the ground of *Jobs respect* unto his *servants*, saying; *Did not he that made me in the womb, make him?* And this is the argument the Prophet useth against the *deceitfulnesse* of men one towards another, saying, *Have we not all one Father, hath not God created us?* And why then do we *deal treacherously* every one against his brother? Yea, rob and kill his

Mal. 2. 20. brother.

And therefore *Lactantius* concludeth, that *those men* are to be deemed, *pro belluis immanibus, qui contra jus humanitatis homines spoliant & exterminant*; no better then *brute beasts*, or savage creatures, which contrary to the rules of *nature*, and the rights of *humanity*, do *spoil*, and rob, and *root* men,

men, their *brethren* by creation, out of *house and home.*

And if *nature* teacheth this, and meer men, that had no more knowledge but what the light of nature taught them, do *thus* perſwade us to this duty; what wonder is it, that *grace* and the children of God, *much more*, ſhould teach us to *love*, honour, *help*, and eſteem well of all men; for the more *univerſall* our love and our kindneſſe is to our brethren, the more *conformable* we ſhall be to God, who loveth *all men*, as they are *his creatures*, and doth good to *all men*, by making his Sun to ſhine *upon the good*, *and upon the bad*, and ſending rain *upon the juſt*, *and upon the unjuſt*; and ſo, they that *imitate* God, in loving all men, and doing all the good they can unto *all men*, do hereby ſhew themſelves to be *the children of their Father*, *which is in heaven*; as our Saviour ſaith, *Matth.*5.45.

And therefore ſeeing we are all *brethren*, and the ſame God is the *father* of us, *Sic affici debemus charitatis affectu, ut omnes velimus ſalvos fieri*; we ought ſo *charitably* to affect all men, as not to *ſeparate* our ſelves from them, and to *exclude* them from our *Churches* or ſocieties, but to wiſh the *health* and ſalvation of *all men*, and to do our *beſt help* and furtherance to *ſave* and to *relieve* every man; which is, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *To honor all men.* *Aug. ſy habetur 24. q. corripiuntur.*

The love and honor that we owe to all men. 2 waies to be conſidered.

And this our love, *honor*, and eſteem of all men, muſt be eſpecially conſidered,

{1. In reſpect of the *manner* / 2. In reſpect of the *matter*} of it, for

1. It muſt be ſhewed *really* and truly from the heart, without *Hypocriſie*, and not as *worldlings* and wicked men do, that, as the Poet ſaith, 1. In reſpect of the manner of it.

——fronte politi
Aſtutam vapido ſervant ſub pectore vulpem;

That is, in the Prophets words, *do ſpeak friendly unto their brethren, and imagine miſchief in their hearts*; like *Joab*, that ſaid to *Amaſa*, Is it peace *my brother?* and while the tongue *thus annointed him* with oyl, the hand *ſtab'd him* to the heart: for we ſhould love our neighbours, *as our ſelves*; that is, as *truly* and in as *true a manner*, though not in as *great a meaſure* as we love our ſelves: yea, this is the commandment, that I give unto you, *ut diligatis invicem ſicut ego dilexi vos*; that ye love one another, *even as I have loved you*; And how hath Chriſt loved us? Joh.13.34. How Chriſt hath loved us.

1. It was *Amore vehementi, non mediocri*, with no *ſmall* nor mean love, but with the greateſt *affection* that could be; for *greater love then this hath no man, that a man ſhould give his life for his friend*, ſaith our Saviour; and he gave his life for his *enemies*, ſaith the Apoſtle. Joh.15.13. Rom.5.10.

2. It was *Amore vero, non ficto*; with a *true* ſincere love, and not with a *ſeeming* affection, and a diſſembling heart. And

3. It was *Amore perſeverauti, non finienti*, with a *continuall* and laſting love, for *whom he loved, he loved unto the end*; and not for a ſhort ſpace.

And therefore our *love* to one another ſhould be *great*, *true*, and *laſting* love; and not like the *worldlings* love, that ſeems *fair* and full, while we are in *proſperity*, but will *fall* away like water, when we fall into *adverſity*: and ſo verify the Poets ſaying,

Donec eris fœlix multos numerabis amicos,
Nullus ad amiſſas ibit amicus opes.

2. This *true honor* and unfaigned love, that we *owe* and are injoyned to *ſhew* and render unto *all men*, in reſpect of the *matter* conſiſteth in two things. 2. In reſpect of the matter of it, which is two fold.

1. *No waies* to *hurt*, or wrong them.
2. *Every way* to *assist* and to help them.

1. No waies to hurt them.

1. He that offereth *injury* unto his neighbour, or doth *wrong* to any man, doth contrary to the *rules* of nature, saith *Cicero*; *Et injuria est verbo vel facto cum aliquo injustè agere*; and an *injury* is to deal *unjustly* with any one, either in *word* or *deed*, saith *Isidorus*; and you know, that, besides the *breach* of natures law, such a one, as either of these waies *wrongs* his neighbour, breaketh the *commandment* of the Almighty God, who doth *expressely* forbid us, to *defraud* or oppress, or *any waies* to wrong one another, or the *stranger*, that is amongst us; as you may see it in *Moses* and *Jeremy* fully expressed; for *Moses* saith, *Thou shalt not steal*, nor deal *falsly* nor *defraud* thy neighbour; and the *wages*, of him that is hired, shall not abide with thee *all night* untill the morning; and the Prophet *Jeremy* saith, *Thus saith the Lord*, Execute ye *judgment* and *righteousness*, and deliver the *spoyled out of the hand of the oppressor*, and do no wrong, do *no violence to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow, neither shed innocent blood*; for the very heathen Poet can tell you, that

An injury what it is.

Lev. 19. 11. 13.

Jer. 22. 3.

Ovid. l. 3. de arte amandi.

Quælibet extinctos injuria suscitat ignes,

Wrong and injuries stir up *strifes*, and do kindle the flames of *unquenchable* fire; and though, as *Aristotle* saith, *Melius est injuriam pati, quàm alteri nocere*, it is better to *suffer* wrong, then to *hurt* another, and, as the *Comick* saith,

Οὗτος κράτιστος ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ, ὦ γύναι,
Ὅστις ἀδικεῖσθαι πρῶτος ἐπίσταται μόνον.

That man is to be deemed *most excellent*, which knoweth how to *suffer most injuries*; yet because the *frailty* of flesh and blood is such, that, as the proverb goeth, *Scribit in marmore læsus*, they that register *benefits* and good turns done unto them in the *sands*, will ingrave *all wrongs* and injuries done to them in *marble*, never to be blotted out of memory; and *Solomon* tels us, that *oppression maketh a wise man mad*: and if wise men can so *hardly* brook to be *oppressed*, then surely fools and *simple* men will be *stark mad* to see themselves *injured*, and will be ready to be *revenged* upon every advantage.

Eccl. 7. 7.

And therefore we ought to take *great heed*, that we do no *injustice*, nor offer any *wrong* to any man; because dealing *righteously* one with another, is the mother and *preservative* of *love* amongst neighbours, and of *peace* amongst all men; for, as the Prophet saith, *The works of righteousness shall be peace*, and the effects of righteousness, quietness, and assurance for ever. Whereas *injustice*, oppression and wrongs, are the *causes* of Laws, Murders, Wars, and all Mischiefs.

Esay 32. 17.

Injustice and wrongs the cause of all mischief.

And yet I demand, if any *thing* in the world be now so *common*, and so publick as *wrongs*, *injuries* and *oppressions*? Especially of *them*, whom we ought most of all *to honor* and to love: for though S. *Paul* bids us, to esteem our Governors and our Teachers that are *over us*, and do *admonish us*, very highly *in love*, for *their works sake*, and the very heathens did no less; for when *Pharaoh* bought all the Lands of the *Egyptians*, throughout the whole Kingdom of *Egypt*, he bought not the *Lands* of the *Priests*, but assigned a *portion of corn*, to sustain them, so that they needed not *to sell their lands*; And *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, certified to *all his Officers*, in all Provinces, that touching *any* of the *Priests, Levits, Singers, Porters, Nethinims*, or *Ministers* of the *House of God*; it shall not be *lawfull* to impose *tole, tribute* or *custome* upon them; and *Jezabel*, that painted harlot, could have

1 Thes. 5. 13.

How fairly *Pharaoh* dealt with the Priest.

Gen. 47. 22.

Ezra. 7. 55. 24.

so

ſo much ſhew of piety, as to *feed four hundred Prophets at her own table*; yet now, What *Biſhops* lands are not ſold, and *taken from them?* What *Prieſt* or Church man is free from *taxes* and contribution, and not more *heavily* taxed than any others?

And therefore, if any *Jew*, *Pagan*, or *Infidel* were demanded, Whom he thought to be the *more religious*, and the better lover of God, either *Pharaoh* that preſerved the *Prieſts-lands*, or they of the long Parliament that took away and ſold the *Biſhops* lands? Either *Artaxerxes*, that freed all the Church-men from *all taxes*, and *Jezabel* that fed ſo *many Prophets* at her own Table; or they that now over-load the *poor Miniſters* with ſuch *unreaſonable* contributions, as they are *ſcarce* able, to provide *bread* for their own Table? What *anſwer* would he make, think you? or, *whom* would he think the *better Saints*, and moſt acceptable unto God? Judg you, that are the Parliament men.

But, letting theſe men, *thus dealt withall*, in their patience, to poſſeſs their ſouls; ſome man, that is moved to ſee oppreſſion, and the *oppreſſors* flouriſhing, and to behold *villanies* committed, and no *juſtice* executed, will ſay, perhaps, Should not the Magiſtrate the King *puniſh* their villanies, and *revenge* the wrongs of Gods ſervants? or, Have not ſome of them, you ſpeak of, *neglected* their duties, and others *committed* ſtrange out-rages? and ſhould theſe be loved and *helped*, and not rather *ſtripped* of their *eſtates*, and puniſhed in their *perſons?* as theſe men are.

To this I anſwer. 1. That, for the Magiſtrates *puniſhing*, in due meaſure, both the *Omiſſion* of juſt duties, or the *Commiſſion* of unjuſt offences in all men, of what calling, quality, or condition ſoever they be, the *law of God* commands it, every *Common-wealth* requires it, and no wiſe man ſpeaks againſt it. And if the Magiſtrate *neglects* it, as *Saul* neglected the puniſhment of *Agag*, or cannot do it, for ſome juſt reaſons, that do hinder him: as *Zedekia*, for the *Rebellion* of his *Lords and Commons*, had not the *power*, to do *juſtice*; and to hinder the wrong and indignities that were offered to the Prophet *Jeremy*; and as our good King for the ſame reaſons, cannot hinder the wrongs of Gods *Meſſengers*, and others of Gods ſervants, then I ſay with S. *Paul*, *He that doth wrong, ſhall receive for the wrong that he hath done, and there is no reſpect of perſons with God*; for the Lord hath ſaid it, and he will perform it, *Mea eſt ultio & ego retribuam*; To me belongeth vengeance and recompence; and their foot, that is, *the foot of the oppreſſors* and wrong-doers, ſhall ſlide *in due time*, that is, when God ſhall ſee the time fit; for the Lord ſhall judge his people, and he will judge *righteouſly*, and then he will repent himſelf for his ſervants, when he ſeeth that their *power is gone*, and that there is none ſhut up or left, but, as it were, *all begger'd* and deſtroyed by their oppreſſors; and he ſhall ſay, where are *their gods*, their rock, that is, the *Saints*, which did eat the fat of the ſacrifices, and drink the wine of the offerings, and ſo got all the *beſt* of all the land unto themſelves; let thoſe gods, and thoſe holy *ſaints*, in whom they truſted, riſe up and help theſe *Tyrannicall* oppreſſors of *my ſervants*. For I, even I am he, and there is no god with me, that kill and make alive, that do wound and heal, that is, my ſervants; for it is I, that have *wounded them* and killed them for offending me, otherwiſe, *you* that are their enemies, could *never* hurt them, and I will *heal* them and make them alive again; and *I will avenge the blood and wrongs of my ſervants*, for I lift up my hand to heaven and ſay, *I live for ever*, and I will whet my *glittering ſword*, and my hand ſhall take hold on *judgment*, I will render *vengeance* to mine *adverſaries*, and the *oppreſſors* of *my ſervants*, and be mercifull unto my people. In all which *excellent* expreſſion of Gods *juſt judgments*, you may plainly ſee, both the *relief* and *deliverance* of Gods corrected and dejected *ſervants*, and the *puniſhment* of their proud and flouriſhing *oppreſſors*;

Colloſ. 3. 25.

Deut. 32. 35. *et deinceps.*

Verſ. 43.

Deut. 32. from the 35. verſ. to the 44. v.

Luke 18. 7. And our Saviour Christ, in like manner saith, *Shall not God avenge his own Elect, that cry day and night unto him, though he beareth long with them?* Yes, I tell you, that *he will avenge them speedily.* And though, as *Plutarch* saith, There be certain Rivers that do suddenly hide themselves under ground, as the River *Nigar* doth in the *Abissins* Country, yet *eò perferuntur quò tendunt*, they go thither where they *intended*; So, though the *wrath* of God against wicked *oppressors*, and other transgressors of his Laws, *lieth hid* for a time, and his judgements seem to be *forgotten*; yet, *in extremas calamitates aufert aliquando nocentes*, He will at sometime or other, punish them *severely* enough with *iron* hands, though he comes on *leaden* feet: as he did the *Amalekites*, for the wrongs that their forefathers did to the *Israelites* four hundred years before.

Abbats pag. 184.

And therefore, seeing God Almighty challengeth *vengeance*, as a *peculiar* right, and properly belonging to himself, and *promiseth* that he will *avenge* the blood, and all the *wrongs*, injuries, and oppressions of *his servants*; I say with *Moses*, *Thou shalt not avenge*, nor bear *any grudge* against the children of thy people. And with *Solomon*, *Say not thou, I will recompense evil, but wait on the Lord, and he shall save thee*, Prov. 20. 22. And as our Saviour saith, *Resist not evil*, but whosoever shall smite thee *on the right cheek*, turn to him the *other also*.

Levit. 19. 18.

Math. 5. 39.

Or, if you cannot do this, yet as S. *Paul* saith, *See that none of you render evil for evil*, or revenge wrong with *wrong*: For as the son of *Sirach* saith, *He that revengeth*, shall find *vengeance* from the Lord, and he will surely *keep his sins in remembrance.* And therefore the only way for us, is, to follow the *counsel* of the son of *Sirach*; *Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee*; *so shall thy sins also be forgiven thee when thou prayest*; for otherwise, one man beareth hatred against *another*, and doth he seek *pardon* from the Lord? he sheweth no *mercy* to a man which is like himself, and perhaps, not so *bad* as himself, and doth he *ask forgiveness* of his own sins?

1 Thes. 5. 15.

Eccl. 28.

That we should be ready and willing to forgive al wrongs done unto us.

Alas, alas, saith the Heathen man, *Si quoties peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat Jupiter, &c.* which I may well render in the words of the Prophet, *If thou Lord wilt be extream to mark what is done amisse, O Lord, who may abide it?* Or as the Apostles demand, *Who then can be saved?*

But the Lord beareth *long*, and forgiveth *much*, *iniquities*, *transgression*, and *sin*; and yet he forgiveth *nothing*, but upon this *condition*, that we ask *forgiveness* of our trespasses, *as we forgive them that trespasse against us*; for if ye forgive men *their trespasses*, your heavenly Father *will also forgive you*; but if ye forgive not men *their trespasses*, neither will your Father *forgive your trespasses.* As you may see it plainly exemplified and shewed in the Parable of the *unmerciful* Steward; for, when his Lord forgave him a thousand Talents, and he would not forgive his *fellow-servant* a hundred pence, his Lord was *wroth*, and delivered him to the *tormentors*, till he should *pay all that was due unto him.* So that he, which remitteth not *the offences* done unto him, must never hope to have *his offences remitted* unto him by God, saith our Saviour Christ.

Upon what condition God forgiveth our sins.

Math. 6. 14, 15.

And every Talent is 375. l.

Math. 18. 34.

Verse 35.

And what then shall we do? shall we be like *James* and *John*, that when the *Samaritans* would not receive their Master, would *presently* have called for fire out of Heaven, to *have destroyed them all?* Or shall we be like *their Master*, that, when the Jews, like so many *Cannibals*, were about him, to *tear* him, and to *crucifie him*, and to lay such loads of *abuses* and indignities upon him, as *the like* were never laid on any other man; yet was he so far from being *incensed* against them, that although the *least breath* of his mouth could in an instant, have *blown them all* to be destroyed; yet his only revenge was, *Father forgive them*, ὁ γὰρ οἴδασι τί ποιοῦσι, *for they know not what they do.* And his servant S. *Stephen*, imitating him, when he was stoned to death,

Luke 22. 34.

death, desired none other *revenge*; but, kneeling down, cryed with a loud voice; *Lord lay not this sin to their charge.* Act. 7. 60.

And if, notwithstanding *all this* that I have said, men will be still *transported* with the spirit of *Revenge*, I shall only wish them to remember what *Erasmus* saith, for a *worldly* counsel, seeing they refuse the *counsel* of God, that some *remedies* are far *worse* than the *disease*; yea, so far worse, *Ut satius sit oppetere mortem, quàm his aucuparisalutem*; That it is better to suffer the Patients *to die*, than to go about to compasse their *health* and recovery, *Veluti fugere sanguinem è vulnere recenti gladiatorum morientium*; As when we go about to save their lives, by sucking the blood, from the *new-made wounds*, of the dying Gladiators. And so, saith he, *Melius est ferre pacem, etiamsi parum commodam, quàm bellum cum immensis malis suscipere*; It is sometimes better to *conclude* a peace, or *accept* of peace, though with some *disadvantage* than to undertake a *war*, with far greater *inconveniencies*. As it was better for *David* to bear a while with the sons of *Zervia*, than presently with the hazard of his Kingdom, to go about *to punish* their insolencies. And so likewise, *Satius est aliquando ferre injuriam, quàm majori incommodo ulcisci*; It is sometimes *far better* for a man to take *some wrong*, and injuries, than to *revenge* his wrongs with the suffering of *far greater mischiefs*.

Better to suffer wrongs, than to repell them, with far greater damage.

And therefore touching fore-past injuries, and wrongs done unto us, I say with *Juvenal*,

——— minuti
Semper & infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
Ultio; continuò sic collige, quòd vindictâ
Nemo magis gaudet quàm fœmina ———

Juven. l. 5. Sat. 13.

Revenge, is the badge of a *Coward*, and the argument of a *feeble-mind*, befitting rather *weak women*, than any man of a *Heroick* spirit; especially such as are endued with the *Spirit of God*, whose Precept is *to forgive*, and whose language is *peace*, as the Prophet testifieth, *He will speak peace unto his people, and to his Saints, that they turn not again*; that is, to *revenge*, to war, and fight again; but to *forget* all former injuries, and to *honour all men*; and therefore not to *revenge* our selves upon *any* man.

And according to this Precept of S. *Peter*, to honour all men; S. *Paul* to inforce this Duty a little further, and to shew the meaning of it somewhat clearer, biddeth us, to *follow peace with all men*. Wherein you may observe: Heb. 12. 14.

Two things to be observed.

1. The *large extent* of our peace, μετὰ πάντων, *with all men*.
2. The *great desire* that we should have, to get peace, εἰρήνην διώκετε, *follow peace*, that is, just as the Psalmist saith, *Seek peace, and ensue it*.

1. It must be with *all men*; for it were a strange thing, that men should not live in peace with *good men*, with *Christians*, and with the *Saints* of God; but that, as in *Moses* time, an *Israelite* fell out with an *Israelite*, about the *bricks* and strawes of *Egypt*. So we, that professe the *same Faith*, live under the *same Head*, and dwell in the *same Kingdom*, or perhaps in the *same City*, must, for the toyes and trifles of this world, go *to Law*, one with another; or for some mistaken conceits, and *different opinions* in our Faith, fall out, and *war*, and *rob*, and *spoil*, and *kill* one another; When as the Apostle bids us, *to honour all men*, and to *follow peace with all men*, good or bad, Jews or Gentiles. For as *Lot* served God, and lived in *peace* among the *Sodomites*; and *Joseph* did the like among the *Egyptians*; and *Daniel* likewise, served *the true God* in *Nebuchadnezzars* Court, and lived *peaceably* among the *Idolatrous* Chaldeans: and all the *true Saints* and servants of Christ,

1. The large extent of our peace with men, and love to men.

Chriſt, do keep themſelves *undefiled*, in the midſt of a crooked, and a froward generation. So ſhould we *endeavour* to live in peace, and to *honour* and love, even thoſe, that profeſſe themſelves *enemies* unto peace, and to be of a *different* Faith and Religion from us; that is, not only the *Papiſts*, *Puritanes*, and the like *Sectaries*; but alſo with the *Jews*, Infidels and *Pagans*, and as the Apoſtle ſaith, μετὰ πάντων, *with all men*: Becauſe we are bound *to love our enemies*, and to do good to them that *hate us*, and to pray for them that *perſecute us*: And therefore much more bound are we to be at *peace* with them, and yet not to be *corrupted* or ſeduced by them; but ſtill to retain the *true Faith*, and to ſerve our God *aright*, as we ought to do: otherwiſe, What thanks to them, that live *holily* in heaven, among *Saints* and Angels, where there is no *provocation* to evil? or to ſerve God *aright*, where there is neither *Sectary* nor Heretick? But the praiſe of Gods ſervants, is, to live among the *wicked*, and yet not *to follow* their evil examples, and to be in the midſt *of Hereticks*, and all kind of Sectaries, and yet not ſuffer our ſelves to embrace their *falſe opinions*, or to approve their *wrong-ſerving* of God; and yet ſtill to *honour* them, to *love* them, and to be at *peace* with them. And

The praiſe of Gods ſervants is to live holily among the wicked.

2. That we ſhould not *fail* in this duty, the Apoſtle ſaith εἰρήνην διώκετε; follow after *peace*. As the *Grey-hound* followeth after the *Hare*, that he may catch her: So do you *follow* after peace that you may *have* it; and that is, not only to *accept* of peace, when it is offered; but alſo to *purchaſe peace* at any reaſonable rate, and upon any reaſonable terms.

2. The great deſire we ſhould have to peace.

And we have an excellent example of this great deſire of peace that ſhould be in us, in *Abraham*; who though he was told by God Himſelf, that he ſhould be the *Heir* of the World, which was a *Title* and intereſt good enough, when God *gave* it him: yet rather than he would ſtrive with his *inferiour*, his Nephew *Lot*, he was contented *cedere de jure*, to wave his right, and to let him *take his choice* of all the land, what he *would*, and where he *pleaſed*.

The moſt excellent example of *Abraham*.
Rom. 4. 13.
Gen. 13. 8, 9.

And the like *deſire* of peace, we find in *Pharaoh Necho*, King of *Egypt*, when he ſent Embaſſadours to *Joſias*, ſaying, *What have I to do with thee, thou King of Judah? I come not againſt thee this day*, but againſt the houſe, wherewith I have war; for God hath commanded me to make haſte; *forbear thee from medling with God*, who is with me, *that he deſtroy thee not*: and ſo he was *deſtroyed*, for refuſing to live in peace.

2 Chron 35. 21.

And the *reaſon*, why we ſhould *love* and *honour*, and thus labour to live in *peace* with all men, is, becauſe *wrongs* and injuries, breed *hatred*, ſuits and wars; and war will be the *death* of many men, and God made not death, neither can he endure that *any one man*, ſhould *maliciouſly* deſtroy another, God making not men, to *kill* one another. And therefore we find, that the Sentence of *Cain*'s puniſhment for *killing* his brother *Abel*, is far heavier than *Adam*'s puniſhment for eating of the forbidden fruit: when God ſaid unto *Adam*, *Curſed is the ground for thy ſake*, and ſo forth: But to *Cain* he ſaid, *Curſed art thou from the earth*; which is a far greater curſe than the *former*, as is the reſt of his cenſure, in very many particulars; whereupon *Cain* perceiving the *heavineſs* of his Sentence, ſo far *exceeding* his fathers curſe, ſaid, *My puniſhment is greater than I can bear*. And after the Flood, the firſt Precept, and the *ſtricteſt* charge, that God gave to man, was, to *prevent* and hinder the *ſhedding of mans blood*, which, being ſhed, he would *require* at the hand of man, and at the hand of *every beaſt*, which ſhould be put *to death*, if they were the death of *any man*. And the Prophet ſaith, That God *will make inquiſition for all the blood that ſhall be ſpilt*; that is, ſearch and *find out* them, that have been *the death of any man*; yea, though they ſhould do it never ſo *cunningly* and *ſecretly*, yet rather than they ſhould *eſcape* undiſcovered, and ſo paſſe unpuniſhed, the *Birds* of the air, as they

The reaſon of this great deſire of peace, is twofold.
1. Becauſe war is the greateſt of all the plagues of God.
Gen. 4. 13.
Murder ſhall never eſcape undiſcovered.

did

did the death of *Abens*, ſhould *betray* their wickedneſs, or the *very blood* that they have ſpilt, if there be none *other* witneſſe, ſhall with *Abels* blood, cry out of the earth for *vengeance* againſt them; becauſe bloody men that *delight* to kill their brethren, are an *abomination* to the Lord, who, as the Prophet ſaith, *abhorreth both the blood thirſty and the deceitful man*; for, *Quem videris ſanguine gaudentem lupus eſt*, ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome hom.* 19. *opef. imperfect.* Pſal. 5. 6.

And therefore *War*, which is a *Feaſt* celebrated to the honour of *Death*, and is *Mater omnium malorum*, The mother of all miſeries, the *greateſt* ſhedder of blood upon the earth, and the *unjuſteſt* inſtrument of *death* that can be found; when, contrary to all *Law*, and beyond all *Juſtice*, nothing elſe is to be ſeen in *war*, but fire, robberies, treaſons, tortures, and *ſlaughters* inflicted, as well upon the *innocent*, as the *nocent*; is deemed the *worſt* of all the plagues of God, the moſt direful, and moſt *deſtructive* unto mankind. For when the Lord with rebukes *doth chaſten man for ſin*, and is ſore diſpleaſed with any Kingdom, he whippeth it with one of theſe *threefold ſcourges*, Plague, Famine, and War; And the firſt two, *Plague* and *Famine*, do but take away the *men*, and take them ſo, that moſt commonly they have *time* to repent, and to *humble* themſelves under the Mighty hand of God; but the *war* caſteth down *houſes*, burneth *Cities*, ſubverteth *Caſtles*, deſtroyeth the *creatures*, and ſhaketh the very *foundation* of all earthly happineſs: and not only *ſuddenly* cutteth off the lives of many thouſands, and ſometimes *Infants* and Innocents, from the earth; but alſo introduceth *Famines* and Plagues after it, at the heels.

War the worſt of all the plagues of God.

The many miſchiefs that war bringeth.

And therefore *David*, when he was neceſſitated to undergo one of theſe *three ſcourges*, and had the favour to take his *choice* of them, he would not chooſe *war* by any means. And truly, it were a *happy* thing, that there were neither *Souldier* nor *War*, nor *cauſe* of any war in all the World; but that the people ſhould beat their *ſwords* into *Plow-ſhares*, and their *Spears* into *Pruning-hooks*, and that Nation ſhould not lift up a *ſword* againſt Nation, neither learn *war any more*, as the Prophet ſpeaketh; Becauſe, as one ſaith, God made Souldiers, the *worſt* of men, as he made the *Devils* the worſt of ſpirits, to *plague* the World, and to be the *Executioners* of his anger and *juſt judgements* againſt his children, when they do offend him; That is, for the generality of them; otherwiſe, many of them are very juſt and religious, as the Scripture teſtifieth. And the very Heathen man could ſay of the Souldiers, 2 Sam. 24. 14. Eſay 2. 4.

Nulla fides pietaſque viris qui caſtra ſequuntur. *Lucan. Pharſ.*

2. As War is ſuch a *diſmal* Apollyon, and ſo furious a deſtroyer of all mankind, the *poiſon* of Religion, and the *hated enemy* of all creatures; So on the other ſide, the *love of neighbours*, and *peace* among men, is the *greateſt*, the beſt, and the moſt *excellent* of all *earthly bleſſings*. And as *Ignatius* ſaith, οὐδὲν ἐστὶν εἰρήνης ἄμεινον, There is *nothing* in this world *better* than Peace; for, as the Poet ſaith,

2. Becauſe peace is the greateſt of all earthly bleſſings.

Omnia pace vigent, & pacis tempore florent.

All things do *proſper* in the time of peace. And, as the Prophet ſaith, *Our garners are full and plenteous with all manner of ſtore; our ſheep bring forth thouſands, and ten thouſands in our ſtreets; our oxen are ſtrong to labour, and there is no decay, no leading into captivity, and no complaining in our ſtreets*; but our houſes are *repaired*, our Cities *inlarged*, our Fields *tilled*, and the poor are *relieved*, which the Souldiers cauſe to *ſtarve*, and to die at their doors, which have *nothing* to help them. Pſal. 144. 14.

And

Cicero. And therefore the very *heathen* man could say, *Iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefero*; that he preferred the *worst* peace before the best and justest war; and the onely *outward* blessing that comprehended *all the other blessings* which the Israelites desired, was *peace*; their onely salutation was, John 20. 19. *Peace be unto you*; when Christ arose from the dead, the *first word* that he spake to his disciples, was, *Peace be unto you*; and when he was to leave the world, the *chiefest Legacie* that he left to his Apostles was, *My Peace I give unto you*; and so the Apostolical wish to all Saints, in all their Epistles, is, *Grace and Peace be unto you*; and the most *frequent* Counsel, & most *principall* 2 Cor. 13. 11. Colos. 3. 15. Phil. 4. 7. Luc. 10. 3. Preecpt that is given, and is to be *earnestly* urged, to be observed in all the New Testament by all the Ministers of Christ, is, *to love one another*, to *honour all men*, and to *live in peace* with all men, which are the very *same things* in effect, though expreſt in divers forms; and where this bond of peace is broken, our Saviour saith, *Blessed are the Peace-makers*, for they shall be termed, and called, the *children of God*, which is the God of Peace.

To love one another, to honour all men, to live in peace with all men, the same thing in effect.

And what think you then of the *souldiers* that fight and war, and break the *bands* of peace, and the golden chain of *unity* and concord all to pieces, *whose* children be they, and may they not fear to be *accursed?* Yes certainly; and therefore they pretend, that *Pax quæritur bello*, they make war, to purchase peace.

Which was *Cromwels*, that Arch-souldier's Motto.

To whom I may *justly* answer, as *Cyneas* did to King *Pyrrhus*, when the wise *Oratour* demanded of him, what he would do when he had conquered *Italy*, and *Sicilie*, and *Africk*, and *Macedon*, &c. *Pyrrhus* answered, we will then be *quiet*, and make *peace*, and eat, drink, and be merry; to whom *Cyneas* replyd, And what *letteth* us, my good Lord, but that we may do *so now*, before the shedding of *so much blood*, as must be spilt in these *enterprises?* So I say; if you make *War*, to procure *peace*, why will you *disturb* the peace? and not rather *now*, when men do live *in peace*, embrace it, and suffer it to *continue*, before you purchase it with the *slaughter* of so many men, as must be killed in war?

All the graces of Christ without the this grace, will availe us nothing.

But would you know the *reason*, why they are *so blessed*, that do procure peace, and do embrace it; and why we are so *earnestly*, so often, and in so various terms sollicited by Christ and his Apostles, to observe *this duty?* Saint *Augustine* telleth us, it is, because *all the graces of Christ*, without this grace of loving *all men*, and living in *peace* with all men, will avail us *nothing* at all; *Nam sicut spiritus humanus nunquam vivificat membra nisi fuerint unita; ita Spiritus sanctus nunquam nos vivificat, nisi sumus in pace conjuncti.* For as the *Soul* and humane spirit doth not quicken and give life unto our *members*, unlesse they be *joyned* together; so the Spirit of God will never *quicken* us, to become *members* of Christ, unlesse we be united together with *love*, and in the bond of *peace*, as the same Father speaketh; and Saint *Paul* plentifully proveth the *invalidity* of all graces, without this grace of *love* and charity towards *all men*: and what love can be in them that kill their neighbours?

1 Cor. 13. *per totum.*

And therefore, not onely of our *peace* and reconciliation with *God*, or the *peace* and tranquillity of our *consciences*, but even of *this peace* among men, the Prophet saith, *How beautifull are the feet of the Embassadours of peace?* and our Saviour doth so *earnestly* perswade us to embrace *this peace*; without which, we can never attain unto any *peace* with God, or to any *quiet* mind; for, as Saint *John* saith, *he that loveth not his brothers*, and I may adde, and is not *at peace with his neighbour*, whom he hath seen; *how can he love God*, and be at peace with God, whom he hath not seen?

Esay 52. 7.

1 John 4. 20.

The piety of our Liturgy and Letany.

And therefore, howsoever they that think themselves to be the *holy brethren*, and yet are the *incentives* of war, do exclaim against our Liturgy, and cannot endure the *Letany*, yet our Church doth most *piously pray*, *Give*

peace

peace in our time, O Lord; and again, *That it may pleaſe thee, to give unto all Nations, unity, peace, and concord.*

And to you ſee the firſt part of that *honour*, which we owe to *all men*, that is, to do *no wrong*, to ſhed *no blood*; to hate *no man* in our *heart*, to traduce *no man* with our *tongues*, and to ſmite no man with our *hands*; but to *love*, and to live in *peace* with *all men*.

2. As we are *no wayes* to hurt, or to *wrong* any man; ſo we ought, to the *uttermoſt* of our power, to be always ready to *relieve*, help, and ſuccour *every one* that is oppreſſed, and that ſtandeth in *need* of our help, *& nihil eſt tam egregium, tam liberale, tamq; munificum, quàm opem ferre ſupplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare ſalutem, & homines à periculis liberare*; and there is nothing more *royall*, more *liberal*, and more *munificent*, then to *help* the poor ſupplicants, and diſtreſſed *Petitioners*, to raiſe up the *afflicted*, and to free the *oppreſſed* out of the hands of their oppreſſours, ſaith the *Oratour*; and in his Oration for *Ligarius*, he ſaith, *Homines ad Deos nulla re propiùs accedunt, quàm ſalutem hominibus dando*; men can by no way be made more like unto God, than by doing *good*, and by yielding *health* and deliverance unto men: Therefore *Solomon* ſaith, *with-hold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it*; and ſay not unto thy neighbour, *Go and come again*, and *to morrow I will give it thee*, when as thou haſt it by thee; becauſe, as *Lucian* ſaith,

2. Every way to aſſiſt, and help them, that need our help.

Cicero *Orat.* 1.

Prov. 3. 27. & 28.

Ὠκεῖαι χάριτες γλυκερώτεραι· ἢν δὲ βραδύνῃ,
ἦσσα χάρις χαρίεν, μηδὲ λέγοιτο χάρις.

Celeres Gratiæ dulciores ſunt; ſin autem tardaveris, omnis gratia vana ſit, neque dicatur gratia.

The ſwifteſt graces, or the favours ſooneſt done, are the *ſweeteſt*; and the *ſlow grace* loſeth all grace, and deſerveth ſmall thanks: being like unto him, ſaith, *Seneca*, that giveth not his *bread* to the poor, untill it be *mouldie*, and muſtie, ſcarce worth the taking up; but he deſerveth *moſt thanks*, that doth good unto his neighbour, with *moſt ſpeed*; *Quia bis dat, qui citò dat*; becauſe he *doubleth* his favour, that *haſteneth* to do it; and therefore, as our Saviour ſaith to *Judas*, *Quod facis, fac citò*, What thou doſt, do *quickly*; ſo ſay I to every man, Either do good, and help thy neighbour *quickly*, or *deny* him quickly; and keep him not in *ſuſpence*, which is far *worſe* then the denial; becauſe, as *Solomon* ſaith, *ſpes quæ defertur affligit animam*; the hope that is deferred, *afflicteth the ſoul*; and, as the Poet ſaith,

That the good we do, we ſhould ſpeedily do it.

Morſque minus pœnæ quàm mora mortis habet.

The expectation of a delayed *death*, hath been *worſe* to ſome, then *death* it ſelf; ſo the lingring and *long-looking* after any good, is *more tedious* to many men, then the *abſolute denial* of that good. And ſo I read it in the *French* Hiſtory, that when a certain *Petitioner* beſought the King of *France* for ſome Office that he deſired, in requital of *ſome ſervice* that he had done unto the King; and the King told him, He *ſhould not have it*, he fell down upon his *knees*, and ſaid, *I do moſt humbly and heartily thank your Majeſty* for this favour; the King replyed, thou *miſtakeſt* me, for I tell thee, *Thou ſhalt not have it*; yes, ſaid the Petitioner, I do *ſo underſtand* your Majeſty, and therefore I do *thank you*, that you have ſo *ſoon diſpatched me*, and not done, as one of your Lords did, to *delay* me a whole twelve months, in hope of a place, and then put me off with a ſleeveleſſe excuſe; then the King, *like a King*, ſeeing him ſo *thankfull* for his deniall, did *freely* grant him his requeſt.

A pretty ſtory of one of the Kings of *France*.

And ſo, if you intend to do any *help* to any one, remember what the Poet ſaith,

Tolle moras; ſemper nocuit differre paratis.

Lucan. in *Pharſal. l.* 1.

Delay not your favour, but *ſpeedily* help him, becauſe your delayes *de-*

ſtroys your good; and makes it not *half* ſo good, and ſometimes *no good* at all unto the receiver: but is as the phyſick, that is adminiſtred to the patient, that is paſt recovery, δίδωσι ἄδωρα.

But if you would approve your ſelves to God, then, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *to do good*, and to *communicate*, or to *diſtribute* unto the poor, as *Tremelius* Tranſlates it, *forget not*; for with ſuch ſacrifices God is well pleaſed; and if we do not this, then, as *Lactantius* ſaith, *Non meremur in periculo liberari, ſi non ſuccurrimus; nec meremur auxilium, ſi negamus auxilium*; we deſerve not to have our ſelves *freed* from dangers, if we do not our beſt, to help and *free* them, that are in dangers; neither do we deſerve, to be *relieved* in our wants, if we *aide* not, and relieve thoſe that are in want, and in need to be relieved. And if we had helped our King, when men roſe up againſt him, we had freed both him, and our ſelves from many miſeries.

Heb.13.16.

And therefore, that God may be *mercifull* unto us, when we are in *dangers*, and help us when we are in want, we ought to yeeld our *beſt aſſiſtance* to deliver them that are in dangers, and to do good, and to help *all thoſe men*, that are in want; as holy *Job* profeſſeth that he did, ſaying, *I delivered the poor that cried*, and the *fatherleſs*, and him that had *none to to help him*, and I brake the *jaws* of the wicked, and pluckt the ſpoile out of his *teeth*; and then he ſheweth, howhe did not eat his *morſels* himſelf *alone*, but the *fatherleſs* did eat with him; and the *loynes* of the poor were *covered* with his cloathing, and warmed with the *fleeces of his ſheep*.

Job.29 12. & 17. Chap.31.17. & 20.

And ſo ſhould we do, *hinder* the oppreſſor to wrong the *poor*, and ſtop the *violent* proceeding of the wicked; and then, according to our *ability*, cloath the naked, feed the *hungry*, and viſit thoſe, that are *ſick* and in *priſon*.

Ob. But, if you ſay, Such and ſuch men are moſt *wicked*, and did ſuch and *ſuch villanies*; as, to kill my *children*, rob my *friends* and rebell againſt their *King* &c. And therefore, they deſerve rather to be ſuffered to *periſh* for their iniquities, than to be *relieved* in their neceſſities.

Sol. To this we anſwer, as Chriſt teacheth us, that if God ſhould ſo *deal* with us, as we *deſerve*, we ſhould all be *ſoon* undone; becauſe we have *continually* provoked him to wrath, and our ſins are *more* in number, then the *ſands* of the ſea and *heavier* in weight, than we are able to bear; and yet God is ſo good and ſo *gracious* towards us, that he *maketh his Sun to riſe on the evil, and on the good*, and ſendeth rain *on the juſt, and on the unjuſt*. Even ſo, if we will be the *children* of our Father, which is in heaven, we muſt not only *love* our *friends*, honor the *wealthy*, do good unto our *brethren*, and relieve thoſe that are *godly*; but we muſt *honor all men*, love *our enemies*, bleſs them *that curſe us*, do good to them *that hate us*, pray for them, which *deſpitefully uſe us, and perſecute us*; and relieve them, which perhaps have *robbed us*: for herein we are not to conſider their *wickedneſs* but their *wants*, and ſo do our beſt, to relieve their *miſery*, and not to *uphold* their miſchief; and by ſuch courteous and *tender-hearted* carriage towards theſe *evil* men, ἑαυτοῖς χρείζουσι, the godly men do gratify, and do good unto themſelves, as we may interpret the words of the Apoſtle, ἑαυτοῖς χρείζουσι. So that indeed we pleaſure not *theſe poor* ſo much by our giving, as we do benefit *our ſelves* by their receiving of what we give them.

Math.5.45.

By relieving the poor, we benefit our ſelves more. then the poor

Eph.4.32.

And therefore we are to do good unto *all men*, and to the *wicked*, though they be *never ſo wicked*, that we deprive not *our ſelves* of that good which, for relieving them, we ſhall *receive* from God; *Quia manus pauperis eſt gazophylacium Chriſti*, the hand of the poor is the *treaſure-houſe* of Chriſt: and whatſoever we *give* unto the poor, we *lend* unto the Lord, and we ſhall receive it *again*, in the time of need; and the Prophet *David* ſaith, *Bleſſed is he that conſidereth the poor and needy*; *Qui proſpicit ad pauſſo*, ſaith the vulgar

Qui attendit ad attenuatum; ſaith *Tremelius*.

gar Tranſlation; bleſſed is he that looketh to the *oppreſſed*, the Lord ſhall deliver him in the time of trouble; much more bleſſed ſhall he be, that helpeth and relieveth the *oppreſſed*; and eſpecially thoſe, that have formerly, *wronged* and oppreſſed him; he ſhall be *doubly* bleſſed. The ſecond branch. Τὴν ἀδιλφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε.

1. Becauſe he relieveth his *wants*. And
2. Becauſe he remitteth his *faults*, and revengeth not his own wrongs.

And ſo you ſee how we are to *honor*, to *eſteem*, and to *love* all men.

2. As we are to *honor all men* in generall, ſo more eſpecially we are *to love the Brother-hood* in particular: where obſerve, 2. What love we owe to the Brother-hood.

{ 1. The *Act*. 2. The *Extent*. }

1. The *Act* is *love*, and love, ſaith the Schoolman is, *Bene velle amato*: but that is no more then *Amor affectivus*: and the Apoſtle ſpeaks not here, *de amore affectivo tantum ſed de amore effectivo ſimul*; of the inward *affection* only, but alſo of that *love*, which is declared by the effects, in *outward actions*; and therefore φιλῶν ἐστὶ βούλεσθαί τινι ἃ οἴεται ἀγαθὰ, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν πρᾶττειν αὐτὸν ἢ τοῦτον; To love is to *will* that, which we eſteem *good* to any one, and, to the *uttermoſt* of our power, to *procure that* good unto him: as *Ariſtotle* ſaith. *Ariſt. Æthic. l. 9. c. 5.*

So that *this our love* to the brother-hood, comprehendeth

1. An *hearty affection*, without diſſimulation; not only in *tongue* and in word, but in *deed* and verity (*i. e.*) from the heart. 1 Joh. 3. 18.

2. An *actuall performance* of all the good, that we can do unto them: as, *praying for them*, comforting them and adminiſtring to their *neceſſities*, not only with our *purſes*, but alſo with our *words*, with our *labours*, and with any thing, that lieth in *our power*, to ſtand them in any ſtead. This is the *act*, that we are to do; And *Cryſoſt. in Ro. 12. ho. 21.*

2. For the *Extent* of it, we are to do it moſt *eſpecially*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *to the Brother-hood*.

Touching which point of *Fraternity* or *Brother-hood*, you muſt obſerve, that there is a two fold *Brother-hood*, whereof, you muſt *hate* the one and *love* the other. As That there is a two fold fraternity.

The 1. Is in *Evil*, and from the Devil.
The 2. Is in *Good*, and from God. For

1. *Simeon and Levi were brethren*, but it was in the *evil*, ſaith the Scripture: when the *inſtruments of cruelty were in their habitations*; and therefore *curſed* was their *brother-hood*, and their *unity* was to be *divided* in *Jacob*, and to be ſcattered in *Iſrael*. And ſo the wicked, at all times, *Faciunt unitatem contra unitatem*, do, as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *unite* themſelves together againſt *verity*, and againſt the *unity* that ſhould be among Chriſtians, which is, the *unity* of *faith* and *religion*; and, as the Prophet *David* ſaith, the Heathen do furiouſly *rage together*, and the people do imagine a *vain thing*; and all take *counſell together*, and plot againſt the Lord, and againſt his annointed: ſo *Pilate* and *Herod*, though at *ods* among themſelves for other things, yet they can be *reconciled*, and agree together to *crucify Chriſt*. And ſo *Solomon* tels us, how the Congregation of the ungodly do *confederate* and *Covenant* (as now they do) together, to *ſtrengthen* themſelves in their *wickedneſs*, ſaying one to anothe, *Come, let us caſt our lots together, let us have but one purſe*, that is, one common treaſure amongſt us all; and let us undergo the ſame *fortune*, be the ſame good or bad. 1. The evill Brother-hood. Gen. 49. 5. & 7. How the wicked, like the *Scots* and the *Parliament*, do combine and covenant together. Pſal. 2. 1, 2. Prov. 1. 11. & 14.

And therefore, it is no *new thing*, for Traytors, Rebels, and Robbers, and other the like wicked men, though of *different ſects*, and ſeverall opinions; yet to *unite themſelves* together, and to take *oathes* and make *covenants*, confederacies and conſpiracies, againſt the *profeſſors* of the true *Religion*;

ligion, and againſt thoſe that they are *bound*, by former oaths, to obey as it was in the conſpiracy of *Cateline*, which *Saluſt* relateth, and in the confederacy of the *Grecians*, when they went up with *Cyrus* the younger, againſt *Artaxerxes*, which *Zenophon* ſetteth down at large, and the *covenant* of the *holy leaguers* of *France* againſt their King, and the like.

Saluſt. Conjurat. Catel.
Xenophon. de aſcend. Cyri.

But you muſt *remember*, to do, what God *commandeth* you to do, in *ſuch* confederacies, ſaying, *My ſon, walk not thou in the way with them, refrain thy foot from their path*; for their feet run to *evil*, and make haſt to *ſhed blood*; as you may read in the foreſaid Authors, what abundance of *innocent blood*, thoſe wicked *covenants* and confederacies have *cauſed* to be ſpilt. And therefore this being not the *Brother-hood* that you ſhould love, if you love *God*, and your own ſouls, you muſt *hate* the ſame, as you do the *gates* of hell; becauſe that, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, in covenanting againſt *right*, and againſt the *truth*, they are *confederates againſt thee*, O God, and againſt thy ſervants.

Prov. 1. 15.

How hard it is to eſcape the miſchief of ſubtile confederates.

And what *created* power under Heaven, is able to *unty* that knot, and to *eſcape* that malice, which *villany*, *ſubtilty*, and *cruelty* have combined to bring to paſs? Or what *man* is able to withſtand a *multitude* of united enemies, that have *ſtrength* and wealth enough, and have *covenanted* and ſworne to fight againſt him, untill they have *deſtroyed* him?

Surely, when their *plots* are ſo ſubtile, their *power* ſo great, their *wealth* of Gold and Silver ſo much, and the *confederates* of ſworne brethren ſo many, it is impoſſible to *prevent* their miſchief, and to *eſcape* out of their hands, if the *Lord himſelf* doth not ſtand, to *help* his ſervants, and, as the Prophet ſaith, if he that dwelleth in heaven laugheth not *theſe covenanters* to ſcorne, if the Lord have them not in *deriſion*; yea, if he ſpeaks not to them *in his wrath*, and vexeth them *in his ſore diſpleaſure*.

2. The good Brother-hood,

2. The other brother-hood is good, among the good, and in good, in *faith* to God, in *obedience* to our King, and in *love* towards all men, and this brother-hood is many fold, as ſpecially

Is four fold.

1. *Naturall.* 2. *Nationall.* 3. *Politicall.* 4. *Spirituall.*

1. The naturall Brotherhood.

1. *Naturall* brethren, begotten of the ſame *parents*, bred in the ſame *houſe*, and after the ſame manner, ſhould not be like the off-ſpring of *Cain*, that killed his *own*, and his *only* brother *Abel*; and as *Romulus* killed his own brother *Remus*, and *Antoninus* murdered his brother *Geta* in his mother's lap; and King *Joram* ſlew ſix of his own *naturall brethren*, the ſons of *Jehoſaphat*, with the ſword; when as ſuch *miſcreants* are unworthy to live on earth; neither ſhould they jar, hate, or envy one another as *Jacob* and *Eſau* did, and *Jacobs* children did their brother *Joſeph*; and as the diſſention of *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* made way for *Herod*, an *Idumean*, to become King of *Jurie*: but they ſhould live like *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and ſhould love one another, as *Plutarch* relateth, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, and his brother *Lucius Scipio* did; for notwithſtanding he was the *African* by name, that had overcome *Hannibal*, and had triumphed over the *Carthaginians*, and excelled all others, in the praiſe of *Martiall* diſcipline; yet of his own *good nature*, he made himſelf *inferior*, and was contented to be *Lieutenant* to his younger brother, that his brother might have the *honor*, of obtaining the *Government* of that Province from *Lælius*, that was his *fellow Conſul*: and the *like love*, or rather more *fervent* we find to be in *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, for when *Caſtor* was ſlain by *Ida*, *Pollux* beſought *Jupiter*, that he might impart *half* his *own* life unto his brother; which being *granted*, the Poet ſaith,

2 Chr. 21. 4.

Joſeph de Ant. l. 14. c. 2. & deinceps.

The great love and humility of Scipio *Africanus* to his younger brother *Lucius Scipio*.

Plutarch. in vitâ Scip. Afr.

How deerly brethren loved one another in former times.

Sic fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit.

And

And these *celestial* signs, that have their denomination from these brethren, do shine in heaven, *Alternis vicibus*, by turns, as the *Astrologers* do observe, in token of that *great love* of these brethren.

And, if the time would give me leave, I could tell you of two *Roman Brethren*, whereof, the one was in *Sertorius* Army, and the other in the adverse Party, and of *many* others, that did so *exceedingly* love one another in former times, that each of them loved the other as himself: But now *Rara est concordia fratrum*, in our time, the love of Brethren is *waxen cold*, and so frozen, that *many* of them are *degenerated* and become most *unnatural* one towards another, that it is even a *shame* to see it.

2. There is a *National Brother-hood*, a brotherly love, betwixt those men that are born and bred in the *same Country*, and are, as it were, sprung from the *same Stock*; for so *Moses* is said to have gone to *see his Brethren*, and spying an *Egyptian* smiting an *Hebrew*, one of his *Brethren*, he slew the *Egyptian*; and when he saw an *Hebrew* striving with an *Hebrew*, he said, *Sirs, you are brethren, Why do ye wrong one to another?* And the Lord sheweth, that all the children of *Israel*, though *strangers* one to another, yet were they *Brethren*: for he saith, If thy *brother* be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt *relieve him*, yea, though he be a *stranger*, or a *sojourner*, that he may live with thee: And so in many-many places, the Lord calleth *all the Jews*, and all the Israelites *Brethren*. And the very Heathens deemed their *Countrymen*, that were of the *same Nation*, to be *Brethren*, and loved one another, even as *Brethren*. And the *Romans* held the *Trojans* to be their *Brethren*, because they were descended from them. And *Scipio Africanus* esteemed better of him that preserved the life of one *Roman*, his *Countryman*, than of him that had slain ten of his enemies that were *Barbarians*.

2. The National Brother-hood. Exod. 2. 11. Act. 7. 26. Levit. 25. 35, 36. 39. Deut. 23. 19.

And what a *shame* is it then, for men, of the *same Country*, of the *same Nation*, yea, and of the *same kindred*, to be set, as the Scripture speaketh, of an *Egyptian*, against an *Egyptian*; or, as the Souldiers in *Senacheribs* Army, when the Angel caused them, to *bathe* their swords in the blood of *each* other. Is it not a *pitiful* thing, to see, an *Irish man* killing *Irish-men*, or an *English-man* making his *sword* drunk in the blood of *English-men*.

Surely *any War* is lamentable; and as the Poet saith,

——— *heu miseri, qui bella gerunt.*

They are *wretched* men, that do *wage War*; But of all Wars,

Summum, Brute, nefas civilia bella fatemur.

Lucan. Pharsal. l. 2.

And therefore *Claudian* saith, *Cum Gallica vulgo, Pralia jactaret, tacuit Pharsalica Cæsar: Namque inter socias acies, cognataq; signa. Ut vinci miserum, nunquam vicisse decorum.* Claud de 6. consulat. Honorii.

That is the *worst*, and most lamentable, when a *Kingdom is divided against it self*, and the men of the *same Nation* shall fight and *kill one another* like enemies, that should *love* and live *together* like brethren.

And therefore, what *pretences* soever they have, I know not how those men in our Kingdoms, that to make themselves *great*, have, and do involve these *Nations* in their *own blood*, will answer for it, *Cum surrexerit ad judicandum Deus*, When God shall come, and shall make *inquisition* for all the blood that they have *caused* to be *unjustly* spilt.

3. The *Political Brother-hood* is, when either two or three, or more *Friends*, or *Cities*, or *Nations*, shall covenant and confederate to *help*, and assist one another, in all *just* and *honest things*, against all those that shall seek *unjustly* to *wrong* them, and oppresse them. And this is a *commendable Brother-hood*, and ought to be loved, and *inviolably* to be observed; as it was

3. The Political Brother-hood.

by

by *Damon*, and *Pythias*, *Pylades*, and *Orestes*, and by the Ancient *Romans*, to all their Colleagues, and *Confederates*.

4 The Spiritual Christian Brother-hood.

4. The last, *best*, and chiefest, *Brother-hood*, is that which is *spiritual*, and which therefore ought to be *preferred*, and loved, rather than any other *Brother-hood* whatsoever. For, as there are *degrees* and difference in Gods love, when, though he loveth *all the things that he hath made*; yet he loveth Man, *better* than any of all the things that he made; yea better than he loved the *Angels*, when he is styled φιλάνθρωπος; but is no where found to be termed φιλάγγελος. And among men, though he loveth them all, as they are his *creatures*, and the works of his hands; yet he loveth the *godly* far *better* than all the rest, that are wicked; and of all that are *godly*, he loveth *best* his *well-beloved Son*, *in whom he is well pleased*: and next to him, he loves *them best*, that are most *conformable* to the Image of his Son; that is, in *goodness*, in holiness, and righteousness. So we ought to *order* our love *towards all men*, and to each Brother-hood, that they may have the *best* share in our love, which ought to have the *best*; and that is, the Brother-hood which is *spiritual*. For, though the Apostle bids us, *to do good unto all men*, and so to love each Brother-hood; yet he tells us, that we ought to do it *more especially*, to them that are *of the household of faith*; that is, to relieve the *good* sooner than the *bad*, a *Christian* before a *Pagan*, and a Saint rather than a sinner.

We ought to order our love, as God loveth.

Galat. 6. 10.

And therefore, though we may, and *ought*, to love *each* of the foresaid Brother-hoods, that is in *good*, and especially the *Brother-hood* of flesh and blood, which *nature* teacheth *every man* to do, when they are like *Hypocrates* Twins, and should have *idem velle*, and *idem nolle*; and the Scripture sheweth, how good, and joyful a thing it is, for to see *such brethren* to love one another, and to live together *in unity*; yet the Brother-hood, whereof the Apostle *speaketh*, and is to be loved above *all other Brother-hoods* whatsoever, is to be understood, *de fraternitate Spiritus*, of our *spiritual* Brother-hood, whereby we are *regenerated* and made all the sons of God, and so *Brethren by adoption and grace*. For this fraternity of the Spirit *unites* men more, and *tyeth* them better to love one another, than the fraternity of *flesh* and *blood*. Because, as S. *Augustine* saith, The natural Brother-hood *similitudinem corporis refert*, sheweth the likeness, and coherence of the body; but this Brother-hood of the Spirit *unanimitatem cordis demonstrat*, declareth the unity and unanimity of the heart, and that is *interdum sibi inimica*, sometimes breaking out to *deadly* hate, as it did betwixt *Cyrus* the younger, and *Artaxerxes*. But this is, *sine intermissione pacificâ*, alwayes remaining in perfect love.

Christians ought to love one another, better than natural brethren that are not Christians.

And therefore, *ut Religio derivatur à religando*, as Religion is so termed, because, it *tyeth* and knitteth men together by *fervent love* among themselves, and by a constant faith to God. So we find that men of the same *Faith* and Religion, have loved, and relieved one another, and stuck together *better* and firmer, than any *other kind* of men whatsoever. And so they are here required and *commanded* to do by the Apostle, *Love the Brother-hood*, that is, love them *especially*, and *above* all others, that are of the *same faith* and do profess the *same Religion* of *Jesus Christ* as you do. For you see, all Hereticks, and *Sectaries*, and the professors of *false religions* do so; and why should not you, that are *true Christians*, and do professe the *true Religion* of Christ, *much rather* do the same?

Religion tyeth all that are of the same Religion to love one another.

A special Observation.

But here we ought to be *very careful*, and to take special heed, that we be not *too censorious*, and *too rash judges*, to set down the *bounds* of this Brother-hood, and so *straighten* the *extent*, and diminish the *number* of the Brethren, by our determining, *who* be those *sons* of God in Christ, which we may, and ought to love and relieve, *rather* than the rest of men, which we suppose, we are not to love so well.

For

For you must *know*, which our *precise Saints* will not know, that the *Brother-hood*, which the Apostle meaneth here, and those that S. *Paul* termeth *the household of faith*, and, in other places, *the Saints of God*, is to be understood of *all Christians*, and doth comprehend *all those*, that were *baptized*, and did professe the *Gospel of Jesus Christ*. And these might then, as they may also *now*, be easily discerned and *distinguished* from the rest of the *Pagans* and Infidels, that *did not believe* the Gospel of God: Because the *one* sort had the Fathers name *written in their foreheads*, when they were *baptized*, and so received the *outward sign* and badge of Christianity, which they *professed*, and were not *ashamed* of the Gospel of Christ: And the *other sort* refused the *profession* of Christ, and would not embrace the *Gospel*, and receive the *badge* of Christianity; but either *persecuted* the Christians, or at best *slighted* and rejected the *Faith* of Christ.

Who are here understood by this Brotherhood.

Revelat. 14. 1.

Rom. 1.

But where *all men* are *baptized*, and do professe to *believe* the Gospel, and to do *service* unto Christ, to *distinguish* the *sound branches* of the true Vine, and the faithful members of Christs body, from the *rotten boughs*, and hypocritical professors, and so to determine, which *are the Brother hood*, and *which not*, is such a *presumption* of men, as can no wayes be *warranted* by the Word of God: for, *Conscientiæ latebras hominibus scire non permissum est*; We cannot search into the *hearts* of men, and God suffereth not men to know the *thoughts* of other men, and the *secrets* that are lurking in their consciences, which is the proper *work* of God, who only is Καρδιογνώστης, The searcher of the heart and reins, saith S. *Hierom*.

Hierom. epist. 5.

And therefore, we must confesse, that as the Apostle saith, *The Lord only knoweth who are his*, and can discriminate the *lively branches* from the *rotten boughes*, and the *truly* regenerated Brother-hood, from the *soly outward* professors of the Faith of Christ. And we can judge no otherwise of any men, than by *their fruits*; that is, by their actions and *outward appearance*: and that appearance, when we judge of *inward* things by the *outward*, doth oftentimes *deceive* us; when as, *Multa sunt, quæ non videntur; ita multa videntur, quæ non sunt*, Many things are, which are not seen; so many things are seen to be, which are not: As the *falling-Stars*, seem to be Stars, and yet are not. And the *hypocrites*, that like Water-men, do row *one way*, and look *another way*, seem to be *good Christians*, and yet are not: So, many men have the *fear* of God in their hearts, and do *love* God, and are the *true children* of God; though these graces are not *seen*, but are, as we see the *Sun* is sometimes, *overclouded* with *those sins* that proceed from the *frailty* of the flesh. And therefore our Saviour bids us, *not to judge according to the outward appearance*, that is, not to judge of the *inward things* by the outward; but to judge *righteous judgement*.

2 Tim. 2. 19.

We are often deceived by the outward appearance of things.

John 7. 24.

But you will say, How can that be? or how can we judge *righteous judgement*, if we can judge no further than the *outward* appearance? or if *Interiora non cognoscuntur per exteriora*, The inward things may not be known by the *outward* signs?

Quest.

I answer, That many times indeed, the *inward* things do *cohere* with the *outward* appearance; as the *heat* sheweth there is a *fire*, which we see not; but this is not *always*; and therefore not *infallible*. And I say, that when our Saviour bids us, to judge *righteous judgement*, he meaneth not hereby, that we should enter into the *hidden* things of the heart, or search into the *secrets* of God, and so *positively*, and rightly, to determine and judge, as our *Gnostick Sectaries* seem to do, who are *Gods chosen Saints*, and who are *wicked Reprobates*; Who are the *Brother hood* that are to be *loved*, and who are the *limbs of the Beast*, that are to be *rejected*; which we cannot do: But he meaneth, that we should not judge of *inward*, hidden, and secret things, by the *superficial shew* of outward things: Or, that we should not judge of the *secret intention* of the heart, when we see but the *outward action* of the hand:

Respon.

How we ought not to judge of our Brethren.

hand; or, as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith, he willeth that we ſhould not judge *de actionibus mediis quæ vel in malo vel in bono animo fieri poſſunt*, of ſuch actions as may proceed, and come either from an *evil mind*, or from a *good heart*; or elſe, *de futuris contingentibus*, of future things, what *may happen* to any one, becauſe that in *all theſe things*, we may eaſily be deceived; as we ſee *ſome* man, like unto *S. Paul*, *de quo deſperamus, ſubitò convertitur & fit optimus*, of whom we deſpaired, is *ſuddenly* converted, and, as he was, from a perſecuting wolfe, became a *holy Saint*; ſo is this other man from a *deboiſt drunkard*, become a *devout Chriſtian*: and we ſee other men, like King *Saul*, and *Judas*, and *Simon Magus*; *de quibus multum præſumpſeramus, defecerunt & facti ſunt peſſimi*; of whom we conceived *much good*, have *ſuddenly* relapſed, and became *moſt wicked*; ſo that, *nec timor noſter certus eſt, nec amor*, neither our *fear* of the one, nor our *hope* of the other, can have any *certainty* at all.

And on the other ſide, he would have us to ſtrive and ſtudy to the *uttermoſt* of our power, by the ways and *means* that are left unto us, to know the *truth* of *outward* things, and to ſearch for the underſtanding of thoſe things that God hath *revealed* unto us, and ſo, to *judge righteous judgement* in *thoſe things*, wherein we are *allowed* to judge; and that is, *de præſentibus externis & apertis*, of things preſent or paſt, and the things that are *manifeſt* and externall; as to diſcern white from *black*, light from darkneſſe, *good* from *evill*, and a *ſober man* from him that is *drunk*; or a *true ſubject* from a *falſe Traytor*, and the like; ſo far as their outward actions do appear. Which may be done without entring into *the hearts* and *thoughts* of men, or diving to deep into the *ſecrets* of God; for our Saviour tells us, that as the tree is known *by his fruit*, that is, *cujus generis ſit*, of what *kind* it is, an apple, or a crab, a *fig tree*, or a *thiſtle*, ſo we may know men by their *words*, and by their *works*, whether they be therein *good* or *bad*, the *bleſſers* of God or the *blaſphemers* of God; for as the damſell ſaid to Saint *Peter*, *Thy ſpeech bewrayeth thee*; and the pronouncing of *Shibboleth* diſcovered, who was an *Iſraelite*, and who not; who a *Gileadite*, and who an *Euphraimite*: And our Saviour ſaith, The *works* that I do, *do bear witneſſe of me*; ſo the *words* and *works* of every man elſe, do ſufficiently teſtifie *what he is* for the preſent, good or bad.

Of what things we may judge.

The words and works of every man do teſtifie wh t he is. Judg. 12. 6. John 10. 25.

But though I do know by the *fruits*, of what *kind* the tree is; yet I know not thereby, whether the tree be rotten at the root, or not: ſo, though I know by the *words* and *works* of men, whether they be therein *vertuous*, or *vitious*, Saints, or *ſinners*; yet I cannot *judge* thereby what kind of *hearts* they have, good or bad; or what will *become* of them, for the time to come.

For you know what the Prophet ſaith, *Many give good words with their mouths, but curſe with their hearts*; and the *Iſraelites* drew near unto God *with their mouthes*, and honoured him with *their lips*, but their hearts *were farre from him*; and therefore, ſeeing that *virtus conſiſtit in actione*, vertue conſiſteth in action, in our *works* rather then in our *words*; our Saviour tells us, *Not he that ſaith, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of his Father, which is in heaven*; and Saint *Paul* ſaith directly, *Not the hearers of the Law*, though you ſhould hear a Sermon *every day in the week*, but *the doers of the Law ſhall be juſtified*; becauſe our *works* do more fully, and more *certainly* ſhew, what we are, rather then our *words*; for, *quid audiam verba, cum videam contraria facta?* to what purpoſe ſhall I hear *good words*, while the tongue, like *Joab*, ſaith, *Is it peace, my brother*, and the hand *ſtabs* us to the heart? they will avail us nothing, being like the *Spiders web*, that will make no *garment for us*, becauſe our words are like the *green leaves*, that make a *fair ſhew* upon any tree, and our

Matth 7. 21.

Rom. 2. 13.

Our words like the leaves, and our works like the fruit:

our works are like the *ſolid fruits*, whereby we diſcern the *ſweetneſſe*, and the goodneſſe of the tree.

And yet I told you *how far* we may judge of the *fruits*, and works of men; ſo far as *we ſee*, and no further; becauſe we may as *eaſily* be deceived by the *ſpecious works* of the hypocrite, as by the *ſcandalous deeds* of the tranſgreſſors, which perhaps, for ought we know, may have *better hearts* towards God, then the others that have far more *glorious works*, in the ſight of men.

And therefore I ſay, that we *ought not* to make a *diſtinction* among Chriſtians, and gather *Churches* unto our ſelves, to be a congregation of *Saints* ſeparated from the reſt of the *wicked*, as the Apoſtles gathered *Churches* from the *unbelieving* Jewes, and the Idolatrous Gentiles.

Becauſe all thoſe that are *baptized*, and are received as the children of the *Church*, and do profeſſe the *Faith* of Chriſt, are comprehended in this *Brotherhood*, and is not to be *rent* in pieces, like *Jeroboams* garment, but ought to be kept *intire*, like the *Coat* of Chriſt, and to be loved and and *cheriſhed*, as this our Apoſtle adviſeth us.

But then, ſeeing *this brotherhood*, which we are thus *chiefly* to love, is not the brotherhood of *ſociety*, which reaſon perſwadeth, nor of *conſanguinity*, which nature teacheth, nor of our *Election* and Adoption to be the Sonnes of God, *which we know not*; but of the *profeſſion* of the *faith* of Chriſt, and receiving of the *ſignes* and badges of Chriſtianity, which are *viſible* to our eyes of fleſh, and credible to the judgement of *charity*; it is much queſtioned, and of too many men very *unjuſtly* reſolved; whether *all*, that are *baptized*, and do thus *profeſſe* the Chriſtian Religion, and are not cut off from the *Communion* of the Church, for ſome *detected* and apparant iniquity, are comprehended in *this brotherhood*, and are thus *ſpecially* to be loved. To which our rigid Saints do abſolutely deny it, becauſe we ſee ſo *many Sects*, and ſo many kinds of men, that do *thus profeſſe* Chriſtianitie, and ſay. They do all *believe in Chriſt*, and do wear his *badge*, and do him ſervice; as *Papiſts*, *Puritans*, *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and the like. And therefore, if this be true, that *all theſe* are contained, and *united* within this *bond* of fraternity, and with a *Chriſtian love* to be imbraced, you will make the *way* to heaven *very broad*, and this bond of brotherhood of a very *large extent*. *Queſt.*

But I anſwer, that I muſt not *ſhut* the gate of heaven againſt thoſe, to whom Chriſt hath *opened* it, nor make the way thither *narrower* then God hath made it; and therefore I ſay, that the *bond* of this Chriſtian fraternity, which we are commanded to retain, and to *love* all that are comprehended within it, though it be *woven*, like *Joſephs* coat, with ſome diverſity of thred, and threds of *many colours*; yet ought it not to be *eaſily* broken, and ſoon cut in ſunder; and the *mercies* of God ſhould not be too *narrowly* contracted; for why ſhould men be more *rigid*, then God? or why ſhould any *errour* exclude men from the Churches-*Communion*, which will not deprive them of *eternal ſalvation*? and we find that in the *Apoſtles* time, the *Corinthians* denied the *Reſurrection* of the fleſh, which is a *principal Article* of our Chriſtian faith: and the *Galathians* erred as *fowly*, in one of the *chiefeſt*, and moſt *fundamental* points of Chriſtianity, which was the point of *our juſtification* ſo far, that *S. Paul* tells them, *if they be circumciſed*, as many of them would be; that is, after they had embraced the *truth* of the Goſpel, *they were fallen away from grace*, and Chriſt *ſhould profit them nothing*; and many other foul *errours* they had amongſt them: and yet the holy Apoſtle, in regard of *their profeſſion*, to be Chriſtians, and their *Chriſtian converſation*, to lead a *juſt* and an *upright* life, calleth them *Saints*, *brethren*, his *children*, and the *Churches* of God; And ſo the *Sol.* Gen. 27. 3. *Chillingſ.* p. 220.

seven famous Churches of *Asia*, were infected with *many* errours, and accused of *foul* corruptions; and yet the holy Ghost denieth them not to be *Christians*, and disdaineth not to call them the *Churches* of God.

And therefore I say, though the *Papists*, and *Puritans*, *Anabaptists*, and *Brownists*, and the like, differ from us that are the *true Protestants*, in many particular points of our Religion; yet, while they professe to believe in Christ, and to live *like Christians*, in the *fear* of God, in *true obedience* to their King, and in *unfeigned love* and charity towards their neighbours, which I conceive to be the *chiefest points* of Christianity, and the parts and parcels of our *wedding garment*; I say, they are our *brethren*, and to be deemed our Christian brethren; and we ought to *love them*, and are obliged to live *in peace* with them, and to suffer them *unwronged* to live *peaceably* with us; and not to do, as, in the madnesse of their *misguided* zeal, *too too many men* are bent on either side, to *hate*, persecute, rob and *murder* one another, because they will not be of the *same opinion*, as we are, or they are of; which is a thing *impossible* in nature, because *Faith* cannot be compelled, either to believe what I *list not*, or not to believe what I *list*, as *Lactantius* saith, and it is inconsistent with the very *Principle* of our profession, that we should *rob men*, and take away their *estates*: because they will not professe the *same Faith* and Religion that we do; for *compulsion* may make men hypocrites, but not *Saints*; and you know the *chiefest* points of our Christian Religion are, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*, ; and the Apostle tells us, the *greatest* of these is *Charity*; because our *love* and our *charity*, as they are of a far greater *perpetuity*, so they should be of a far greater *latitude*, and extent, then our *Faith and Hope* can be.

What are the chiefest points of charity.

What we are to hate, and what to love in all Sectaries, and professors of Religion.

And therefore, though my *knowledge* and my judgment will not *suffer me* to be of the *same Faith*, either with the *Papists*, *Puritans*, *Anabaptists*, or the like erroneous Sectaries; but perswadeth me to *hate* and detest both their *Positions* and their *Practices*: yet my *Religion* teacheth me to love their persons, and in my conversation to *live in Peace*, and to joyn the right hand of *Christianity* with *them*, and rather desire to *exceed* them, in all the Offices *of love*, then any wayes to shew the *least hatred*, or do the *least injury* to any one of them all; and withall, to *pray* for them, and to use all *loving means* to bring them to *repentance* for their errours, and to embrace the *truth*.

Prov. 10. 12.

This which I professe, is the *readiest* way to winne them: for as the Scripture saith, *Hatred stirreth up strife*, *but love covereth a multitude of sins*: and is the *readiest* way to convert the sinner.

And I think, if men *did this*, and not break the *bond of love*, nor straighten the *extent* of this *brotherhood*, they might the *sooner* be reduced to imbrace the *same truth*, and to be united in the *same faith*, because *true love* is the most *attractive thing* in the world, and the want of *love* is the *cause*, that so *much wickednesse* doth abound, even as our Saviour testifieth.

And therefore it is most *requisite*, that we should be very *earnest*, and very *often* to insist upon these points, and to urge *these duties*, to *honour all men*, and *to love the brotherhood*.

And so having heard, that no *Christian*, that is *baptized*, and *professeth* the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, is to be excluded from this *Brother-hood*; We are now to consider, *wherein* the love of this *Brother-hood* consisteth; and what this *Extensive love* includeth in it: and upon survey, we shall find it to comprehend

1. An *Unfained affection* of good-will unto them, *without dissimulation*, to wish

wish them *all happiness* and *prosperity*, not only in *words*, but even from our very hearts.

2. An *Earnest endeavour* to procure them all *the good* that their *necessity* requireth, so far as it lyeth in our *power* to help them. As

1. To *pray* for them, that God would *bless* them, and *preserve* them from all evil, and *save them*, even as S. *Paul* saith, *Brethren, my hearts desire and prayer to God for Israel, is, that they might be saved.* Rom. 10. 1.

2. Most *cheerfully* to administer to their *necessities*, in all that lieth in our *abilities*; for that is the Apostle's meaning, both in his Epistle to the *Romans*, chap. 12. 13. And in this 1 *Tim.* 6. 17, 18. as S. *Chrysostom* sheweth, saying, *Non solum pecuniis, sed & verbis & rebus & corpore & aliis quibuscunque modis, vult nos juvare egenos*; the Apostle would have us to *help the needy*, not only with our *purses*, but also with our *words*, in speaking for them, and with our *labours*, to do them good, and to *preserve* them from all manner of *damage* in their *estates*; yea, without any *difference* of friends or foes: for so the Apostle bids us, *If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink.* And so the Lord saith, if thou meetest *thine enemyes Oxe, or his Ass* going astray, *thou shalt surely bring him back again to him*; and if thou seest *the Ass* of him *that hateth thee, lying under his burden*, and thou wouldst forbear to help him; *thou shalt surely help him*, or, *leave thy business to help him*; O most heavenly and *divine love!* how *happy* were we, if we were filled with *such love!* and how *miserable* are they, that in stead of doing *such friendly offices* unto their enemies, as to bring home their *straying* cattel, will *rob their friends*, and drive their *Christian-brethren* both from house and home, and leave them neither *Oxe* or *Ass*? And I remember that I read of *Linacrus*, how he was reading the *fifth*, *six*, and *seaven* chapters of S. *Mathew's* Gospel, and then *pawsing* a while, he laid the book aside, and cried out, *Certe aut hoc non est Evangelium Christi, aut nos non sumus Christiani*: So I say to those that *rob their Christian brethren*, and expell them from their *estates*, and deprive them of that Means that God hath *given* them upon what *pretence* soever; Certainly to do these things are not *the commands of God*, and they do *highly* offend God, in transgressing his commands; or, I do not know, what it is *to transgress his commandments*. For S. *Paul* bids us, to do *good unto all*, and our Saviour Christ bids us to do good *to them that hate us*: and I think I am sure, that *to rob us*, and to deprive us *of all* that we have, is *no good to us*, though *it may do good* to us, as it comes from God, when by our *patience*, and our *prayers* for our *persecutors*, we shall possess *our souls*, which is a better *possession* then all that which our enemies do or can take from us. Exod. 23. 5. 6. Rom. 12. 20. Gal 6. 10. Math 5. 44.

And therefore, let the *wicked* still do *wickedly*, let the *filthy* be *filthy still*, and let theeves and robbers *rob us still*, and if they please take away that little *pittance*, which is *yet* left unto us; but *let us do* as the Apostle bids us, *love the Brother-hood*, and as our Saviour bids us, *love our enemies*; and if we hear them *sweare*, or see them *drunk*, or commit any other foule offences, let us rather, friendly, *advise* them, to *amend*, as our brethren, and not *censoriously* exclude them from our *societies*, and reject them as *reprobates* from Gods people, as those, that make a separation from us, do with us.

The third branch of this *Golden Text* is, *Fear God*. Wherein you are to observe,

1. The *Act*, Fear.
2. The *Object*, God.

1. Fear, which the Latin's call *Metus*, or *Timor*, and in Greek is termed φόβος, *Est opinio vel expectatio mali impendentis*, saith the Orator, The opinion or expectation of *some evil*, hanging over our heads: and it is sprung in us, saith the Philosopher, *Per totius caloris ex frigore contractionem ad cor* Cicero Tusc. 4. l. 4.

Fear, what it is and how defined.

ipsum undique decurrentis utpote ad suam sedem tanquam in regiam vel in arcem; by the irregular *contraction* of our naturall heat, from the *other parts* of the body unto the heart, as unto the royall Tower; whereby our hearts panting with *incessant motion*, are succoured, and our *blood* deprived of that heat, *freezeth* as it were in the other veins; or, as the wise man saith, *Fear is the betraying of that succour which reason affordeth.*

Sap. 17. 12.

But for your *better* understanding of this point, you must know that the *object* of fear is to be considered, before it can be rightly defined what it is; And it is agreed on all *sides*, that, *Objectum timoris malum*, *evil* is the proper object of *all fear*, and that must be evil *to come*, for that which is *past* we call τὴν λύπην, heavinesse or sadnesse; but that which is to *come*, we call τὸν φόβον, fear: for we do alwaies *love*, and never *fear*, that which is good, or that which we *conceave* to be good at least. And the *fear* of this *evil* is either,

Fear two fold.

1. *Human*
or,
2. *Divine.*

1. Human.

1. As fear is *naturally* ingraffed in every *Beast*, as we see, saith S. *Bernard*, that the trembling *Sheep* doth run away for fear, when the *Woolf* cometh, *Absconditse columba tremens, accipitre viso; & de caverna mus non audet esuriens exire, ambiente cato*; the hungry mouse dares not peep out of her *hole*, while the Cat walketh by her; so, ever since *Adam* sinned, this fear of *evil* is naturally ingraffed in the heart of *every* man; for *I heard thy voyce in the garden* (saith *Adam*) and I was *affraid*; and so ever since we are all *affraid*: so that the *strongest* and most assured *courage* cannot hinder us from *shutting our eyes*, at the suddain surprise of a *flash* of lightning, or the withdrawing and turning aside our *head*, from the sight of a fearfull precipice, or to be terrified at any great and unexpected noise; because it is not in our *power* to resist these *first motions*, or first fears of evill.

Bernard. in quad. Epist.

And this human fear is the *effect* of sin, and the *object* of it is neither *God* nor *good*, but *want*, *sickness*, *dangers*, *death*, or the like bitter fruits, which the *tree of knowledge* hath produced.

And therefore *this fear* is not to be *desired*, because, as the Poet saith,

Degeneres animos timor arguit——

It is an argument of a poor *dejected* and degenerate mind; and, as *Ovid* saith,

——*vires subtrahit ipse timor*,

It takes away that *strength*, which we had; and leaves us able to do nothing: and not only so, but as *Lucan* saith,

——*multos in summa pericula misit*
Venturi timor ipse mali, fortissimus ille est
Qui promptus metuenda pati——

This human fear is a very ill companion for brave Souldiers.

The fear of evil *to come*, hath cast many men to many *evils*, to many *sins*, to many *dangers*: *Et stultitia est timore mortis mori*; and it is a great deal of *folly*, or meer *foolishness*, to die for fear of death; and yet, as the sound of an *empty sling* doth terrify the birds, so we many times are affraid of the shadow of evil; *Et non ad actum tantum sed ad strepitum excitamur, & inter*

Seneca Ep. 75.

suspecta

ſuſpecta male vivitur: infirmus animus, antequam malis opprimatur, queritur; præſumit illa & ante tempus cadit. And what a *miſerable* thing is this, *Futuris angi, nec ſe tormento reſervare ſed accerſere ſibi miſerias?* to be vexed with thoſe things that are to come, and to make our ſelves miſerable *before* they come? becauſe the *fear* of ſuch things makes us the *leſs able* to undergo, and to overcome the things that we do fear, as the fear of *Flaminius ad Traſimenum*, and of *Craſſus apud Carras*, and of *Pompey* in *Theſſalie*, did greatly further their *great loſſes*; becauſe *Peſſimus in dubiis augur timor*, Fear is the worſt Prophet that can be in any *doubtfull* thing; *Quando affectus qui tecum erit contra te dimicat, & tui ipſius adverſus te melior pars rebellat*; when we carry in our *boſome* that which fights againſt us.

And therefore the very Heathens diſſwaded us from this *baſe and effeminate fear*, eſpecially when we go againſt our enemies.

Δειλοὶ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐν μάχῃ
Εὐθυμὸν, ἀλλ' ἄπουσι, κἂν παρῶσ' ὅμως. — *Euripid. in Meleagro.*

Fearfull men are of *none account* in the war, but are abſent while they are preſent, which is the cauſe, ſaith *Cicero*, *Quod exercitus maximi ſæpe pulſi ac fugati ſunt terrore ipſo, impetuque hoſtium ſine cujuſquam non modo morte, verum etiam vulnere*; great Armies have been overthrowen with this *vain* fear, not only without the *death*, but alſo without the *hurt* of any man, and therefore reaſon it ſelf perſwadeth us to caſt off *all fear*, and to arm our ſelves with *courage*, when we go againſt our enemies; for though, as the *Comick* ſaith, — *Cicero pro Aul. Cacinna.* Fear deſtroyed great Armies.

πετάσεια πολλοῖς ἐστὶν αὐτία κακῶν.

Many evils ſpring out of *raſhneſs*: Yet,

Fors juvat audentes, priſci ſententia vatis; — *Claud. ad probinum.*

And, as old *Homer* ſaith,

——Θαρσαλέῳ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων
Ἔρχεσιν πολέμοιο, καὶ ᾧ πόδι κάλλιον ἕλθοι. — *Homer Odyſſ. κ.*

Omnibus in rebus potior vir fortis & audax,
Sit licet hoſpes, & è longinquis venerit oris.

The *ſtout* couragious man is *beſt* in all affaires; when as the timorous man, *omnia tuta timet*, doth oftentimes fear his own ſhadow, and there is no receit againſt fear.

But though fear is an ill companion, *& male cuncta miniſtrat*, and ordereth all things very ill; yet ſometimes *this fear* of dangers is of an *excellent uſe*, eſpecia ly when it is joyned with a *provident* care, to prevent it; for it is a point of *great wiſdom* in doubtfull things, to *fear the worſt*, when the beſt will ſave it ſelf, & we ſee many men have been ſuddenly deſtroyed, becauſe they feared not the *dangers*, that were imminent over their heads; whereas he, *Qui inſidias timet in nullas incidet, nec cito perit ruina qui ruinam timet; quia ſemper metuendo ſapiens vitat malum; & inimicum quamvis humilem, docti eſt metuere*; he that feareth the *ſnare* falleth not into the ſnare, and he that feareth *ruine*, is not *ſuddenly* ruin'd; becauſe a wiſe man *avoideth evil* by *fearing* it, and a learned man will not be *fearleſs* of the hurt — It is ſometimes good to fear dangers, and how.

hurt that may happen unto him from his meaneſt enemy, when according to that of the Poet

Parva necat morſu ſpatioſum vipera taurum,
A cane non magno ſæpe tenetur aper.
Cauſa puſilla nocet, ſapienſque nocentia vitat.

A ſmall thing may do much miſchief. Yet *this fear* of danger, without a *care* joyned with it to *prevent* the danger, or at leaſt to *leſſen* it, is rather a *vexation* to be avoided, than a *vertue* to be embraced. Therefore this fear is *only good*, as it makes us *wary* to prevent the evil; as the fear of the *Thief*, makes the good man of the houſe *watchful* to defend his houſe, ſaith our Saviour.

The humane Fear, hath driven many men to great ſins.

And as this *humane frailty*, and the fear of *future dangers* hath been the ruine of many a man, and the loſſe of many great Armies; ſo, the *like fear* hath driven many men to *great ſins*. As *Pilate*, for fear of the *people*, and of their *complaint* againſt him to *Cæſar*, condemned to death, the Lord of Life. Judges, for fear of the rich and *powerful* men, do many times decree *unjuſt judgement*. And the Preachers of Gods Word, do ſometimes pervert *the truth*, and preach *placentia*, for fear of *dangers*; either loſſe of Livings, or of Liberties: And in many other men, this humane fear is the *cauſe* of many inhumane acts.

Therefore the holy Ghoſt prohibiteth this fear in every place; *Moſes* injoyneth Judges to be *men of courage*. Our Saviour bids his Diſciples, Luke 12. *not to fear them that kill the body, and after that can do no more.* And the Jerem. 1. Eſay 51. 7. Ezech. 2. 6. Lord often commandeth his Prophets, *not to fear* the faces of men, nor to be afraid of their threatnings: As the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, *Hearken unto me, ye that know righteouſneſs, the people in whoſe heart is my Law: Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings; for the moth ſhall eat them up like a garment, and the worm ſhall eat them like wooll.* And the Revel. 2. 10. Angel biddeth the Church of *Smyrna*, *to fear none of thoſe things that they ſhould ſuffer*; that is, neither poverty, nor ſickneſſe, nor reproach, nor *impriſonment*, nor yet *death* it ſelf: And the reaſon why we ſhould not fear theſe things is ſet down by the Lord himſelf, ſaying, *Thus ſaith the Lord that created thee, O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Iſrael, Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine: when thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they* Eſay 43. 1, 2. *ſhall not overflow thee; when thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt, neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee*; becauſe God is with us, and if he be Rom 8. 31. with us, *Who can be againſt us? Nam quid timet hominem homo in ſinu Dei poſitus?* For why ſhould any man, that is in the *boſom* of God, and upheld *Aug. de verb. Dom.* there by *Gods hand*, be afraid of *any man*, or of any thing? *Tu de illius ſinu noli cadere, & quicquid ibi paſſus fueris ad ſalutem valebit non ad perniciem.* Do thou continue in Gods *favour*, and thou ſhalt not need to fear any mans *fury*. And ſo you ſee how the *humane fear* of all worldly evils, is, as much as we can, to be *ſhunned*, and no wayes to be embraced: But

2. The Divine fear God the object of this fear, in two reſpects.

2. The *Divine fear* is that, which we are commanded here, and in all other *places* of the holy Scripture, to *ſeek for it*, and to embrace it; And though, as I ſaid before, the *proper object* of fear, is ſaid to be *evil*; yet God, which is the *chiefeſt Good*, may be ſaid to be the *object* of this fear, in *two reſpects.*

1. Reſpect. 1. As the *body* feareth the parting of the *ſoul*, which is the *life* of the body; ſo the *ſoul* feareth the *departing* of Gods favour, which is the *life* of the

ſoul;

soul; and that *parting* of Gods favour from us, is the *greatest evil* that can happen unto us.

2. As a *Malefactor* feareth the good and *just Magistrate*, lest he punish him for his *evil deeds*; so every sinner *doth*, or *should* fear *God*, lest he should render *vengeance* unto him for his sins.

And from *these two respects*, springeth a *twofold kind* of Divine fear.

1. The *servil-fear*, which is a fear of *punishment*.

2. *Filial-fear*, which is a fear to *lose* the love and favour of God, which grieves them more to lose it, than to suffer all the *punishment* that they can endure.

And *both these fears* are wrought in our *hearts* by the finger of Gods Spirit, when as the wicked neither respect *Gods love*, nor fear his *justice*; but will notwithstanding all the *promises* of the Gospel, and all the *threatnings* of the Law, most *fearlessely* run to all kind of wickedness.

1. Of the servil-fear.

And although the *servil-fear* hath for its object *malum pœnæ*, the evil of *punishment*, and the *filial-fear* hath *malum culpæ*, the evil of sin, *Quia in illo timetur, ne incidatur in tormentum supplicii, in isto ne amittatur gratia beneficii*; because that by the *first*, we fear the *torments* of Hell-fire, and by the *second* we fear to lose the *joyes* of Heaven; *Et quem à prava actione formidata pœna prohibet, formidantis animum nulla spiritus libertas tenet; nam si pœnam non metueret, culpam procul dubiò perpetraret*; And he that abstaineth from *evil*, only for fear of the *punishment*, is not refrained by the *freedom* of Gods Spirit; because he would certainly *commit* the sin, if he were not *withheld* by the *fear of punishment*. And so, as S. *Augustine* saith, *Qui timore pœnæ non amore justitiæ fit bonus, nondum bene fit bonus; nec fit in corde, quod fieri videtur in opere, quando mallet bonum non facere, si posset impune*; He that doth good for fear of the rod more than for the love of *goodness*, doth not that good so well as he ought to do it; neither is that done in the *heart*, which seems to be done in the *work*, when he had rather not do it, if he might *leave it undone without punishment*.

Aug. l. 2. *cont. a pelag.*

That the servil fear is good, and how.

Yet this *servil-fear* is very *good*, and very necessary for *most men*; because that, as the needle draweth the *threed* after it; so *this fear*, entring first into the *heart*, maketh way for the *other fear* to follow after; and when this keepeth us from the *evil*, it maketh us by little and little, to fall in love with the good; for as *nemo repente fit pessimus*, but the sinner falleth into Hell by certain *steps* and degrees; so we ascend to Heaven *per scalas gratiarum*, by passing on from *faith* to *faith*, and from one *grace* unto *another*; that is, from the *weaker*, still unto the *stronger*, and from the *lesse perfect*, unto that which is *more excellent*.

The Scripture perswadeth us to this servil-fear.

And therefore we are perswaded to *this fear*, both in the Old and New Testaments. As,

1. *Moses* saith unto the Israelites, *God is come to prove you, that his fear may be before your faces, that ye sin not*. And the Prophet *Esay* saith, *Sanctifie the Lord of Hosts himself, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread*. And the Prophet *Jeremy* saith, *Fear ye not me*, saith the Lord? *and Will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the sand for the bound of the Sea, by a perpetual decree, that it cannot passe it, though the waves thereof tosse themselves, yet can they not prevail, though they roar, yet can they not pass over it?*

Exod. 20. 20.

Esay 8. 13.

Pavor vester & terror vester. Jer. 5. 22.

2. Our Saviour saith, *Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell*: Which very thing is further amplified, and the Precept reiterated by S. *Luke*. And S. *Paul* saith, *It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God*. And therefore the Prophet biddeth us, *to kisse the Son lest he be angry*, and so we should perish from the *right way*.

Math. 10. 28.

Luke 12. 5.

Heb.

And

And yet, such is the *nature*, and so great is the *sottishness* of foolish man, that he will be afraid where *no fear is*; he will startle at his *own shadow*, he will suggest *fears*, and raise *jealousies* unto himself, as we see the *English Rebels* have done out of *nothing*; for they dreamed they were undone, when they were most *happy*; and they made the World believe, the King raised War against his Parliament, when we saw, the Parliament caused the *King* to flee away to save his life: Thus we fear *flies*, and tremble at the sight of *feathers*; and the great *God*, that is a *consuming fire*, whose voice teareth the *Mountains*, dryeth up the *Seas*, and shaketh the *Wilderness*, we are *no whit afraid* to provoke him every day; for though he chargeth us with a *sub pœna*, as we shall answer it at his *dreadful* Judgement, To honour *all men*, to wrong *no man*, to obey *the King*, and to do to all men, *as we would they should do to us*; yet *Revenge* against our neighbours, *Rebellion* against our King, *Robbing* the poor, *Killing* the innocent, and the like, are things of *no more account*, than *killing flies*; So much do we *fear our God*!

We fear every vain thing, more than we fear God.

But against this, every man will say, *that he feareth God*; and what he doth, he doth it *for his service*. So the grand Rebels, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* tell *Moses*, *All the Congregation is holy*. So that Arch-hypocrite *Saul* saith, *I have performed the Command of the Lord*; and when *Samuel* reproved him, that he had not *obeyed* the voice of the Lord, he stiffely *justifieth* himself, and saith; yea, *I have obeyed the voice of the Lord*, and have gone the way *which the Lord sent me*; and if any thing be amisse, it is not I that am to be blamed for it, but the *people* which took of the *spoil*; and they took it to none *other end*, but for the *service* of God, that they might *sacrifice* unto him in *Gilgal*. Even so, all *Rebels*, and all *hypocrites*, justifie themselves under the *specious* pretexts of doing all for *Gods honour*, and the good of the *Gospel*; and if any thing be *amisse*, it is that, which they cannot *help*; it is the fault of their *unruly followers*, which also cannot *so much* be condemned, because they intend all, for the *glory of God*, and, by the spoil of the *Bishops*, and *Recusants*, to set up a *Preaching-Presbytery*, which will be a very *acceptable sacrifice* unto God, and a far *better service* than now is used. And therefore I do very ill to *taxe* them, that they *fear not God*. And so the case standeth; *Marcus ait*, *Scaurus negat*; I affirm it, and they deny it. But in truth, though it is the property of all *hypocrites* to cloak their wickedness, under the pretence of *bettering* things; Yet God likes *better* of what *Himself* requireth, than of what *these Will-worshippers* think to be more honourable for him: And as *Samuel* was faign to convince *Saul* by the *bleating* of the sheep, and the *lowing* of the oxen; so to prove these Rebels to be *void* of the *fear of God*, I must say, *Si non creditis oraculis*, *credite oculis*; If you will not believe *my words*, look into *their deeds*; for as the Tree is known *by the fruits*, so we may know where *the fear of God resideth*, by the *fruits* that it bringeth. I will name but only two, that are the inseparable effects of the fear of God.

1 Sam. 13.15, 20.

The two things that the fear of God doth.

1. To suppress sin. Prov. 3. Chap. 15. Chap. 16.

1. *Per timorem Domini declinat omnis à malo*; The fear of the Lord *expelleth sin*, which can no more stand with the *fear* of God, than *light* and *darkness* can agree together, or the *Ark* and *Dagon* can stand upon the *same Table*; for sin is like a *deluge*, and the fear of God is like the *bank* of a River, which hindereth sin to *overflow* in any man; Or, sin is like drosse, or *stubble*, and the fear of God is like *the flames of fire*; for so the very Pagans depainted *fear*, like unto love, invironed about with *fiery-flames*; because *all fear*, as well Divine as Humane, *scorcheth* and consumeth us, as long as it remains within us: And therefore as the fire consumeth all *drosse*, rectifieth the *crooked*, and purifieth all *Mettals*; so the *fear* of God, driveth away all *unlawful lusts*, cleanseth our *hearts*, and maketh straight *all our wayes*. For so *Joseph* saith, he would not *wrong* his Brethren, because *he feared God*.

And

And ſo *Job* would not *injure* the *fatherleſs* and the widow, becauſe he *feared God.*

Wherefore, if with their *tongues* the Rebels have uſed *deceit*, if their *feet* are ſwift to *ſhed blood*, and if they have not, and will not *know* the way of *peace*, but *refuſe* all the fair offers of a moſt *gracious* King, then I may truly conclude, with the Pſalmiſt (and I have S. *Paul* to *juſtifie* it) that there is *no fear of God before their eyes*, let them *pretend* to do what ſervice *they pleaſe* unto God.

2. *Qui timet Deum, facit bona, mandata Dei obſervat, & nihil negligit*; The fear of God doth all good, ſaith the ſon of *Sirach*: Becauſe as S. *Gregory* ſaith, *Timere Deum eſt, nulla mala quæ fugienda ſunt facere, & nulla quæ facienda ſunt bona præterire*; The *fear of God* doth none of thoſe *evil things*, that are to be ſhunned; but doth *all*, and neglecteth *none* of thoſe good things, that *are commanded.* 2. To do all good. Eccluſ. chap. 15. Chap. 12. Chap. 7.

And what are thoſe *good things*, that are commanded, which the fear of God neglecteth not?

I anſwer, They are *very many*, and yet the *fear of God* will have a ſpecial reſpect unto *them all.* As the Prophet *David* teſtifieth, I have reſpect *unto all thy Commandments*, Pſal. 119. 6. For he that *feareth God*, muſt not do as *Agrippa* did, *almoſt to become a Chriſtian*; or, as *Herod* did, to hear *John gladly*, and in *many things*, to follow his counſel: But as *Moſes*, when *Pharaoh* yielded the children of Iſrael ſhould go to *ſacrifice unto God*, ſo they would *leave their cattel* behind them, anſwered, That *one hoof ſhould not be left behind*: He would not condition to omit the *leaſt jot* of Gods Precept, or to leave the *leaſt Command* unobeyed. So, he that *feareth God*, will not purchaſe *peace*, nor compaſſe his own *deſire*, though it were with the *Iſraelites* to be freed out of bondage, or with *David*, to gain a Kingdom, with the *leaſt tranſgreſſion* of Gods Will, or the connivence with the *leaſt breach* of Gods Precepts, or the leaſt *alteration* in Gods own Ordinances.

And therefore if theſe men *fear God*, they will prefer *his wayes* before their *own*, and they will have a ſpecial care *to all his Precepts.* I will only name *thoſe* that are contained in my Text. *Honour all men. Love the Brother-hood*; which I have already handled; And, *Honour the King.* Which I ſhall, by Gods help, treat of by and by, and without which, we cannot be ſaid *to fear God*; becauſe theſe are as *inſeparably* joyned together to make a Chriſtian-man, as the *ſoul* and *body* are to make a *natural* man: as you may ſee in *Hoſ.* 10. 4. where the people ſay, *We have no King, becauſe we fear not the Lord.* Therefore, as S. *John* ſaith, He cannot love God, *which he hath not ſeen*, that loveth not his neighbour *which he ſeeth.* So he cannot be ſaid to *fear God*, who is the King of kings, that doth not *honour the King*, who is the *Vice-Roy*, and the Livetenant of God.

And now I demand, how they have performed theſe things? For if that to *rob*, pillage, impriſon, and *kill*, be to *Honour men*, and to love *the Brotherhood*, and if to *rail*, ſlander, *rebel*, and fight againſt our *Soveraign*, be to *Honour the King*, then do they truly *fear God*; if otherwiſe, I may truly conclude with the Pſalmiſt, *They are corrupt and become abominable, and there is no fear of God before their eyes.*

But it may be, they will *object*, that they are commanded to *love God with all their heart, and with all their ſoul, and with all their mind*: and S. *John* ſaith, There is *no fear in love*, but *perfect love caſteth out fear*, and he that *feareth* is not made *perfect in love*; Therefore theſe *perfect Saints*, that *rob* their neighbours, *kill* their brethren, and *fight* againſt their King, for the great *love* they bear to God, and becauſe the *King* will not *ſuffer* them to have what they liſt, they need not *fear God's wrath*, nor be afraid of his judgement. *Ob.* Math. 22. 37. 1 John 4. 18.

Sol. I answer, That *some* Divines say, the *true love* of God casteth out the *servil-fear*, which is only *the fear of punishment*; but doth not cast out the *filial* reverence, and the awful fear of losing Gods favour. But I think rather, the *time* is to be distinguished, and not the *fear*; because the Apostle saith, *Herein is our love made perfect*, that we may have *boldness in the day of judgement*; and then addeth, that *perfect love casteth out fear*. But our love *is not*, nor cannot be *perfect*, until the Day of Judgement: We may strive and labour for perfection, but cannot possibly *attain* unto it, while we are in this vale of misery; otherwise then that which is termed *Perfectio viæ*, and which is indeed but *imperfecta perfectio*: therefore our *love* cannot be without *fear*; as well the fear of his wrath and *vengeance*, as the fear of losing his *love* and favour. For, if I lose his *favour*, I may fear his *wrath*, and where there is a *commission* of any sin, there must need be a *diminution* of love; and where there is an *extenuation of love*, there must of necessity follow an *occasion of fear*.

But, as it was said of old, that *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem*; So we may say, That *sin bringeth forth the fear of Gods judgements*, and the fear of *Gods judgements* doth, in all the godly, prevent and *cast out sin*.

And therefore, not only to the *wicked*, but also to his *dearest servants*, God doth usually expresse himself by *those titles* and epithets, which might work in them, as well a *fear of his Majesty*, as a *love to his goodness*; as *in lege operandi*, in the Decalogue, he saith, *I am Jehova*, thy God, that we might *fear him*; and he addeth, *which brought thee out of the land of Egypt*, that we might *love him*; And *in lege precandi*, he teacheth us to say, *Our Father*, that we might *love him*; and he addeth, *which art in Heaven*, that we might *fear him*; And *in lege credendi*, we are taught to say, *I believe in God the Father*, that we might *love him*, and to add, *Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth*, that we might *fear him*.

And besides all this, we find, that these two Graces, *Fear* and *Love*,

1. Are injoyned by the *same Law*.
2. Do proceed from the *same Cause*.
3. Do produce the *same Effects*; And
4. Shall obtain the *same Reward*.

} For,

1. *Moses*, that was faithful *in all Gods house*, saith, And now Israel, *What doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in his wayes, and to love him?* Where you see, *fear* and *love*, so equally required, that whosoever neglecteth the *fearing* of him, though he should *love* him, or omitteth the *loving* of him, though he should *fear* him, if he could do the one, and not the other; yet he is a *transgressor*, and liable to the breach of this Commandment. Deut. 10. 12.

2. As none denieth, but *mercy* should procure *love*, (therefore *Moses*, after he had rehearsed the great *mercies* of God towards the Israelites, addeth, *Therefore thou shalt love the Lord thy God*, And *Joshua* doth the like) so *David*, after he had considered his *own vileness*, saith, *With thee there is mercy, therefore shalt thou be feared*. Where you see the *mercy* of God, is the *foundation* of this *fear* of God, as well as of the *love* of God. Deut. 10. 11, 21, 22. Josh 23.9,11. Psal. 130.4.

And as the *mercy* of God, so the *justice* of God produceth *both effects*, the one as well as the other. For, *my flesh trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy judgements*, saith the Prophet; And though *justice* seems as *oil*, to continue the burning of this lamp of *fear*, and as *water* to quench the *fire of love*; yet, as *lime*, which is *naturally* cold, doth notwithstanding retain a *fiery quality*, *& ex aqua incenditur, ex qua omnis ignis extinguitur*, and is inflamed by water, which doth extinguish all fire; So the *love* of the Saints is kindled by the *judgements* of God; Therefore the Prophet saith,

Seven

Seven times a day do I praiſe thee, becauſe of thy righteous judgements; And again, *I remembred thy judgements of old, and have received comfort.* Pſal. 119. 164. Pſal. 119. 52.

3. As *love* inflameth the *deſire* to do what is *acceptable* unto God, ſo *fear* hateth to do what is *abominable* unto him; and as love keepeth his *Precepts*, ſo fear loatheth to break *his Commandments*; and as love *mitigateth* the ſorrow which fear cauſeth, ſo fear *qualifieth* the joy which love produceth. And as S. *John* ſaith, *God is love*; ſo *Jacob* calleth him, the *fear of his father* Iſaac. And, as S. *Paul* ſaith, *Love is the fulfilling of the Law.* So *Solomon* ſaith, *The end of all things, is the fear of God*, and the keeping of his Commandments. Gal. 6. 2. Eccleſ. 12.

4. As the *mercy* of God is ſhewed upon *thouſands of them that love him*, and keep his Commandments; So it is *no leſſe* upon them that *fear him*; But, as the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *Bleſſed is the man that feareth the Lord*, he ſhall be mighty upon earth, *Gloria & divitiæ in domo ejus.* And as the ſon of *Sirach* ſaith, *Timor Domini, gloria, & gloriatio, & lætitia, & corona exultationis*: Becauſe as the Prophet ſaith, *Dat hæreditatem timentibus nomen ſuum*: Yea, *he will fulfil the deſire of them that fear him*; and look whatſoever they do, *it ſhall proſper.* And as *eternal life* is promiſed to them *that love God*; So *eternal death* ſhall never ſeize on them that *fear God.* And, in brief, whatſoever *attendeth* the one, becometh a *follower* of the other; and no marvel, becauſe, that in *love* fear is included, and in *fear* love is implied. And while we are in this world, both *grow together* in the heart of *every true Believer*: And, as the Poet ſaith of *another kind* of love, ſo I may more truly ſay of this Divine love, Exod. 20. Luke 1. 50. Pſal. 61. 5. Pſal. 145. 19.

Res eſt ſoliciti plena timoris Amor.

This love of God is full, not of *diſtruſtful*, but of *careful* fear. *Quia timentes Deum non erunt incredibles verbo Illius*, ſaith the ſon of *Sirach.* Ecclus. 2.

But the wicked have neither *true fear*, nor *perfect love.* For, though *Cain*, *Eſau*, and *Judas*, had a kind of *fear*; yet was it *falſe*, becauſe it wanted *love.* And though the Phariſees and *Simon Magus*, had a kind of *love*, yet was it but *counterfeit*, becauſe it wanted *fear*: for if the former had had *love*, they would have deſired *favour*, and ſhould have obtained *grace*; and if the other had had *fear*, they would have aimed at Gods *glory*, and not have ſought their own *praiſe*, which did work their *own confuſion.*

And therefore, well might S. *Peter* enjoyn every Saint that *loveth* God, to *fear God*: And as the *love of God*, ſo the *fear of God*, is ſometimes put for a *part* of Gods Service, and ſometimes for the *whole Service of God*: and ſo it is in *this place*, as in the firſt of *Job*; and in *Luke* 1. 50. and in the *Pſalms* in many places: As, where he ſaith, *Come ye children, hearken unto me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord*; where the *fear of God* ſignifieth the *whole Worſhip of God*, to *honour* him, *obey* him, *truſt* in him, *pray* unto him, and what duty ſoever elſe *we owe* unto him. And thus the *fear* of God is the *rareſt* Jewel, and the moſt excellent thing in the World: No *riches*, no *honour*, no *preferment* like unto it. No *evil* ſhall happen to them that *fear the Lord*, but God ſhall *preſerve* them in temptation, *& liberabit eos à malis*, ſaith *Siracides.* And his mercy is *on them that fear him, from generation to generation*: but miſchief and unhappineſſe, and all *evil*, ſhall continually attend and overtake them, that *fear not God*, to bring them to ſhame, beggary, and confuſion: as you may ſee it manifeſted in the Story of the ſons of *Iſrael*, who, while they feared God, were repleniſhed with a thouſand *bleſſings*, preſerved from a thouſand *misfortunes*, and delivered out of the *Egyptian* ſlavery by a thouſand *prodigies*; the Lord *dividing* the Sea, to make way for them, and *cloſing* the ſame again, to *deſtroy* their enemies. Drawing Ecclus. 33.

waters out of the *Rocks*, to quench their *thirst*, and feeding them with the food of *Angels*. But when they did cast off *the fear of God*, then God sent *flying Serpents*, and stirred up enemies, and powred down his *vengeance* upon their heads, still plaguing them *more and more*, untill they should be either *quite consumed*, or happily *reduced*, to embrace the *fear of God* again.

How happy we were while we feared, and served God.

And not to search *farre* for any further *presidents*, we may *easily* perceive, if we be not *wilfully* blind, how we our selves, that live in *these Kingdomes*, while we *feared God*, and observed his *service*, were more *happy* then any of all our *Neighbour*-Nations, both in regard of those many-*many deliverances*, that God hath wonderfully wrought for us, far beyond *usual favours*, both in the dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, and of King *James*, as that Reverend Bishop *Carleton*, hath collected and compiled them together, and also in powring down so *many inestimable blessings* upon us, *bona si sua norint Agricolæ*, had we but the grace *to acknowledge them*, as I dare confidently affirm it of our selves, as *Moses* doth of the Israelites, *no Kingdome under heaven had the like*; as chiefly the *purest preaching* of the *Gospel*, the *most learned* Clergy, the *gravest*, and, I believe, the most *uncorrupted* Judges, the *wisest* and the meekest Governours; and, *above all*, the *upholder* of all, the *best* and *most pious Protestant King*, *that ever these Kingdomes enjoyed*; *O that we were wise, and would consider these things*, and would understand *these loving kindnesses of the Lord*.

How miserable did we become, when we did cast off the fear of God.

But when, as *Moses* said of the Israelites, "*dilectus meus impinguatus*, ——— we began to surfet of these great blessings, to *loath Manna*, and to cast off the *fear of God*, to deem the *highest* of Gods messengers not *worthy* to eat with the *dogs of our flocks*; not fit for *any thing*, but to be *trodden under feet*, as mire and clay in the streets, when we make our strength to become the *Law of Justice*, when we despise *Governours*, and speak great swelling words against *authority*; yea, and raise *a Rebellion* as *odious*, as I shewed our King is *pious*; then you see, and I pray God you do not still *feel* what *mischiefs* and miseries do *succeed*, and are like to continue in the *chiefest* of these three Kingdomes; *the house of God is made a den of thieves*; the Priests are made out of the *Lasest* of the people, the *Pulpits* are *filled* with Heresies, Treasons, and Blasphemies; the highest *Courts* of Justice are turned to be the *shops* of all oppressions and wrongs, and Gods *Annointed* is persecuted more then *any other*; yea, and the *whole Kingdome* is made the *butcherie* and slaughter-house of the Kings best subjects, and Gods most faithful servants, and all this and much more, because there is *no fear of God before our eyes*.

And therefore let not these *holy Rebels* under the *pretence* of their *great love* to God, cast away the *fear* of God, and let them not think they do him *service* by persecuting his *servants*, or that that is Christian Religion, which breaks forth into *Rebellion*, because they cannot obtain their *Petition*, but, as *Solomon* begins his *Proverbs* with the fear of the Lord, and the beginning of wisdom, and ends his *Ecclesiastes* with, Fear God, and keep his Commandemets; so I say, that we and they should begin and end all that we take in hand with the fear of God, and then all of us shall be blessed, and whatsoever we take in hand, it shall prosper.

But as *S Gregory* saith, *Probatio dilectionis exhibitio est operis*, and our love to God must be manifested by our love to our neighbours; so our fear of God must be *principally* proved by *that honour* which we shew *unto the King*; because, as *S. John* saith, it is impossible for us to love God, and to hate his Image; so it is impossible that any man should *fear God*, which doth not *honour the King*; because the *same Spirit* that saith, *fear God*, saith also, *honour the King*: and therefore *S. Peter* knowing how *inseparably* these duties go together, after he had bidden us *to fear God*, doth immediately adde, *honour the King*, which is the *fourth branch* of this Text.

4. *Honour*

4. *Honour the King*, where I desire you to *observe*, and to observe it *carefully*, when you had never more need to observe it then now. 4. Branch. 1. Point.

1. *Who* is to be *honoured.*
2. *What* is the *honour* that is due unto him.
3. *Who* are *injoyned* to *honour him.*

And all these are included in these word, *Honour the King.*

1. It is the *King* in the *singular* number, and not *Kings*, that *every* man is bound to *honour*, for *one* man cannot serve *two Masters*, much lesse can he honour *two Kings*, but he must *despise* the one, when he *cleaves* unto the other; And therefore as it was like *false Latine*, when *Lamec* said, *Hearken unto me ye wives of Lamec*, so it had been very *incongruous* for the Apostle to have said to any man, *honour thy Kings*, because, as the Poet saith, Homer. *Iliad.* 2.

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,
Εἷς βασιλεύς.——
Nec multos regnare bonam, Rex unicus esto. Isocrat. in Nicol.

And so, not only *Isocrates*, after he had disputed *much* of all sorts of governments concludeth *peremptorily* ὅτι κάλλιστον ἡ Μοναρχία; that no kind of government is better then the Monarchy; but also, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, *Herodotus*, *Philostratus*, *Cassius*, *Patricius*, *Sigonius*, and all the wisest men, that have written of *Government*, have proved Monarchical *Government* to be the *best form* agreeable to nature, wherein God founded it, and is the *first Government* that ever was, most consonant to *Gods own Government*, and the most *universally* received throughout the whole world, even from the *beginning* of the Creation, to this very day; as I have most fully proved in my Treatise of the *Rights of Kings.* Lucan. *l.* 1. c. 3. p. 20.

Therefore *Serinus* writeth, that when *Cræsus* raigned over the *Lydians*, he would have taken his brother to be his *associate* in the Government: but one of the *wisest Lydians* rose up and said, O all the *good things*, O King, that are in earth, there is none *greater* or better then the *Sun*, without which nothing could be seen, nothing could *remain* on earth; yet if there were *two Suns*, *periculum immineret ne omnia conflagrantia possent irent*, we should find the *danger*, to have all things *consumed* with too much heat; even so the *Lydians* do most willingly embrace one *King* and most *faithfully* believe and acknowledge him to be their *Saviour* and deliverer, *duos vero simul tolerare non possunt*, but they can no wayes endure *two at once*; and *Plutarch* saith that *Alexander* gave the like answer unto *Darius*, when he sent word, that he should *raign with him*; saying, *nec terram duos Soles, neque Asiam duos Reges ferre posse*; that *Asia* could no more abide *two Kings*, then the *earth* could endure *two Suns*: because, as *Cælius* saith,

Nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est,
Omnisque potestas impatiens consortis erit. Cælius, *l.* 24. c. 11.

And I believe this very Kingdome hath found the difference betwixt two *Lords-Justices*, and one Lord Lievtenant, even as the Poet saith,

——*Tu causa malorum*
Facta tribus Dominis communis Roma, nec unquam
In turbam missi florali fœdera regni. Lucan. *l.* 1.

And yet, when God and nature, and Scripture, and all the *wise* men in the world, and our *own reason* and experience tells us, it is better for us to *honour the King*, then *Kings*; to obey one, then many; when as the *wisest* of men

men tells us plainly; that *for the tranſgreſſions of a Land, many are the Princes thereof; but by a man of underſtanding, the State ſhall be prolonged.* Shall we be ſo *mad*, as to *rebell* againſt *our King*, whom God commandeth us to *honour*, and chuſe unto our ſelves 400. *Kings*, which God never appointed over us, and never adviſed us *to obey them?* which if you do, I ſay, it is not *vanitas vanitatum*, but it is the *folly of follyes*, but and iniquity of all *iniquities*, and therefore deſerveth *juſtly* to be puniſhed with the *miſery* of all miſeries. Prov. 28. 2.

Wherefore, I beſeech you my brethren, to follow the *counſell* of the Apoſtle, and to obey the *Precept* of God, *to honor the King*; the King which he hath *placed* over you; and leave the *other Kings*, the uſurping and *imaginary Kings* to their own ſhame; But

2. As we are to honor *the King*, and not Kings, ſo we are to conſider among other things,

{ 1. *Quem*, and 2. *Qualem*, } *Regem*. Both

what King, and what *manner* of King we are bound to *honor*; for we are to waigh in every King,

{ 1. *Modum aſſumendi.* 2. *Normam gubernandi.* }

1. The manner, or the waies, how any King cometh to his Kingdom.

2. The rules by which he governeth, and guideth the people that ſhall be under his charge.

1. God ſaith of *many Kings, They have raigned, but not by me*; As many men do *Preach, whom he hath not ſent*; theſe are *Uſurpers*, and come to their government without *right*; And therefore we are not to *honor them*: becauſe, though they ſhould govern *juſtly*, yet, they have *unjuſtly* attained unto their government, and I know not where we are commanded, to be voluntarily obedient to Uſurpers. Hoſ. 8. 4.

Others there are, that do attain unto their *Dominions*, and yet not all the ſame way; for

{ 1. Some come by the Sword. 2. Others by the *peoples choice*. 3. Others by the *right* of their birth }

And though the *laſt* is *beſt* and moſt *authentick*, yet we may not reject the other two, ſo far forth as they are from God; for when *rightfull Kings* become with *Nimrod*, to be *unjuſt Tyrants*, God many times, diſpoſeth their *Crowns* as pleaſeth him; as he did the Kingdom of *Saul* unto *David*, and *Belſhazzars* unto *Cyrus*, and the like; and this Right is *good*, as it proceedeth from God, *Who giveth victory unto Kings*, when as the Poet ſaith,

——— *victrix cauſa Deo placuit.*

And, as *Daniel* ſaith, he removeth Kings, and ſetteth up Kings, *Dan.* 2. 21. and *Job* 34. 24.

And when Kings *neglected* their duty ſo far, that the people *knew* not, that they had any *King*, or who had *any right* to be their King; or when the *people* were ſo *miſerably* handled by ſuch *foes*, as invaded them, that they could not tell how to *withſtand* them; then, as *Herodotus* ſaith of the *Medes*, that choſe *Deioces*, (which is the firſt *elective* King that I read of) to be their *Protector*, the people made *choice* of the *chiefeſt* man amongſt them to be their *King*. Or, as we read of *Abimeleck*, when he, that had

no

no right unto the Crown, would cloak his *Usurpation*, by the election of the people; this popular *choice* was held for a *good* way, to maintain that *Usurped* Authority.

And though I deny not the *right* of some *Elective Kings*; because God out of his infinite lenity to our *Human frailty*, rather then his people should be *without Government*, doth *permit*, and it may be *approve*, the same, when it is *orderly* done, as he did the *Bill* of *Divorcement* unto the *Jews*; yet, if we should *justly* waigh the case of *Abimeleck*, and (as some say) of *Jeroboam*, who of all the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, were only made by the *suffrage* of the people, how *unjustly* they entred, how *wickedly* they raigned, and how *lamentably* the first, that was without question, the *creature* of the people ended both his *life* and his *raign*, it would shew unto us, *how unsuccessefull* it is to admit *any other makers* of our *King*, then He that is the *King of kings*. And the time will not permit me to set down, the great and *many mischiefs* that happened to the children of *Israel* by these *Elective Kings*; no less then, at all times to cast off the service of *God*, and in the end *utterly to destroy themselves*, when by *Salmanazar* they were carried Captives unto *Assyria*, never to return again to this very day.

But against all this, the brood of *Anabaptists* will object, as they do now *positively* teach, that to be a *King*, is but an *ambitious intrusion* into Authority; when as *Nimrod* rather by *humane* violence, then by any *Divine* Ordinance became to be the first *King*, that ever was in this World, and therefore S. *Peter* calleth the establishing of *Kings* to be the *ordinance* of man. Gen. 10. 8. 1 Pet. 2. 13.

I answer, that the Scripture shall *determine* this question; for *Solomon* saith, *Hearken, O ye Kings, hear ye that Govern the Nations, for power is given unto you by the Lord*, and principality by the most high: And S. *Paul* saith, *There is no power but from God*, and whosoever *resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*; And *Daniel* saith to *Nebuchadnezzar*, *O King, thou art the King of kings, for the God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdom, Power, Strength, and Glory*; and the Wisdom of God saith, *Per me reges regnant*; And the Lord saith as much unto *Cyrus*, and no less to *Nebuchadnezzar*. Sap. 6. 1, 2, 3. Rom. 13. 5. Dan. 2. 37. Prov. 18. 15. Esay 45. 1.

And to make the point *more plain* by Examples: I would demand, whether *Moses* his government over *Israel* was by his own *intrusion*, or by the *Ordinance* of God? And what shall I say of *Saul*, when he sought his father *Asses*, and of *David* when he fed the *flock of Jesse*, was it their desire, or *Gods design*, that made them *Kings*? And you may see how little, *Jehu* dreamed of a *Kingdom*, when *Elisæus* sent one of the children of the Prophets, *To annoint him from the Lord to be King over Israel*; Therefore S. *Augustine* saith, that the greatness of *Empires* cometh neither by *chance* nor by *destiny*; by *chance*, he understandeth (as he saith) the things that happen beyond *our knowledg* of *their causes*, or without any *premeditated order* of reason, assisting their conception and birth; and by *destiny*, he understandeth (as the *Pagans* deemed) *what happeneth* without the *will*, either of God or men, by the *inevitable* necessity of some particular order; (which opinion, is most *injurious* to Gods providence) but we must certainly *believe* that Kingdoms are constituted and established simply and *absolutely* by the *Divine Providence* of God; and in another place he saith that the same *true* God, which giveth the *Kingdom* of *Heaven*, to his children only; giveth the *Earthly Kingdoms*, both to the *good* and to the *bad* as he pleaseth; yet alwaies *justly*. And for *Nimrod* I say the words bear no more, then he became *mightier* then *other Kings*, or began to *Tyrannize* more then all the *other Kings*: And for S. *Peters* words, I say he means it only of *Elective Kings*; Which in another place, I shewed more *fully* than the time Jer. 27. 5, 6. 2 King. 9. *Aug. de Civit. Dei.*

time will now give me *leave*, in what ſenſe he calleth them, κτισιν ἀνθρωπινην.

Therefore I ſay, the *calling* of Kings, is the *proper Ordinance* of God, as it is fully and moſt *learnedly* ſhewed, by a moſt Reverend *Prelate* of our Church, *lately* publiſhed and intituled, *Sacro-Sancta Regum Majeſtas*. Howſoever (as I ſaid) we condemn not as *unlawfull*, the right of all *Elective* Kings; yet, we ought to acknowledg how much *more bound* we are to God; that himſelf, in a *rightfull line* of ſucceſſion, hath appointed *our Kings* to raign over us, ſo that we need not fear the error of our Election, if there be no error in our *ſubmiſſion*.

2. As we are to conſider *quem*, whom, ſo we ought to remember *qualem*, what manner of King we are commanded *to honor*; for as the unjuſt *Uſurper* may govern the people *juſtly*, as they do ſometimes, and in ſome *places*; ſo they that have *juſt* Titles to their Crowns, may prove *unjuſt* in their *Governments*, as too too many, both of the Kings in *Iſrael* and *Judah*, and I fear *many other* Kings have been; And yet, if they be our *lawfull* Kings, be they what *they will*, Cruell, Tyrannous, or Idolatrous, or if you will, put all together, I ſay we are bound *to honor them*, and no waies to *Rebell* againſt them; for if *thy Brother, the ſon of thy Mother, or thy ſon, or thy*
Deut. 13.6. *daughter, or the wife of thy boſome, or thy friend which is as thine own ſoul, ſhall intice thee to Idolatry, and to ſerve ſtrange gods, thine eye ſhall not ſpare him, neither ſhalt thou have any pity upon him*: but for the *ſon* to riſe up againſt the *Father*, the *wife* againſt her *Husband*, the *ſervant* againſt his *Lord*, or the *ſubject* againſt his *King*; here is not a *word*, and *we are not to do* what the Lord doth *not command*, as *Toſtat.* well obſerveth upon this place.

Therefore though *Jeroboam* made *Iſrael* to ſin, by ſetting up *his calves* to be adored, *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded all his people, to worſhip his *Golden Image*; *Ahab*, *Manaſſes*, *Nero*, *Julian*, and the reſt of the *perſecuting* Emperors, did moſt *impiouſly* compell their *Subjects* to *Idolatry*, and exerciſed all kinds of *cruelty* againſt Gods ſervants; yet, you ſhall never *find*, that either the *Jews* under *Jeroboam*, or *Daniel* in *Babylon*, or *Elias*, in the time of *Ahab*, or any *Chriſtian*, under *Julian* or the reſt of thoſe bloody Tyrants, did *ever rebell* againſt *any* of thoſe wicked Kings; for they all conſidered the *law* of God, and I beſeech you all to conſider it likewiſe,

Exod 22.28. 1. *Moſes* ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of thy people*, yea, though he ſhould be *evil*, yet muſt thou not *ſpeak evil* of him; for as thou art to *honor thy Father*, not ſo much becauſe he is *good*, as becauſe he is thy *Father*; and therefore the ſon of *Noah* was accurſed, becauſe he deſpiſed his *Father*, when his father *ſinned*; ſo we are to honor *our King* and to ſpeak *no ill* of him, though he ſhould be never ſo ill; for, *Is it fit to ſay to a King, Thou art wicked? And to Princes, Ye are ungodly?* Job. 34 18.

2. Not to do the leaſt indignity unto our King. 2. As we are to bridle our *tongues*, ſo much more ought we to refrain our *hands* from offering the *leaſt violence* unto our King, When the Lord ſaith peremptorily, *Touch not mine annointed*; where he doth not ſay, *Non occides* or *ne perdas*, the worſt that can be, but *ne tangas*, the leaſt that may be; neither doth he ſay *Sanctos meos*, my holy ones, but *Chriſtos meos*, my annointed ones, whether they be *holy* or *unholy*, good or bad; therefore though *Saul* was a wicked *King*, and a heavy perſecutor of *David* without cauſe, hunting him like a *Partridge* upon the Mountains, and ſeeking no leſs then to take away his *life*; yet, when the men of *David* ſaid unto him, Behold *the day*, of which the Lord ſaid unto thee, *I will deliver thine enemy into thine hand*, that thou maiſt do to him, *as it ſhall ſeem good unto thee*; what ſeemed *good* unto him? Truely, no waies to *hurt* him, nor to do the *leaſt indignity* unto him; for his heart *ſmote him*, becauſe he had cut off the

skirt

skirt of his robe; and therefore he ſaid unto his men, *The Lord forbid that I ſhould do this thing unto my Maſter*, the Lords annointed, to ſtretch forth my hand againſt him: And why ſo? becauſe he is the annointed *of the Lord*; that is, not becauſe he is a *good man* but becauſe he is my *King*. 1 Sam. 24.4, 5,6,

That we are to protect our King with the hazard of our lives.

Nay, we are not only forbidden to offer *violence*, but we are alſo injoyned to give our *beſt aſſiſtance* to protect the *perſons* of our moſt wicked Kings; for *David*, not only *ſtaid his ſervants*, with the former words, and ſuffered them not *to riſe* againſt *Saul*, but, when *Saul* lay ſleeping within his trench, and *David* and *Abiſhai* took away his *ſpeare*, and had the power to *deſtroy him*; What ſaith *David* unto *Abner*, Art not thou a *Valiant man?* And who is like thee in *Iſrael?* Wherefore then haſt thou not kept *thy Lord*, the King? This thing is not good that thou haſt done: as *the Lord liveth, ye are worthy to dye*, becauſe you have not kept your *Maſter*, the Lords annointed; And if this thing is not good, and *David* jeſteth not, but *ſweareth*, As the *Lord liveth*, they are *worthy to dye*, that preſerve not *the life* of their King, be he never ſo wicked; then certainly, this thing *is not good*, and they are more *then worthy to die*, that not only refuſe to *aſſiſt*, but alſo *riſe in Arms* to perſecute, and to take away *the life* of a moſt *Pious* and a *Gracious* King. So you ſee the perſon whom we are to *honor*, *the King*, whatſoever he be, good or bad. 1 Sam. 15.16.

2. The *Honor*, that we are to exhibite unto him is to be conſidered out of the word τιμὴν, a word ſo *ſignificant*, that it not only comprehendeth *all the duty*, which we owe to our *Father*, and *Mother*, but it is alſo uſed to expreſs *moſt*, if not *all*, *the ſervice of God*, when he ſaith, *If I am a father, where is my honor?* And therefore, when *Ahaſſuerus* asked *Haman*, What ſhould be done unto the man, *Whom the King would honor*, he anſwered, let the *Royall apparell be brought*, which the King uſeth to weare, and *the Horſe*, that the King rideth upon, and the *Crown Royall*, which is ſet upon his head, and Let him be *arraied therewith*, and ride through the ſtreets of the City, and one of the Kings *moſt noble Princes* ſhall Proclaim before him, *Thus ſhall it be done to the man, whom the King delighteth to honor*; Wherein you ſee, that by *honor* this *great Favorite* underſtandeth, to deviſe *all the means* that may be, to advance *ones credit*, and to increaſe his *reputation* throughout all the World; And though the ſame word is uſed in the *firſt* ſentence, πάντας τιμᾶτε, yet as in human ſciences, ſo in the *Divine Precepts*, they are *more* or *leſs* eſteemed, according to the *Excellency* of their *Object*; For as that *love*, which we owe to our neighbour, muſt, without compariſon give *place* to that far *greater love* which we owe to *God*; ſo that *honor*, which we are to exhibite *to all men*, is far *inferior* to that which we owe unto *our King*; becauſe his *Dignity* is elevated above all other men, and therefore to be *honored* above all other men. Malach. 1.6. Heſter 6.8,9.

The difference betwixt the honor, which we owe to all men, and the honor that we to our King.

And if you look into the *particulars* of that *honor*, which we owe unto our *Parents*, and to our *King*, you ſhall find many things included therein; but *eſpecially* theſe three things.

Three things comprehended in the honor that we owe to the King.

1. *Reverence.*
2. *Obedience.*
3. *Aſſiſtance.*

1. We owe a great deal of *Reverence*, and reſpect unto the *Perſon* of a King; becauſe the King is a man *ſecond* from God, *& Solo Deo minor*, and inferior *only* unto God: Kings being, as the Scripture calleth them, *The gods of the Earth*; or earthly gods, becauſe they are Gods deputies, and his *Vice-Royes* here on earth; and, as they have *Poteſtatem vitæ & necis*, they are the moſt *lively Image*, and repreſentation of God himſelf. Whereupon *Tertullian* ſaith, *Deus eſt ſolus, in cujus ſolius poteſtate ſunt Reges, à quo ſunt ſecundi, poſt quem primi, ſuper omnes homines ante omnes Deos*; And therefore

1. A Reverent reſpect of our King.

Tertull. in Apolog.

 ſeeing

seeing the reverence that is due to any one, *is due* according to the *Dignity* of that one, we ought *highly* to esteem and *Reverence* our *King*, above all other men on earth, and they that have any *base thought* of their King, must needs be *most base* in Gods sight; The time will not permit me, to shew how *Reverently* the *Persians*, and the rest of the *Heathens* esteemed of their Kings, and as it were *adored* them, as if they had been *gods*, which I propose not, as a *pattern* for us to imitate, but alledge them as a witnesse to *condemn* those that Reverence their King, the cleane *contrary way*, by a most *abominable Rebellion* against him.

2. Obedience to our King.

2. The next *branch* of that *Honor*, which we owe unto our King, is *Obedience*; which is a virtue (as *Samuel* saith) more acceptable unto God *then sacrifice*; *Quia per victimas aliena caro, per obedientiam propria voluntas mactatur*, when, as *Damascen* saith, *Obedientia est voluntatis propriæ subjectio*, Obedience is the submitting of our *wils* to the *commands* of another; Therefore *Cyrus* King of *Persia* is said to have commended a Souldier, who having drawn forth his sword, to kill his enemy, and hearing the *Trumpet* calling him away, *refrained* his *blow*, and let go his adversary; becausse he made more account of *obaying* his military law, then he did to take away the *life* of his enemy. And *Solomon* saith, *Mens justi meditabitur obedientiam*; as the vulgar hath it. And as the son saith in *Plautus*, *Pater adsum, impera quidvis, neque tibi ero in morâ, neque latebrosè me abs tuo conspectu occultabo*; O Father here I am, bid me do, *what you will*, I will not refuse it, nor hide my self out of your sight; *Quia faciendum est id nobis, quod parentes imperant*; because the children ought to do, what their parents *command* them. So *Periander* saith, Ἄρχεσιν εἶκε, and εἶκε μεγάλοις, Obey thy *Prince*; and not only the Heathens injoyn us to obey our *Princes*, but also God himself *doth most strictly* command us, to obey our King, and those that have the rule over us; as you may see it most plainly in these Scriptures set down in the margent.

Alexand. de Alexand. l. 1. c. 20.
Prov. 15. 28.
Plant. Trin.
Idem in Sticho.
Principib. s pare
In Deut 17. 10.
Matth 23. 2.
Rom. 13. 1, 2.
2 Thes 3. 14.
Heb. 13. 3.
Tit. 3. 1.
1 Pet. 2. 13.
Phil. 2.

But the height of all the *difficulty* consisteth to know *how far*, and wherein we are *to obey* our King; for all sides agree that we *ought to obey*, but *how far* we are to obey, it is not *yet agreed* upon by them, that *disobey* the King. The question would require more then an *hour-glass* to discuss it, but the few sands that are yet unspent, do call upon me, to decide it *briefly*; Therefore I say, that if you look into the first Chapter of *Joshua*, you may there find in *plain terms*, *how far* you are to obey your King; In *all Civill things* we are to obey the King, and in all *Divine things* that God *prohibiteth not* by his Divine Law; or brieffer, We are to obey our King, as we are *to obey our Father*, in all things, wherein God doth not *flatly* and expressely *forbid* us: for if the King *forbids me* to do what *God commandeth*; and I cannot omit it without the *breach* of Gods commandment; or *commandeth me to do*, what God *forbiddeth*; then the Apostle's rule must alwaies hold, in such cases, that *It is better to obey God then man.*

Act. 5. 27.

And yet in this case *two speciall Cautions* ought to be observed.

1. That every *Private*, Illiterate, and Unauthorized man make not himself a judge in *Divine things*, to determine *all particulars* what God *forbiddeth*, and what he *commandeth*; becausse, as *David* saith, the Law of God is *exceeding broad*, and admits of more explanations and *limitations*, then every *weak head* is able to comprehend; and therefore God hath appointed as well *Interpreters*, as keepers of his Laws; for the *Priests lips should*, or must, preserve knowledge; And S. *Chrysostome* saith, that *Sicut cor sapientiæ locus est, ita sacerdotes sunt receptacula sapientiæ spiritualis, in* Mathew 21. *homil.* 38.

Malach. 2. 7.

And truly, this hath bred *abundance* of the children of disobedience, that though *Hoc erit artis opus*, yet every one will be such a *Doctor* as to determine

mine the *heighth* and *depth*, the limitations and *conditions* of every one of *Gods precepts*, they know when, where, and how God commandeth every thing, and this is to be the *Judges* of Gods *Precepts*. and not the *keepers* of Gods Commandements, to *prescribe* them, and not *obey* them? whereas S. *Bern.* saith, *Non attendit verus obediens, quale sit, quod præcipitur, sed hoc solo contentus, quia præcipitur*; he that is truly *obedient* to him, whom God commanded us *to obey*, never regardeth *what it is* that is commanded, (so it be not *simply* and apertly *evill*) but he *considereth*, and is therewith satisfied, *that it is commanded*, and therefore doth it, because, as S *Aug.* saith, *Mandatum imperantis tollit peccatum obedientis*, (*i.e.*) in all things not *apparantly* forbidden. The command of the Superiour is a sufficient excuse for the inferiour.

And therefore, as *Julians* Christian-Souldiers, would not *sacrifice* unto the Idols, which was an apparent evil, at his command; *Sed timendo potestatem, contemnebant potestatem*, but in fearing the *power of God*, regarded not the *wrath of man*; yet when he led them against his enemies, they never *questioned*, who they were that they went against, nor examined the *cause* of his war; but they went freely with him, *Et subditi erant propter Dominum æternum etiam Domino temporali*; and in all such civill commands they obeyed this *wicked King*, for his sake, that was the *King of kings*; and it may be, fought against their own *brethren*. So did the Jews, that followed *Saul* against *David*, and yet we never read that ever they were *blamed* for it. And so should we do *the like*, if we would do what *God commandeth us*: For it is not in the subject's *choice*, against whom he will fight; but he must be *obedient* to his King, if he will be obedient unto God; for so the Lord saith, *I have made the earth, the man, and the beast, that are upon the ground by my great power*, (therefore certainly, none should deny his *Right* to dispose of it) and now I have given all these *Lands* into the hands of *Nebuchadnezzar* the King of *Babylon* my servant, (and yet he was both a *Heathen*, and *Idolater*, and a *mighty Tyrant*) *and all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his sons son*; and it shall come to passe, that *the nation* and Kingdom which will not serve *the same Nebuchadnezzar* the King of *Babylon*, and that will not put their necks *under the oke of the King of Babylon*, that nation *will I punish*, saith the Lord, with the *sword*, and with the *famine*, and with the *pestilence*, until *I have consumed them* by his hands; Therefore hearken not ye unto *your Prophets*, nor to your *Divines*, which speak unto you, saying, *Ye shall not serve the King of Babylon*; for they prophesie a lye unto you, which he repeateth again, and again, *they prophesie a lye unto you*, that you should perish. Which very words I may take up against the *Rebels* of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, God gave these Kingdoms unto *King Charles*, and they cannot deny this, nor deny him to be a *good man*, and a *most religious King*; and He hath commanded us, *to obey him*, and they that will not *serve him*, he will destroy them by his hand; Therefore believe not your *false Teachers*, whether they be the *Priests* and Jesuits of *Ireland*, or the *Brownists* and *Anabaptists* of *England*; for God hath *not sent them*, though they multiply *their lyes* in his name; because God hath so straightly commanded us *to obey our King* in all civil causes, and in all things wherein he giveth not a *special charge* to do the *contrary*. Jerem. 27. 5, 6.

And therefore (that which is most *worthy* to be observed) though God himself, for the sin of *Solomon*, declared by his Prophet, that he had *decreed*, to cut off ten parts of the Kingdom from *Rehoboam*; yet, because the people revolted, not to satisfie Gods *justice*, for the sins of *Solomon*, but out of their own *discontents*, that he would not ease them of their *burdens*: for this revolt from a *foolish*, and an *oppressing* Prince, they are termed *Rebels*; and, as the *Thief*, to prevent his discovery, will commit *murder*, *& scelus scelere tegitur*, and one great mischief will *shelter* it self under a *greater*; so their *Rebellion* corrupted their *Religion*, and made them fall away from 1 Kings 12. 15.

God, to worship Idols, as they had done from *their King*, to *serve a Traytor*, which soon brought them to *confusion*: Because this *revolt*, as it proceeded from them was most *abominable* unto God; And therefore, though they were not reduced to *Rehoboam*, because that may pretend some cause, as oppression; yet this, after a plenary disquisition, can admit of none excuse; and therefore, being abominable above measure, it cannot expect the least favour from God, but they were most *severely* punished by God; because they transgressed his will, by thus *rebelling against their King*, contrary to his Commandment.

2. The *other Caution* is, That if the King *commandeth* what the Lord *forbiddeth*, or the contrary, then I may *disobey*, but I must not *resist*; for this is the will of God, that where my *active obedience* cannot take place, my *passive obedience* must supply it: And though our Kings were as *Idolatrous* as *Manasses*, as *Tyrannical* as *Nero*, as wicked as *Ahab*, and as prophane as *Julian*; yet we may not *resist*, we must not *Rebel*; which would overthrow the very *order of nature*, as *Arnisæus* proveth by many examples, and takes away the glory of *martyrdom*, and makes all the *Precepts* of the Gospel of *none effect*. And therefore, when the Christians in *Tertullians* time, were more *in number*, and of *greater* strength than their enemies; yet being compelled to *Idolatry*, they rather suffered any *persecution*, than admitted of any *Rebellion* against the most wicked of their persecutors. And *Justinian* saith, *Quis est tantæ authoritatis, ut nolentem principem possit coarctare?* Who hath so much *power*, as to restrain an unwilling Prince?

Arnis. de authorit. princ c. 3. pag. 68.

And yet it is very strange to consider, what new *Divinity* hath been taught, *ex cathedra pestilentiæ*, out of the *chair* of our *new Assembly*, to raise Rebellion against our *King*; and that which is *worse* than Rebellion, to refuse the grace of Remission. The Scribes and Pharisees were *most wicked hypocrites*, and they sate in *Moses chair*; but they never durst teach such *tenets*, as now are published and practised in these *Kingdoms*. And therefore our Saviour saith, *All that they bid you observe, that observe and do.* Indeed, there were some *Hereticks* among them, that in the dayes of *Theudas* and *Judas Galilæus*, taught, That the Jews were not to *pray* for the life of the *Emperour*, because he was but *extraneous*, an *Usurper*, and none of their lawful *Kings*; for which errour, *Pilate* mingled their *blood* with their *sacrifice*; but these never durst avouch, they *should not pray* for their own *lawful* King; much lesse, that they might *rebel*, and take up arms against him, though he were never so wicked. For they knew, that the *holiest men* that ever were among the *Hebrews*, (called *Essæi*, or *Esseni*, that is, the *true Practisers* of the Law of God) maintained, that *Soveraign Princes*, whatsoever they were, ought to be *inviolable* to their subjects, as they were in most places, among the most *barbarous* Heathens. And therefore no doubt, but these Jews, and these *Gentiles*, shall rise in judgement, and condemn our *most wicked*, and rebellious generation.

Math. 23. 3.

Joseph. Antiq.

But you will say, What if my King seek to *kill* me, for so now the *Rebels* have ascended to that *height* of impiety, that they are not ashamed, thus *slanderously* to taxe him, and most *falsely* to accuse him? Doth not *nature* it self teach me that *common principle*, *vim vi pellere*, and rather kill *him*, than suffer *my self* to be killed?

To resolve this Question, I demand of thee, What if thy father seek to kill thee, Mayest thou rather kill him, than be killed?

First thou must know, That the *father*, next under God, is the cause of the *very Being*, and the giver of *the life* of his son; so is not the son of the father.

2. The sons obligation to his father, is more than ever he can do to requite it.

2. The father, as I proved upon the 5th Commandment, had under the Law of *Nature*, and for many years after *Moses*, *potestatem vitæ & necis*; the

the power of life and death over *all his children*; and the children, unleſſe they grew very *ungracious*, and more than *unnatural*, never durſt *reſiſt* them; otherwiſe, when God commanded *Abraham*, to offer up *Iſaac* for a burnt-offering, he might have anſwered; Firſt, that he had no *right* to do it. Secondly, that he was *old* and feeble, and the Lad was young and *luſty*, (as you ſee he was better able *to carry the wood* upon his ſhoulders, than his father) and therefore he might *fear* his ſon would be his *death*, if he went about to *ſacrifice* him: But *Abraham* knew that his ſon was *better taught*, and that *nature* ſhewed him, The child ſhould not, with *curſed Cham*, deſpiſe his father, no not in his ſin, much leſſe to reſiſt him in his *right*, Gen. 22. 2.

And yet the King, to whom the *Paternal-right* is transferred, is more than any private Father; for he is the *publique* Father of us all, under whom we we may lead a *quiet*, and a *peaceable* life in all godlineſſe and honeſty, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh; and *without whom*, we can have neither our *Eſtates* enjoyed, nor our *Perſons* ſecured from the violence of the ſtrongeſt; but that every one ſhall be expoſed *to the will* of him, that can maſter him, which was the caſe of the Jewes, *when there was no King in Iſrael*; and will be little better with us, if God doth not preſerve our King? 1 Tim. 2. 2.

And therefore men, though they may flee with *David*, to preſerve their lives, yet *ought not* to offer violence unto their King, though he ſhould prove as wicked as *Saul* was to *David*, without cauſe *to ſeek to take away their lives*; then certainly, moſt *wicked* are thoſe men that *rebell*, and fight againſt a *good King*; that expendeth his own *fortunes*, and expoſeth his own *life* to preſerve the *Eſtates* and *Lives* of all his loyall ſubjects; but to proceed.

3. The *laſt branch* of that *honour* which I ſaid was due unto our King, is aid and *aſſiſtance* in all his *urgent* neceſſities: which *aid* we all confeſſe to be due, and yet few of us will *believe*, or can *endure*, ſcarce to hear the truth, *how far* this aid is to be *extended*; I muſt tell you what the *Scripture* ſaith, that it comprehendeth, 3. To aſſiſt our King.

How far the aid that we owe unto our King extendeth.

{1. *Our Eſtates.* 2. *Our Perſons.* } For

1. *He* that bids us render *unto God* what is Gods; bids us alſo render *unto Cæſar* what is *Cæſars*; and *S. Paul* tells you, that this *tribute* is due unto him. Indeed when there is no *urgent neceſſity*, it is a great deal ſeemlier for the *Majeſty* of a King, as *Artax.* ſaid, to *give*, then to take by pulling from his ſubjects; and it is a *golden Apothegm* of King *James* unto his Son, where he ſaith, *Enrich not your ſelf with exactions from your Subjects*, but think the *riches* of your Subjects your beſt *treaſure*. And ſo it is generally conceived, that whoſoever in the time of peace, *overchargeth* his ſubjects with *taxations*, either for his own *Luxury*, or to enrich his *Favourites*, is very unwiſe, becauſe *he that ruleth over men, muſt be juſt, ruling in the fear of God*; and Juſtice tells us, he muſt take *nothing* from any man, but when *neceſſity* requireth. And then the *ordinary gloſſe*; and Mr. *Calvin* alſo ſaith, *Neque noſtrum eſt vel principibus præſcribere, quantum in res ſingulas impendant, vel eos ad calculum vocare*; It is neither our part, to preſcribe *how much* they ſhall expend, nor to call them to an *account* for their expences: that account, muſt be given to a *higher* Judge. But we read, that when *Saul* was annointed, to be King over *Iſrael*, *Samuel* told him he ſhould come to the Plain of *Tabor*, and there ſhould meet him three men, going up to God to *Bethel*, one carrying three kids, another carrying three loaves of bread, and another carrying a bottle of wine, and they ſhould *ſalute* him, and give him two loaves of bread, which he ſhould *receive* of their hands; which thing wanted not a *myſtery*, but was an *embleme*, as Divines make it, of the 1. To the uttermoſt of our abilities. 2 Sam. 23. 3.

right

The myſtery of the gift of the men that met *Saul* unfolded.

right of Kings in their neceſſities: *two parts of three*, which was a *very great* proportion; and yet we find that divers of the *heathens* went *much further*, when after the coronation of their Kings, *moſt* of his ſubjects, eſpecially the *Nobility*, and thoſe of any *Fortunes*, preſented unto him a *Purſe*, with a *key* hanging thereat; by which *Hieroglyphick* they ſhewed, that all their *treaſure* was ſubmitted to his *neceſſities*, he might unlock their *Store-horſe*,

What the heathens did give unto their Kings.

and put into his *Purſe*, whatever *pleaſed him*; becauſe they conceived it right, that he which *protected* all, ſhould have the *uſe* of any part of all, when his *neceſſity* did require it; and ſeeing they were bound to *expoſe* their *perſons* for him, they ſaw no reaſon, they ſhould *detain* their *eſtates* from him; becauſe my life ſhould be *dearer* unto me, then all my wealth. And if our King had ſuch ſubjects as *theſe Heathens*, I think he needed not to have wanted to ſupply his *neceſsities*.

But our Kings are not like *Auguſtus*, that taxed all the world as much as he pleaſed; nor like *Charles* the fifth, *Qui immania tributa populis imperavit*, as *Oſorius* writeth; nor like the *Eaſtern* Kings, that impoſe upon their ſubjects *what they will*: but of their *ſpeciall grace* and favour have granted *ſuch priviledges*, and made ſuch conceſſions, limitations, and pactions with their ſubjects, as cannot be diſcuſſed or *expreſſed* within my *limited* time, to ſet down *how far*, and to ſhew *how well* or *ill* they were concluded; and therefore all that I ſhall ſay herein is this, that we ought to conſider *how far* God requireth us to *aſsiſt* our King, and take heed that we *fail not*, to obſerve his Commandment; *ne rapiat fiſcus, quod non capit Chriſtus*, leſt the *Rebell* ſhould take *all*, becauſe we will not part with *what is fit*, both to *defend* our ſelves, and to *aſsiſt* our King.

2. To the hazard of our lives.

2. If we ought to lay down our *lives* for the *brethren*, as Saint *John* ſaith, much rather ought we to do it for our *King*, and I could ſhew you many *worthy examples* of many Jewes and Gentiles, that are made *famous* throughout all generations; for what they *ſuſtained*, in the defence of *their Kings*. You may read, that when *David* was aſſailed by a mighty Gyant, named *Iſhbi-benob*, which was of the ſonnes of *Rapha*, the head of whoſe ſpear weighed three hundred ſhekels of braſſe, *Abiſhai* the ſon of *Servia*, with the danger of his *own life*, ran betwixt him and the King;

2 Sam. 21. 17.

and for this *faithfulneſs* to his Maſter, God aſſiſted him ſo, that he *killed* the *Philiſtine*; and it is recorded in our Annals, to his eternall praiſe, that Sir *Hugh Sincler*, at the Siege of *Bridg-north*, ſeeing an arrow that was ſhot at his Maſter King *Henry* the ſecond, ſtepped betwixt the ſhaft and his *Soveraign*, and ſo receiving the arrow into his *own body*, was therewith ſhot to death, that he might thereby preſerve the life of his King.

How ſpeedily ſubjects ought to aſsiſt their King, and not to defer aid till it be too late.

And as you ſee how *far* we are to aid and *aſsiſt* our King to the *uttermoſt* of our abilities, with the hazard of our *lives*; ſo we ought to conſider the *time* when this aſſiſtance is to be yielded unto him; for the School-rule is moſt ſure,

Gratia ab officio, quod mora tardat, abeſt.

That aid is not good, when it doth *no good*; but doth a great deal of ill, becauſe we depended on it, and were *diſappointed* of it. And this hath been the *loſſe* of many Armies, and the *deſtruction* of many men, that have periſhed in the *expectation* of their relief; as the debates and *delayes* of the *Carthaginians*, to ſend aid unto *Hannibal*, loſt him *Italy*; and thereby loſt themſelves: and many the like examples I could produce to you.

Therefore when *Metius Suffetius* promiſed aid unto the *Romans*, and yet *deferred* the performance, untill he could perceive which was moſt likely to *prevaile* of both parties; the *Romans* more incenſt againſt him, that thus *ſubtilly* deceived their expectation then againſt their enemies, that were in

open

open rebellion, tore him in pieces betwixt wild horſes; and the Poet ſaith to him, that thought it a hard cenſure;

At tu dictis Albane maneres.

It was but *very juſt*, becauſe he was ſo *falſe*; and the *Merozites*, for the like *faults*, were moſt *fearfully curſed* by God himſelf; And therefore Judg. 5. 23.

Tolle moras: ſemper nocuit differre paratis.

Let them that mean to aid their King, take off *delayes*; for as God loveth a *cheerful doer*, ſo he loveth a *ſpeedy* doer of any good; and therefore he ſaith, *To day if you will hear his voice, hearden not your hearts*; and put not off his ſervice *till to morrow*. But *wiſe Counſellers* will tell us, that great bodies do move ſlowly, and many matters cannot *ſuddenly* be concluded; it is true, yet the *deferring* of ſuch duties, as may be a weakening to one part, and a *ſtrengthening* to the other; and the *delayes*, that may be *purpoſely* protracted, ſhould be as *wiſely* prevented, as they are *craftily* intended. I am no *States-man*, neither will I preſume to *preſcribe Rules for Counſell*; but as we *daily pray*, *O God make ſpeed to ſave us*, *O Lord make haſte to help us*, ſo let us humbly beſeech Almighty God, that he would ſpeedily aſſiſt and ſend aid unto our King, and ſet an end to our vexations, and compoſe all the *differences* of theſe poor diſtracted Kingdomes; that ſo we might joyfully *ſerve him*, and *praiſe him without end*; Per Jeſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, cui Laus, Honor, & Gloria, in ſecula ſeculorum, *Amen*.

Jehovæ Liberatori.

THE

THE SIXTH TREATISE.

John 10.27.

My ſheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me.

THe bleſſed Apoſtle Saint *Peter* ſaith, that *Jeſus Chriſt*, while he lived here on earth, *went about, doing good*; that is, not good to *himſelf*; for ſo all worldlings, and all ambitious men go about *continually*, to do themſelves, that which they conceive to be good; but he went about to do good *to all others*, as ſtrengthening the *feeble*, comforting the *broken hearted*, and healing all that *were oppreſſed of the devil*; and as Saint *Matthew* ſaith, he gave ſight to the *blinde*, he cleanſed the *leapers*, and raiſed the *dead*; all good deeds indeed: *Acts* 10.38. Mat. 11.5.

And yet, the doing of *all theſe* good deeds to all men that had *need* of them, and were capable of good, could not move all men to ſpeak *good* of him, nor to give him good *words*, for all the good *works* that he did unto them; but though ſome ſaid, he hath *done all things well*, and he could neither make the lame to *walk*, nor the blinde to *ſee*, if *God were not with him*; yet others, and they were the *major* part, and the *nobler* part of the people, the *Scribes* and the *Phariſees* ſaid, he was a *grand Impoſtor*, a *Seducer* of the people, a *Sabbath-breaker*, a drunkard, a glutton, and a wine-bibber, a man poſſeſſed of the devil, a friend of *Publicans and ſinners*, and what not? good God! All ſpeak not well of Chriſt, that did good to all.

Quid Domini facient, audent cum talia fures? What ſhall *good* men doe, when ſuch *wicked* men dare ſay ſuch things of the *Son of God*? *Neque enim Jupiter, neque pluens omnibus placet, neque abſtinens.* Theog. 29.

But you may ſee, and you ought to conſider it, that as *Theognis* ſaith, οὐδ᾽ ὁ Ζεὺς πάντας ἀνδάνει οὐδ᾽ ἀνέχων.

Alius tibi male, alius melius dicet; bonos alius valde vituperat, alius laudat.

Αλλος τις σε κακως, αλλ' αμεινον ερει; τους δ' αγαθους αλλ', μαλα μεμφεται, αλλος επαινει; God himself, that made all things *exceeding* good, and doth all things exceeding well, cannot please the *never* satisfied will of all men; but when one would have *peace*, another would have *war*, when some desire *rain*, some others desire to have *faire weather*; and so one will speak *ill* of thee, another *well*, and one will exceedingly *dispraise* the good, another will as much *praise* them and commend them. So different are the mindes of men.

Go how we will, or doe what we will, we shall never please all men.

And therefore how is it *possible* that either I, or any man else, either in our *Sermons*, or in our *Prayers*, though we preach nothing but truth, and pray as Christ *commandeth* us to pray, should notwithstanding *satisfie* all our hearers, but that the *Sceptick* blameth what the *charitable* man commendeth; and though our *intentions* be never so *straight*, yet their *expositions* will be found often *crooked*. And this cannot be helped; neither is he the *wisest* that otherwise expecteth it, but will endeavour to discharge his duty, *by good report and evil report*.

2. You may observe, that goodnes it self is *hated*, and truth it self slandered and *traduced*; for *in his mouth was found no guile*; but as Saint *John* saith, he is *the way*, the *truth*, and the *life*; and yet, all that *malice* can invent, is thought *little* enough to be laid on him; he must bear in his bosom *the reproach of a mighty people*, and he must endure the *contradictions* of a wicked generation.

And therefore what wonder is it, if the best King and Governour in the world, were he as mild as *Moses*, as religious as King *David*, as upright as *Samuel*, and as bountiful to Gods servants as *Nehemiah*, or if as worthy Preachers, as ever trod pulpit, were they as faithful as Saint *Peter*, as loving as Saint *John*, and as zealous as Saint *Paul*, should be *maligned*, traduced and slandered; for, you may assure your selves, it is no *new* thing, though a very true thing, for the *wicked* to deal thus with the *good* and godly at all times.

Christs good deeds inraged the wicked.

But among all the *subtil* arguments, *doubtful* questions and *malicious* disputations that the *Scribes*, *Pharisees* and *Herodians* had with our Saviour Christ, which were very *many*, and all only for to *intrap* him in his speech, that they might bring him to his *death*, and not to beget *faith* in their own hearts, that they might attain to *eternal life*, this *conflict* in this chapter seemeth to be none of the *least*: for after he had so *miraculously* healed the poor man that was *born blind*, their malice was so *inraged*, and their rage so *furious* against him, that they *excommunicated* the poor fellow, and thrust him out of their Synagogue, for *speaking* well of him, that had *done* so much good for him; or, because he would not be *so wicked* and so malicious as themselves; and then gathering themselves together round about Christ, they began to question him about his *office*, and very *strictly* to examine him, whether he was the Christ, the *Messias*, or not? And

Christ answereth for the good of the godly.

Our Saviour Christ, that knew their *thoughts* better then themselves, intendeth not to satisfie their *desire*: which was, to receive *such* an answer whereby they might *accuse* him, yet for their *instruction*, that would believe in him, he setteth down an *institution* or an infallible induction, whereby both their *subtil question* was fully answered, and his own *true servants* perfectly expressed and distinguished from them that serve him not, in these words: *My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me.*

The means & ways to save us.

Wherein, our Saviour setteth down the *means* whereby the true Christians are eternally *saved*, in being *called*, *justified* and *sanctified*, which are the three main *steps* or degrees, whereby we pass from our *natural* state of corruption unto the *blessed* state of grace that brings us to eternal glory.

1. *Called*, in these words, *My sheep hear my voice.*
2. *Justified*, in these words, *I know them.*
3. *Sanctified*, in these words, *They follow me.*

1. Then, the Christians are *called* to come to Christ, in that he saith, *My sheep hear my voice*; for, as *Adam*, after his transgression, never *sought* for God, until God *sought* for him, and said, *Adam, Where art thou?* So all the children of *Adam* would never come to Christ, if Christ did not *call them* to come unto him; but as

wisdom

wiſdom crieth without, and uttereth her voice in the ſtreets: ſo doth this wiſdome of God, *Jeſus Chriſt*, cry, *Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will eaſe you*; and if he did not *cry*, and utter forth his *voice*, his ſheep *could not hear* his voice; but God ſendeth forth his voice, yea and that a *mighty voice*; and as the Prophet *David* ſaith, *The Lord thundered out of heaven, and the moſt high uttered his voice.* Prov. 1.20. Pſal. 68 33.

And that, not onely as he did once unto the *Iſraelites*, when he delivered his *laws* on mount *Sinai*, but alſo to all others, whom he calleth, and uttereth his voice unto them two ſpecial ways. God uttereth his voice two wayes.

1. To the *ears* of his people, by the mouths of his *Prophets*, Apoſtles and Preachers of his holy Word, that do *continually* call and cry unto them to come to *hear his voice*, and to obey his Precepts. 1. To our ears.

2. To the *hearts* of his ſervants by the inſpiration of his *bleſſed Spirit*, which teacheth them to cry *abba* Father, and perſwadeth them to yield *obedience* to all his heavenly motions. 2. To our hearts.

And our Saviour ſaith, that his *ſheep* or ſervants will *hear his voice*, that is, both *uttered* by his ſervants, and *inſpired* by his Spirit; and they will neither *neglect* to hear the preaching of his *written* Word, nor *ſuffocate*, or choak the *inſpired* Word, that is the internal motions of his holy Spirit; but they will moſt readily and willingly hear both theſe voices, *My ſheep hear my voice*, howſoever uttered. For the further and the *better* underſtanding of which words, you may obſerve theſe three things: Three things obſervable.

1. The denomination, *Sheep*.
2. Their appropriation, *my ſheep*.
3. Their qualification, *hear my voice*.

1. By *Sheep*, here is underſtood, not thoſe four-footed *ſilly* creatures, that by their *wooll*, and *lamb*, and *milk*, and their own *fleſh*, are ſo profitable unto us, and by their *ſimplicity* are ſo eaſie to be kept, and are the *moſt innocent* among all the beaſts of the field; but *thoſe children* of God, and true Chriſtians, that are called and compared unto ſheep in a *double* reſpect. The children of God called *ſheep* in a double reſpect.

1. In reſpect of *Chriſt*, that is, their *Paſtour* or Shepherd.
2. In reſpect of *themſelves*, that are his flock.

1. Chriſt is often called in the Scriptures our Shepherd, and he is ſet forth unto us in this 10. c. by a double manifeſtation: 1. Grand Shepherd of the ſheep.

1. Of a lawful entrance into his Office.
2. Of an abſolute performance of his Duties.

Chriſt the good Shepherd in two reſpects.

1. The Apoſtle ſaith, *No man taketh this honour unto himſelf*, that is, to be the *Shepherd* over Gods flock, and a *Prieſt* to teach Gods people, but he *that is called of God as was Aaron*: And how was *Aaron* called? 1. A lawful entrance into his Office.

1. By God *inwardly*, by the teſtimony of his own *conſcience*, that tells him, the Spirit of God calleth him to ſuch an Office. Heb. 5.4. 1. By the teſtimony of his own conſcience.

2. Becauſe a man is not to believe his *own private ſpirit*, that many times *deceiveth* us, therefore God would have *Aaron* to take his commiſſion and his *ordination* from *Moſes*, as you may ſee, *Exod.* 28.1. and as the Lord had formerly ſaid unto *Moſes*, that he ſhould be inſtead of God unto *Aaron*, to *call* him unto the *Prieſts office*: And, as *no man taketh*, or ſhould take *this office upon him, but he, that is as well outwardly* approved by ſuch as are *lawfully authorized* to approve him, as *inwardly* called by the teſtifying *ſpirit* of his own conſcience; ſo alſo Chriſt ſaith the Apoſtle, *glorified not himſelf*, to be made an *high Prieſt*, and to become the *great Shepherd* of Gods flock; but he that ſaid unto him, *Thou art my ſon, this day have I begotten thee*, and hath ſworn, *Thou art a prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedech*. And therefore, if no man, no not *Chriſt himſelf*, taketh this *holy office* upon him, but he that is *lawfully* called, by ſuch as have *lawful authority* to call him: I wonder how any man dares to *intrude* himſelf into the Miniſtry, without any *miſſion* from Chriſt, or *commiſſion* from ſuch as are lawfully authorized by Chriſt to admit them. 2. By an outward approbation. Exod. 4.16. Heb. 5.5. & c. 17.21.

You know what our Saviour ſaith, *As my father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*; and they

that were his Apoſtles never *went* until he *ſent* them; for there muſt be an *Ite*, go ye, before *Prædicate*, preach ye; and you ſee what our Saviour ſaith here, *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, he that entreth not by the door into the ſheepfold, but climbeth up ſome other way, the ſame is a thief and a robber*; that is, he that is not *lawfully called*, and comes not the *right* way into the Miniſtry, to be the *ſhepherd* of Gods flock, the ſame is *none* of Gods Miniſters, but is a *thief* and a robber, *ſtealing* to himſelf, what of *right* belongs to another. And yet I fear, we have now too many of whom the Lord may ſay, as he doth by the Prophet *Jeremy*, *I have not ſent theſe Prophets, yet they ran*; *I have not ſpoken unto them*, yet *they prophecied*; for we are not onely to conſider, whether they be *called* and *approved* to be the Miniſters of Chriſt, but we muſt likewiſe conſider, by *whom* they are called and approved; for as *idem eſt non eſſe, & non apparere*, ſo, it is all one, to be *not called*, and not approved, as to be called and approved, by *ſuch* as have *no right* nor *authority* to call and approve them; as when a company of *thieves* and robbers gives *power and authority* to a man to be Juſtice of the Peace, or a *Judge* of Aſſize, we ſay his power and authority is *null*, and of no *validity*; ſo they that give *orders* and approve of Prieſts, and have no *right*, no power nor *authority* to give orders, and to allow them, do *juſt nothing* in the juſt way, and their *orders* is worth nothing.

Mat. 28.19. & Mar. 16.15. John 10.1.

Jer. 23.21. & 14.14.

But you will ſay, this may be true of the *Lay*-preachers; but thoſe that are ordained by the *Presbyterians*, and approved by an aſſembly of *Presbyters*, cannot be denied to be *lawfully* called, and to enter in by the *door* into the ſheepfold.

I anſwer, that I will not, at this time, diſcuſs who *gave* them this power and authority to *ordain* Prieſts: but I ſay, that I dare not, I cannot approve and juſtifie their authority: let them anſwer for it that preſume to do it. I have ſhewed you their error in my *diſcovery of the great Antichriſt*. So you ſee how this *grand Shepherd* did *lawfully* enter into his office, and how all his under-Shepherds ſhould *imitate* him in their *lawfull* entrance, and not *intrude* themſelves, nor be unlawfully admitted into the Miniſtry.

2. A perfect performance of all the duties of a good Shepherd.

2. The other point here ſpoken of this great Shepherd, is a perfect and moſt abſolute performance of all the duties of a good Shepherd. Where firſt of all, you muſt obſerve, that *Theocritus*, *Virgil* and others, writing of this office of Shepherds, do make three kindes of Paſtors or Shepherds; and ſo doth *Philo Judæus*, where he ſaith, ἀγελᾶται τῶν προβάτων ἀγωγεῖς, βοῶν, ἀγέλαι ποιμὴν ἀγώλος βουκόλος, the Shepherd, Goateſman and Herdſman drive the flocks of ſheep, goats and bullocks; and it is obſerved, *νομέα dici, de paſtore omnium animalium*, ποιμένα *cum relatione tantum ad oves*; that the Greeks do call him onely that keepeth ſheep, ποιμήν, a ſhepherd; and our Saviour ſaith not, ἐγω εἰμὶ ὁ ἀγελάτης, I am the good goatſman, or the good herdſman, but he ſaith, ἐγω εἰμὶ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός, I am the good Shepherd, that taketh care for his ſheep, but not for goats; becauſe the Lord careth for the righteous, but, as the Prophet ſaith, he ſcattereth abroad all the ungodly.

Philo Jud. *in l. de opificio mundi.*

John 10.14.

And ſeeing that he is a Shepherd, you know what the Poet ſaith,

——*Paſtorem Tytere pingues*
Paſcere oportet oves;

Virgil. Eglog. 6.

The Shepherd ought to feed his ſheep; for as the old proverb goeth, λιμὸς ἐν χέρσῳ, *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna*; every one ſhould look to his own office, as, the learned Divine to preach the Word of God, the Cobler to mend his ſhoes, the Countreyman to plough his ground, —*& curabit prelia Conon*; and the King, or whoſoever is the chief Magiſtrate, to provide for war and to conclude peace; which is the onely way to keep all things in the right way; becauſe that *mittere falcem in alienam meſſem*; for the Coachman with his whip to laſh the pulpit, the Taylor with his ſhears to divide the Word of God, the ſhepherd with his hook to rule the people, and the unruly people to reign as Kings, is that, which as the Poet ſaith,

Lucan. pharſ. l. 1.

——*Turbabit fœdera mundi*,

and

and is the readieſt way to pull all things aſunder, & to tear in pieces the whole courſe of nature, and to ſubvert all the order of Gods creatures, and indeed to reduce the total frame of the creation to a ſpeedy diſſolution; whereas, that man is worthy of all praiſe, as *Ælian* ſaith, which meddleth with nothing, τῶν μηδὲν προσηκόντων, that pertaineth nothing unto him, but looketh onely and carefully to his own duty; and he is worthy to be reproved, (as our Saviour checkt Saint *Peter* for his *curioſity*, to know what *John* muſt do) that is a ſtranger in his own affairs, and buſieth himſelf onely with what onely belongs unto others.

And therefore, not to do my ſelf, what I blame in others, or to extend my diſcourſe beyond my line, to treat of the art of war with *Phormio* before *Hannibal*, or to tell you the office of a King or a Judge, when my text tels me I am to treat of a Shepherd, but to keep my ſelf contrary to the common practiſe, *ad idem*, to my own proper task; I ſhall deſire you to remember, that the duty of a good Shepherd conſiſteth chiefly in theſe two points.

1. *Negatively*, what he ſhould not do to his ſheep.
2. *Affirmatively*, what he ſhould do for them.

1. The heathen man could tell us, that *boni paſtoris eſt pecus tondere, non deglubere*; it is the part of a good Shepherd to *fleece* his ſheep, and not to *flea* them, that is, to clip and ſhear the *wooll*, and not to cut and teare the *skin* with the wooll; and therefore Chriſt bids S. *Peter feed my ſheep*, and not feed thy *ſelf* upon my ſheep; which is the property of too *too many* Shepherds both *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, to ſeek rather the *wealth* of their people unto themſelves, and not to provide for the *health* of their ſouls; but this *covetouſneſs* is a vice ſo palpable, which *hypocriſie* is not, that the people may ſoon diſcern it in their Paſtor; and being truly *diſcerned*, they may fear the ſame to be rather an *hireling*, then the *true* Shepherd, but let them take heed how they judge.

The duty of a good Shepherd two-fold.
1. Negative what he ſhould not do to his ſheep.
1. Not flea the ſheep.
John 10.

Then the good Shepherd is not to be *harſh* and rough, but *gentle* and meek unto his ſheep; for the *ſheep* are gentle creatures, and therefore they muſt be *gently uſed*, and gently *led*, and not *forced*; for ſo the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *Duxiſti populum ſicut oves, non traxiſti*, God *led* his people like ſheep, and *drove* them not, like horſes; And therefore when *Eſau* would have *Jacob* to drive his flock ſo, as to keep him company in his *hunting* pace; *Jacob*, that was a skilful *ſheep-maſter*, anſwereth him, not ſo Sir, for it is a *tender* cattle, that is under my hands, and muſt be *ſoftly* driven, ſo as they may endure; or if one ſhould *over-drive* them but one day, they would all die, or be laid up for *many* dayes after.

2. Not prove too harſh unto them.
Gen. 33.

Indeed *Rehoboam* left ten parts of his flock behind him, only for his *rough* driving of them, and his *harſh* carriage towards them; for when in a barbarous manner he chaſed his ſheep before him, and told them what *jokes* he would make for them (a far *unmeet* occupation for a Prince to be a *yoak-maker*) they all *ſhrunk* from him, and ran away *preſently*, and ſo clean *falſified* his Propheſie; for whereas he told them *ſeriouſly*, that his *little* finger ſhould be as *big* as his Fathers body, it fell out clean contrary: for his *whole* body proved not ſo *big* as his Fathers little finger.

But the *good* Shepherd, whether you mean *Prince* or *Prieſt*, will come down amongſt his ſheep, as the Prophet *David* ſheweth, not like *hail-ſtones* on the houſe top, but like the *dew* into a fleece of wooll, that is, *gently* and mildly, without any *noiſe* or violence at all; for otherwiſe the *wrangling* Shepherd, the *contentious* Prieſt, that ſtill *falls out* with one or other of his pariſhioners, and turns them, onely to ſatisfie his own humour, as *unworthy*, from his communion, can never do *much good* unto his people, but *tires* them, rather then *feeds* them.

2. For the affirmative or poſitive duties of a good Shepherd, they are eſpecially theſe four.

2. Affirmative what he ſhould do to his ſheep.

1. To provide for his ſheep *ſweet* and freſh paſture.

2. To foreſee and to take care *how* they ſhould feed in that paſture; that is, when and how much they ſhould eat thereof; for if the ſheep be not *warily* looked unto, in a *freſh paſture*, inſtead of being *fatted*, they may very eaſily be ſpoiled, when the

the eating of too much *ſweet* graſs *ſtayeth* not in them, but *ſcoureth* away all their fatneſs and ſoundneſs from them.

3. To protect and *defend* them from the fury of their Foes, Wolves, Dogs, Foxes, and the like ravenous Beaſts, that do *continually* ſeek to diſturb and deſtroy them.

4. To *watch* over them, leſt by their *wandring* they ſhould miſcarry and be loſt, or otherwiſe periſh out of the way.

And in all theſe reſpects, beſides many others, our Saviour Chriſt hath *approved* himſelf to be ὁ ποιμην ὁ καλὸς, that good Shepherd, which excelled all the beſt Shepherds of the world: For,

1. How Chriſt performed the negative part of a good Shepherd.

1. Touching the *negative* duties of a Shepherd, Chriſt came not to gather *wealth* with *Cræſus*, nor to enlarge his dominions with *Alexander*, but to ſave our *ſouls*; and ſo Saint *Paul* ſaith, *I ſeek not yours, but you*; and ſo every *faithful Miniſter* of Chriſt ſhould not ſo much hunt after the *wealth* of their flocks, as the *health* of their ſouls; though this denieth not, but as the *Sheep* ſhould yield her *fleece* unto her Shepherd, ſo ſhould the people pay all dues and *duties* unto their Miniſter; for, as S. *Paul* ſaith, *Who feedeth a flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock?*

1 Cor. 9. 7.

And as he came not to *enrich* himſelf by his people, ſo he was no wayes *harſh* and ſevere unto his people; but, as *Moſes* was the *meekeſt* man upon earth, and carried the children of *Iſrael* in his *boſom*, as a *nurſing* Father beareth a *ſucking* Child, to uſe *Moſes* his own words; ſo was Chriſt meek and lowly in heart, and never denied any that *ſought* unto him, nor failed any man that *truſted* in him. And ſo he willeth all his Miniſters to be *gentle* and courteous unto the people; for, as the very heathen ſaith,

Num. 12. 3.

Num. 11. 12.

——Peragit tranquilla poteſtas
Quod violenta nequit.——

We may ſooner win men by *perſwaſion* then by *compulſion*, rather by fair meanes and a ſweet language, then by *foul means* and rough terms: as it appeareth by that parable which *Damaſcen* ſetteth down, of the conteſtation betwixt the *Sun* and the *Wind*, which of them was moſt *powerfull* to make the traveller caſt off his *cloak*, who the *faſter* the wind blew, the *faſter* he held his cloak about him; but the Sun, with the *influence* of his firſt ſweet, and then *piercing* beams made him quickly to caſt off both his cloak and his coat.

And therefore *ſuch a Shepherd* of Chriſt his flock, as the Poet ſpeaks of,——*Non pater eſt Æacus*, that is not the *gentle* Child of this *meek* Father, but *Te ſaxum te genuere feræ*, ſuch as the *churliſh* and rough hewn *Nabal* was to *David*, is fitter to *drive* wild Horſes then to *lead* the harmleſs ſheep; and they do rather *chaſe* men, like *Nimrod*, from the Lord, then *win* them with S. *Paul* by all fair means to our Saviour Chriſt, as you may ſee, how he ſeeks to lead the *Romans* unto Chriſt, ſaying, *I beſeech you brethren, by the mercies of God, that you preſent your bodies a living ſacrifice holy and acceptable unto God,*

Rom. 12. 1.

Which makes me wonder at thoſe *rough collectors* of Churches out of the Church of Chriſt, by receiving *ſome* and rejecting *others* into their flock, as if the *day of judgement* were now come, to ſeparate the *ſheep* from the *goats*, and to caſt off the *tares* from the *wheat*, when as our *chief* Shepherd, and this *good* Shepherd ſaith, *Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will eaſe you.*

Mat. 11. 28.

2. How Chriſt performed the affirmative part of a good Shepherd.

2. For the *affirmative* or poſitive duties of a *good* Shepherd, what he ſhould do for his ſheep, never any came *neer* the goodneſſe of this good Shepherd. For,

1. Chriſt provideth food for his flock.

1. He provideth for his flock, not onely the *outward food* of their bodies, which he doth for all other living creatures, when as the Prophet ſaith, *He openeth his hands, and filleth all things living with plenteouſneſs*; and, as the ſame Prophet ſaith, He *feedeth the young ravens that call upon him*, and the *beſt* of us hath not a crum of bread but what he *hath* from him; but he hath provided alſo the *ſpiritual* food of their ſouls, which is the *Word* of God, and the *bleſſed Sacrament* of the Lords Supper; for, as our Saviour alledged againſt Satan, *Man liveth not by bread alone*, but by every

Mat. 4. 4.

word

word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God; and the bleſſed Sacraments are *Verba viſibilia Evangelii*, the viſible and *palpable* words of the Goſpel, and are as the *celeſtiall manna*, the heavenly food that periſheth not, but feedeth us to *eternall life*, if we ſtrive to receive the ſame *worthily*, as we ought to do; though now we have too *too many* that are poyſoned with the conceit of the *Meſſalian* Hereticks, that ſaid *Baptiſm* and the *Lords Supper* did neither profit us nor *hurt* us, but that they which were *inſpired* by Gods Spirit, were guided by the *revelation* of that Spirit, how to *behave* themſelves in all their wayes, which is the *readieſt* way to lead them to the *infernal ſpirits*; becauſe we are not to be led by the inſpiration of *any* ſpirit, but by thoſe *holy directions* which the Spirit of God hath left us in the *holy Scriptures*: and when we pray to be *inſpired* with Gods *Spirit*, we mean no otherwiſe, then that the *Spirit of God* would guide us to lead our lives, and to do all things, *as we are commanded by the ſame ſpirit to do in the word of God*, that is left unto us by the Prophets and Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to be the onely Rule of all our actions.

The errour of the *Meſſalian* Hereticks.

What is meant to be inſpired with Gods ſpirit.

2. As he provideth *thus* both our *temporal* and our *ſpiritual* food, ſo he *ordereth* and diſpoſeth this food unto his ſheep, not according to their *ſenſual* appetite, but for the *natural* good of their bodies, and the *ſpiritual* health of their ſouls, that it may be unto them *the ſavour of life unto life, and not the ſavour of death unto death*. As

2. Chriſt ordereth how the food of his ſhould be diſpoſed.

1. For their *natural* food, he would have us with the ſon of *Jakeh* to deſire neither *poverty* nor *riches*, neither too much, nor too little, but to be fed with *food convenient*, leſt if we be *too full*, we forget the Lord, & grow *too proud*, as the great *rich men* commonly be; or if we be *too poor*, we be driven to *ſteal* and to lie, and to take the *name of God in vain*; And, becauſe moſt men are loath to underſtand what is the *mean* betwixt *too much* and *too little*, and what meaſure is that that is *convenient*, S. *Paul* tells us, *That having food and rayment, we ſhould therewith be contented*; for the greateſt *Monarch* in the world can have *no more*; and our Saviour, that *beſt* knew what is *convenient* for every man, bids us pray to God, that *he would give us this day our daily bread*; that is ſo much as will ſerve us for our *preſent* neceſſity, and not with that fool in the Goſpel, to lay *up much goods for many years*, when he knew not, that his *ſoul*, in that night ſhould be *taken* from him, and then he could not tell, who ſhould enjoy *thoſe things*, or how thoſe things ſhould be ſpent, *that he had provided*: And

1. Their natural food.

Prov. 30. 8, 9.

What ſhould be convenient for every man.

Luke 12. 19.

2. For our *ſpiritual* food, this *good Shepherd* hath commanded us that are his *under-Shepherds*, to give unto his ſheep *their owne portion in due ſeaſon*.

2. Their ſpiritual food.

1. Their *own portion*, and that both in *quality* and *quantity*:

1. Their own portion.

1. In *Quality*, what is moſt *proper* for every one; as *all meats* ſerve not for every ſtomack, and *every potion* ſerves not for all diſeaſes, ſo it is with our *ſpiritual* food, and the *divine* phyſick of our ſoules, and therefore we are adviſed to give *milk* unto the babes, and *ſtronger* meat to them that are ſtronger men in Chriſt, that is, *plain* and eaſie doctrines, to the plain and more *ignorant* people, and deeper and more *polite* diſcourſes to the *judicious*, and thoſe of deeper knowledge; becauſe, as S. *Paul* ſaith, we are debtors *both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians*, to the *wiſe* and to the *unwiſe*, and therefore, as Chriſt biddeth his Apoſtles, ſo muſt we ſometimes, *launch forth into the deep*, both of Divinity and Humanity, and as well of Arts as of Languages.

1. In quality.

And ſo we are to give *praiſes* to the good, *reprooſes* to the bad, but *flatteries* unto none, when we ought no more to flatter the *ſweet* and *clement*, then to fear the *cruel tyrant*: and in like manner, we are commanded to apply comfors and conſolations to the *dejected ſpirits*, to pronounce pardon to the *penitent* ſinners, and to thunder out the terrors of Gods *judgements* to none but ſuch as are *impenitent* and obſtinate tranſgreſſors.

2. In *Quantity*, we are to give our ſheep neither *too much* of this ſpiritual food, nor yet *too little*, for where *prophefie faileth the people periſh*, and the *worſt* famine is the famine,

2. In quantity.

mine, not of *corn*, *wine* and *oyl*, but of the famine of *Gods Word*; and therefore the Apoſtle ſaith, *Wo is me, if I preach not the Goſpel*, and wo is them that hinder us to preach it, as they have done theſe many years. And yet, as we are not to give our ſheep *too little* of this ſpiritual paſture, leſt they ſhould *want*, ſo they ſhould not have *too much*, leſt they ſhould *loath* it; for a man may eat *too much* of the Honey-comb,
Prov.25.16. ſaith *Solomon*, and the children of *Iſrael* had ſo much *Manna*, that they loathed it, and
Num.11.20. *Quails* ſo plentifully, that the fleſh *came out at their noſtrils*; and ſo men may have the Word of God ſo *fully*, that they will *deſpiſe* it, or at leaſt *neglect* it, becauſe, as
Prov.27.7. *Solomon* ſaith, the *full ſoul loatheth*, or treadeth under foot the *honey-comb*; but to the *hungry ſoul* every bitter thing is ſweet, ſo is the Word of God precious, when it is not ſo *plentiful*, and deſpiſed when we are full of it.

Knowledge how more plentiful now then ever it was.

And truly I do believe, the *Goſpel* of Chriſt and the reſt of the holy Scriptures were *never* ſince Chriſt his time ſo *fully*, and ſo *generally* and ſo *truly* publiſhed as of late they were in the reigne of our late King *CHARLES*; for you know it is not long ſince the Word of God was had in our *native* language, but it was locked up in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, which none but a few ſcholars underſtood; and ſince it is *vulgarly* publiſhed, you may conſider how many *Bibles* are now printed to furniſh every Prentice, maid and boy, in compariſon of the *ſmall* number that the *beſt* men had in *former* times; and for *Sermons*, how *rare* were they in our fathers times, and how *generally* you may hear them now at *all times* in *moſt places*? and the Angel foretells the Prophet *Daniel*, it ſhould be *thus* before the *end* of the world; for, ſaith he, *Many ſhall run to and fro, and knowledge ſhall be encreaſed*, as now it is, I think ten times *more* then *ever* it was: *Dan.*12.4. And therefore the Prophet ſaith, *The earth ſhall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the ſea*, Hab. 2.14.

And yet, notwithſtanding all the *multitude* of our Bibles, all the *volumes* of divine Treatiſes, all the *frequent* Sermons that are made, and all the *knowledge* that is profeſt, from the *learned ſcribe* to the *City-tradeſman*, & the Country *plough-man*, our Saviour tells us, that when he cometh, *Iniquity ſhall be encreaſed, the love of many ſhall wax cold*, and he ſhall ſcarce *finde faith upon the earth*.

And if any man demand with *Nichodemus*, *How can theſe things be?*

I anſwer, That the more *good wheat* we ſowe in the field of Gods Church, the *more tares* will Satan ſow amongſt it, and the more we ſtrive to *enlarge* the true faith, the more *errours* and hereſies will his inſtruments ſpread amongſt the people; and for *knowledge*, he knoweth enough, and too much himſelf, and is very well pleaſed that all his ſervants ſhould be *knowing men*, and be as skilful in the *Scriptures* as he is himſelf; for, as one *crafty knave* can do ten times more miſchief then ten *ſilly fooles*, ſo one *learned heretick* will broach *more errours*, and defend and maintaine them *far better* then many *meaner ſcholars* can do; and it is a true *axiom*, that *Non niſi ex magnis ingeniis magni errores*, the great errours never ſprung, and the ſtrange hereſies could never have been maintained, but by men of ſome good parts, and of *great knowledge*.

The Devil would have all to be knowing men.



And therefore I may juſtly ſay with S. *Auguſtine*, that *Melior eſt fidelis ignorantia, quam temeraria ſcientia*, it were far better for men to be *humbly ignorant*, then *proudly filled*, and raſhly erring with *knowledge*; for, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Knowledge*
1 Cor.8.1. *puffeth up*, and many times produceth *many* errours and *much* evil, even as the Lord
Eſay 47.10. ſaith of *Babylon*, *Thy wiſdome and thy knowledge have perverted thee, and cauſed thee to turn away from the right way*.

And as the raſh, proud and *unſanctified* knowledge of men doth breed *many errours* and much evil, ſo it bringeth *no good* at all; for, as S. *Paul* ſaith, that *not the*
Rom.2.13. *hearers of the law, but the doers of the law ſhall be juſtified*, ſo not the *knowers* of the Scriptures, could they repeat it all at their fingers end, but they that *underſtand* it right, *apply* it as they ought, *believe* in Chriſt, and lead their lives according to the Scriptures, ſhall receive the reward promiſed in Scripture: otherwiſe, as he that *knoweth his maſters will and doth it not*; ſo he that knoweth the Word of God, and is

moſt

moſt skilful in the holy Scriptures, and yet neither *applies* them right, nor *believes*, nor *lives* according to the Word of God, is worthy to be beaten *with many ſtripes.*

And therefore Chriſt enjoyneth us to give unto his ſheep their own *due portion* of knowledge and ſpiritual food, that may *edifie* them and not *deſtroy* them; and that is ſuch a proportion as every one is *capable* of, and is *requiſite* for him to know. And

2. As we are to give to every one his *own due portion* of this ſpiritual food, both in *quality* and *quantity*, ſo we are to give it them in *due ſeaſon*, becauſe, as *Solomon* ſaith, there is *a time for all things*, as a time to *ſpeak*, and a time to be *ſilent*, a time to *feaſt*, and a time to *faſt*; a time to *preach*, and a time to *pray*, which I fear is now cut *ſhorteſt* of all times, if not *perſecuted*, to hide it ſelf in *corners* and private Chappels, when as many of our Churches are ſcarce acquainted with the *Lords prayer*; the prayer that our Saviour commanded us to uſe, *Horrendum dictu.* 2. In due ſeaſon.

And as Chriſt our grand Shepherd hath commanded us to give to every one his *own portion* in *due ſeaſon*, ſo he hath warned and inſtructed his ſheep, not to *take* what they *liſt*, but to be ſatisfied with what is *given them*, and to expect it in the *due time*, and not to *exact* it *whenſoever they pleaſe*, becauſe God cannot endure that every man ſhould be his *own carver* and ſtretch forth his hand with *Adam* to any *forbidden fruit*, when as every one ſhould be *contented* with what is *given* him, and ſhould *pray* to God as Chriſt hath taught us, ſaying, *Give us this day our daily bread*; and therefore when Chriſt bleſſed the five Loaves and two Fiſhes, he did not as many of our *new Divines*, teach the people now to *take* what they *liſt* of the *bleſſed bread* in the Euchariſt, but as S. *John* ſaith, he diſtributed them to the *Diſciples*, and the Diſciples *to them that were ſet down.* God would not have men to be their own carvers. John 6. 11.

But alas, here is our *miſery*, and the *iniquity* of theſe times, that our *diſpenſers* ſhall not *diſpoſe* this ſpirituall food, and God himſelf ſhall not *diſtribute* his own gifts; but, as the Poet ſaith, ——*Vivitur ex rapto*, what God hath moſt *graciouſly* beſtowed upon one man, another will moſt *wickedly* ſnatch it from him: and men muſt and will have the *Word of God* expounded, extorted and *multiplied*, as Chriſt multiplied his loaves, when, where, how and by whom they liſt, which is the *cauſe* of our calamities, and like, if not prevented, to bring *deſtruction* unto the ſheep of Chriſt. And therefore, The miſery & the iniquity of theſe dayes.

3. Chriſt the *good Shepherd* doth not onely *feed* his ſheep, and bid S. *Peter*, and in him all us three times *to feed his ſheep*, that is, to feed them three manner of wayes.

1. *Paſcere verbo.* 2. *Paſcere cibo.* 3. *Paſcere exemplo.*

1. With the Word of God. 2. With *Almes-deeds.* 3. With *good examples*; but he doth alſo *expoſe* himſelf to all dangers, even to *death* it ſelf, to ſave and to protect his ſheep from the fury of thoſe that any wayes labour to deſtroy them, even as he ſaith, *I lay down my life for my ſheep*, therefore he muſt needs be the *good Shepherd*, and none can deny him to be a good Shepherd, that layeth down *his life for his ſheep.*

And he requireth of us likewiſe, that are his *under-ſhepherds*, that we ſhould undergo all dangers to ſave and to protect our ſheep; and as S. *Bernard* ſaith, *Cuſtodia civitatis ut ſit ſufficiens, trifaria eſt*, the guard and *ſafe cuſtody* of Gods City, and *ſheep-fold* of Chriſt, if it be ſufficient, muſt be three-fold.

1. A *Vi tyrannorum.*
2. A *fraude hæreticorum.*
3. *à Temptationibus dæmonum.*

Three moſt excellent properties of a good Shepherd.

And truly the ſheep of Chriſt had never more need to be protected and defended from this three-headed *Gerion*, then now they have: For,

1. In the *Primitive Church*, though they had Tyrants to oppreſs them, and Perſecutors to deſtroy them, yet then they were all at unity among themſelves, and the *ſeamleſs coat* of Chriſt was ſtill unrent; and therefore *Sanguis martyrum ſemen eccleſiæ*,

cleſia, the blood of the Martyrs did fatten the *field* of Gods Church, and made it to bring forth fruits more abundantly.

But now the *coat* of Chriſt is torn in pieces, far worſe then *Jeroboams* garment that was cut in ten parts, and the Church of God is filled with Sects and Hereſies, ſo that the poor ſheep of Chriſt know neither *where* the fold is, nor *who* is the *true Shepherd*.

2. In the time of the *Arians*, *Novatians*, *Eutichians*, *Neſtorians* and others, the like *Hereſiarches*, though they infeſted the Church with *damnable* doctrines, and as
Turkiſh Hiſto. that traiterous villain, corrupted by *Amurath* the ſixth King of the Turks, poyſoned the well of *Sfetigrade*, that watered the whole City with the carkaſs of a *dead dog*; ſo did they ſeek to poyſon the *pure fountain* of the holy Scriptures, with the ſtinking carrion of their *rotten gloſſes*; yet the *Chriſtian Emperours*, and the other *pious Kings* and *Princes* ſtretched forth their *hands*, to aſſiſt the care and wiſdome of the reverend Prelates, to *ſuppreſs* the Hereticks, and to root out all the *bitter weeds* of falſe doctrine from Gods Church.

Pſal. 86. 14. But now, as the Prophet *David* ſaith, *O God, Princes have perſecuted me without cauſe*, and the aſſemblies of violent men, *naughty men*, ſaith the *vulgar*, *that have not ſet thee before their eyes, ſeek after my ſoul*, and after the ſoul of thine anoynted. So I fear the Biſhops may now ſay, That *Princes do hate them without a cauſe*, and for ſeeking to root out the *damnable* Doctrines of the *Sectaries*, the aſſemblies of *terrible* men, as the *Original* hath it, that ſet not God *before their eyes*, do ſeek after our ſouls.

And that we might be *environed* with enemies on all ſides, *Hell is broken looſe*, as *Edwards*, one of their own Presbyterians ſaith, and Satan is ſet at liberty, to poure forth, out of the bottomleſs pit, thoſe *locuſts* that you read of, *Rev. 9. 3.* whoſe *ſhapes* were like *horſes* prepared unto battel, becauſe their whole heart is for *war*, to imbrue their hands in *blood*, and to deſtroy all the *true Prelates*; and yet their *hair* were as the hair of *women*, that is very *ſpecious*, and *lovely* to behold, when they pretend nothing but a *perfect Goſpel-diſcipline*, and a pure *Heavenly doctrine*, beating downe the *Antichriſtian Pope*, and the worſhipping of Saints, Images, Pictures and all Impieties; but their *teeth* were as the teeth of *Lions*, that is, *devouring* all that ever *we have*, and all that ſhall come within their *reach*, as all the *patrimony* of the Church and all the *fleeces* of Chriſt his Flock, and thier *tails* are like *Scorpions*, that have their *ſtings* in their tailes, to make the *cataſtrophe* and concluſion of their doings *very grievous* and moſt lamentable, as I fear it will be found at laſt, unleſs God will be ſo merciful unto us as to help us.

And if you would know, whom theſe *locuſts* might ſignifie, I aſſure my ſelf they be now the *rable rout* of Prieſts, Jeſuits and Friars in the Church of *Rome*, and the *multitude* of Presbyterians, Anabaptiſts, Independents and *other ſectaries* here amongſt us, that like *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*, do conſpire together on both ſides, to ſhoot at, and to ſhoot *through* the true *Proteſtant Biſhops*, and to deſtroy all their Proteſtant flocks, by making them either *ſuperſtitious* Papiſts, or wild *wandering* Sectaries, as *bad*, if not *worſe* then the other. I muſt tell you my mind without fear.

3. And therefore,

3. The Sheep of Chriſt and his Under-ſhepherds being thus *invironed*, with Wolves, Foxes and the like ravenous Beaſts, their temptations are *greater*, and the aſſaults of Satan are more *violent* then ever they were; which is the *cauſe* that ſo many men *do ſtart aſide* like a broken bow, and Satans book is *filled* with the names of *apoſtata's*, that either for the deſire and love of *preferment*, to get a living, or a good Sallary from the Uſurpers, or elſe for fear of *loſing* their preferment, and to be *deprived* of their means, which are the *two engines* that the Tempter uſeth againſt
Ver. 11, & 13. the Shepherds, and do, as our Saviour ſpeaks of the *hireling*, that is, to leave their ſheep to the *mercy* of the Wolves; yea, and to *aſſiſt* the Wolves and the Foxes, the
4th. Duty is to watch that our ſhepherd go not aſtray. Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, to *lead away* and drive the poor Sheep into the wilderneſs and thickeſt of all errours, to deſtroy them. And therefore,

4. As Chriſt came down from Heaven to diſcharge the *fourth duty* of a good Shepherd,

Shepherd, that is, to *watch* over his ſheep, that they ſhould not *wander*, or if they do ſtray, *to ſeek them* that are loſt, as he teſtifieth himſelf, that he came *To ſeek the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael*; ſo he commandeth us, his *under-ſhepherds*, to doe the like, and to uſe all diligence to *reduce* and regain the *wandering* ſheep to Chriſt, when they are perverted by the *inſtruments* of the Antichriſt: and truly, it is a ſhame for us, as *Ruſticus Diaconus* ſaith, to ſee how *ſedulous* they are to *ſeduce* the poor people, and to *lead* the ſheep of Chriſt out of the *right way*, and with the Scribes and Phariſees to gain *Proſelites* unto themſelves, *Nos autem pro veritate frigidiores in venire*, and to finde us *cold* in the defence of truth, and to reduce the *erroneous* unto the *right* way: which notwithſtanding, is too *too commonly* ſeen in the world, becauſe, as our Saviour ſaith, the children of this world are *wiſer in their generation then the children of light*; and we ſee *Judas* takes more paines to *betray* Chriſt, then his Diſciples did to *attend* their Saviour; for he runs from the *garden* to the *high Prieſt*, and from the *high Prieſt* to the *garden*, and then from the *garden* in a ſhort ſpace to the *gallows*; and his Diſciples were ſo *careleſs*, that they *ſlumbered and ſlept*, and ſo do we; and while we *ſleep*, the *envious enemy*, by theſe his inſtruments, ſoweth the *tares* of errours and hereſies in the *field* of Gods Church.

How diligent the wicked are, and the godly negligent.

But though we *neglect* our duties, yet you ſee that Chriſt in all the *foreſaid reſpects*, and in all *other* reſpects whatſoever is ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς, the *good Shepherd*, and indeed the onely Shepherd that is *ſimply* and abſolutely *good*. For,

Chriſt the onely good Shepherd.

Though *Abel* was a good Shepherd, and *Jacob* was another good Shepherd, ſo *carefully* watching over his flock, that *in the day the drought conſumed him, and the froſt by night, and his ſleep departed from his eyes*; and *Moſes* was ſuch another, of whom the Prophet ſaith, that God *led his people like ſheep by the hands of Moſes and Aaron*; and ſo *David* was an *excellent* Shepherd, that ventured his *life* to ſave his ſheep, and to pull it out of the *Lions teeth*: and when God took him away from the *ſheep-folds*, that he might feed *Jacob his people, and Iſrael his inheritance*, the Spirit of God tells us, that he *fed them with a faithful and true heart, and ruled them prudently with all his power*. And of *Cyrus* the Lord ſaid *He is my Shepherd*; and *Homer* calleth *Agamemnon* ποιμενα λαων, the *Shepherd* of the people; and ſo not onely the *Apoſtles* and *Biſhops*, but alſo *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius*, King *James* and King *Charls*, and all other *religious* Kings and *pious* Princes, as *Nehemiah*, the good Lieutenant of Jury under *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia*, to whom, if it were not for ſuſpicion of *flattery*, which is one of the *baſeſt* of all vices, and the *worſt* kind of Scotization (you may ſee what *Minſhaw* meaneth by that word) I might truly parallel his *Excellency* our *Lord Lieutenant*: and many more have been *very good Shepherds* of Gods ſheep.

Gen. 31. 40.
Pſal. 77. 20.
Pſal. 78. 73.
Eſay 44. 28.
The now Duke of Ormond.

Yet they were all, and put them all together, *very very far ſhort* of this Shepherd in my Text, which is, ὁ ποιμην ὁ καλὸς, that good Shepherd κατ' ἐξοχην, tranſcendently; and which in all the foreſaid reſpects, and in all other reſpects whatſoever, excelleth all the moſt excellent Shepherds in the world. And ſo much ſhall ſerve to be ſpoken at this time, of the *good properties* of this good Shepherd.

2. As the children of God are termed *Sheep*, in reſpect of *Chriſt*, which is their *chief Shepherd*, ſo they are likewiſe ſtiled Sheep in reſpect of the *Analogie* and reſemblances betwixt them and Sheep, which as *Geminianus* ſaith, are in theſe ſix ſpeciall points.

2. Gods people are termed Sheep in reſpect of themſelves.

1. *Innocency* of life; for as *nature* gave the ſheep neither *horns* to hurt, nor *claws* to ſcratch, nor *teeth* to bite, ſo the children of God do *nothing* to the hurt of any other; they neither *hate* their neighbour in their hearts, nor *ſtrike* him with their hands, nor *traduce* him with their tongues, nor think any *evil* or wiſh any *hurt* to him in their thoughts; and therefore when *David* ſaw the Angel that ſmote the *people* in *Hieruſalem*, he ſaid, *Lo, I have ſinned, but theſe ſheep, what have they done?* as if he ſhould have ſaid, theſe *poor men*, that are like *ſheep*, ſo *harmleſs* and ſo innocent, what *hurt* could they do, either in *themſelves*, or to any *others*? *Et hæc vera innocentia eſt quæ nec ſibi, nec aliis nocet*, and that is the true innocency, ſaith S. *Aug.* which hurteth neither *himſelf* nor his *neighbours*.

Geminianus de exemplis, l. 5. c. 46.

1. In reſpect of their innocency.

2 Sam. 24. 17.

2. In reſpect of their patience.

2. They are reſembled unto Sheep for their *patience*, in ſuffering all kinds of injuries and indignities; for as the Prophet ſheweth, and Gods people findeth it, *For thy ſake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as ſheep appointed to be ſlain.* Where you may ſee

Pſal. 44. 22.

Where obſerve 1. The Cauſe.

1. The *cauſe* of their ſufferings is expreſſed, not for *theft, murder, adultery*, or the like *wicked acts*, but *Propter te*, for Gods cauſe; for obeying his *will*, and being *loyal* to our Superiours, and not *treacherous* unto our lawful Governours; and ſo for being *faithful* in Gods ſervice, by publiſhing the *truth*, and not carried away with every *new form* of ſervice, and *every wind* of falſe doctrine; this is *cauſe enough* to ſuffer; and this is *propter te*, for thy ſake, O God, which is our *onely comfort*.

2. The Sufferings.

2. Here is the *ſufferings* of Gods ſheep and ſervants ſpecified; we are mortified, or *killed*: And that is,

1. By our *ſelves*, in our *repentance* and contrition for our ſins, every day, or, all the day long, that is, throughout our *whole life*, according as the Apoſtle ſaith, *we die daily*, that is, to ſin and for our ſin: And then

2. We are killed by *others*, when, with the *reſt* of the Martyrs, we are, as we have been, not long ſince, throughout all this Kingdome, robbed of our *good names*, filled with *reproach*, plundered of our *eſtates*, baniſhed from our *dwellings*, clapt up in *priſons*, and then *led as ſheep unto the ſlaughter*. In all which, and in all other ſufferings, I know no better *remedy* then what our Saviour preſcribeth to us, *in our patience to poſſeſs our ſouls*, which may be *loſt* for want of patience, but will be *ſupported* and eaſed, if we will be like *ſheep*, patient and *ſilent* in our ſufferings, *Quia levius ſit patientia, quicquid corrigere eſt nefas*, becauſe the more we *ſtruggle*, when we are in the briars, the more we ſhall be ſcratched and intangled, and the *leſs able* we ſhall be to bear our indignities; and the *leſs* we murmure, the leſs will be our *ſufferings*, and the more *favours* we ſhall finde at the hands of God: and therefore the Poet could ſay,

Horatius.

——τολμᾶν χρὴ τὰ διδοῦσι θεὸς θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι,

We ought to ſuffer *patiently* whatſoever God layeth upon us: and ſo the Saints of God do ſuffer whatſoever is laid upon them, as you may ſee in the ſaid 44. *Pſalme*, from the 10. v. to the 22.

3. In reſpect of their obedience. C. 10. v. 4. Damaſc. l. 3. c. 4

3. They are reſembled to Sheep in reſpect of their *obedience* to do the commands of God; for as the Sheep do *follow* the Shepheards whiſtle, and do know *his voice*, ſo do the ſervants of God *obey* the voice of Chriſt, liſtening to his *words* with their *ears*; *Unde veteres dicebant obaudio pro obedio*, imbracing it in their *ſouls*, *Quia obedientia eſt voluntatis propriè ſubjectio preceptis Dei*, which they are moſt ready to peform, & to ſay with him in *Plautus*, *Adſum, impera quidvis, neque tibi ero in mora, neque latebroſè me abs tuo conſpectu occultabo.*

Plaut. trin.

Aug. in Gen. l. 9. & habetur 33. q. 5. c. eſt ordo.

For, as S. *Aug.* truly ſaith, *Eſt ordo naturalis in hominibus, ut ſerviant fœminæ viris, & filii parentibus; quia in illis hæc eſt juſtitia, ut majori ſerviat minor*; it is the order of *nature* among men, that the women ſhould ſerve the *men*, children their *parents*, ſervants their *maſters*, and ſubjects their *Prince*, becauſe it is the rule of *juſtice* among them, that the *leſſer* and inferiour ſhould ſerve the *greater* and ſuperiour; and as the ſame Father ſaith, *Quid iniquius, quam velle ſibi obtemperari à minoribus & nolle obtemperare majoribus*: What can be more *unjuſt* and more unreaſonable, then to require obedience of our *inferiours*, and not to *yield* it to our *ſuperiours*? how then can we expect our *children* and our *ſervants* to hear our voice and to obey us, if we obey not God, that is our Maſter and our Father, and obey not our King that God hath placed over us?

Idom. de operibus Monach.

How acceptable obedience is to God.

Greg. in 1. reg. 15. lib. 35.

And therefore the *ſheep* of Chriſt, like tractable ſheep, are alwayes ready to *obey* his commands, and to do his will, as well in the *greateſt* as in the *leaſt* things, and this their *obedience* is more acceptable and more *pleaſing* to God, then any *ſacrifice*, becauſe, as S. *Gregory* ſaith, *Per victimas aliena caro, per obedientiam vero propria voluntas mactatur*; by ſacrifice they killed *other beaſts*, but by our *obedience* we ſlay our own *proper wills*, and ſubmit our ſelves to do the will of Chriſt.

4. They

4. They are reſembled unto Sheep, in reſpect of their *fecundity* and plenty of all good *fruits*; for as ſheep are the *moſt profitable* of all cattel, and do, as the Prophet ſaith, *bring forth thouſands and ten thouſands in our ſtreets*, and do abound in *milk*, *wool* and *fleeces* of divers colours: ſo the *Saints* and *ſervants* of God are moſt *fruitful* in begetting children unto God, and regenerating them to Chriſt, and they are moſt *plentiful* of milk, even the *ſincere milk* of Gods Word, as Saint *Peter* calleth it, and they do abound with the *variety* of all vertuous acts, and the examples of all good deeds; when as *Job* ſaith, *Velleribus ovium mearum calefactus eſt pauper*, the poor is warmed with the fleeces of my ſheep. 4. In reſpect of plenty of fruits. 1 Pet. 2. 2. Job 38.

And as *drink* is a great *cauſe* of the fecundity and fattening of ſheep, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith: for which purpoſe ſome give them *ſalt* to eat, that they might *thirſt* the more and *drink* the better; ſo the drinking of the *Water of life*, which is the *Word of God*, doth make the children of God *to abound in all good works*, even as the Apoſtle ſheweth, that the *Coloſſians* were fruitfull *in every good work*, when they *increaſed in the knowledge of God*. *Ariſtot. de gen. animal.* Col. 1. 10.

5. They are reſembled unto Sheep, in reſpect of their *plain dealing*, and the ſimplicity of their carriage in all affairs; for as the Sheep is the *ſillieſt* and ſimpleſt of all beaſts, and knowes neither how to *help* her ſelf in diſtreſs, nor to *return* to the right way, when ſhe wandereth; and therefore we ſay, that *We have erred and ſtrayed like a loſt ſheep*, that being *once* gone from her fellows, can *never* come home again, unleſs ſhe be *ſought for* by the care and diligence of her Shepherd; even ſo the ſervants of God are the *ſimpleſt* of all men in all *worldly* affairs; ſo *ſimple*, that the world *laughs* at the ſimplicity of their carriage, either in their *ſuits* at law, or *trades* of life, or any other *worldly* buſineſs; and our Saviour tells us, that the *children of this world* are farre *wiſer in their generation then the children of light*. 5. In reſpect of their plaine dealing and ſimplicity.

But here you muſt obſerve, that there is a two-fold ſimplicity. That there is a two-fold ſimplicity.

1. The one contrary to *deceit*, and this is *good*, commanded to be imbraced by Chriſt himſelf, *Eſtote ſimplices ſicut columbæ*, and commended in all thoſe that uſe it; for ſo the Lord ſaith *Job* was, *Vir ſimplex & rectus*, a ſimple and an upright man: and *Bildad* ſaith, *Deus non projiciet ſimplicem*, God will not caſt away the *ſimple*; and the wiſe man bids us, *Seek the Lord in ſimplicity of heart*: And *Solomon* ſaith, that *the juſt man which walketh in his integrity*, in his *ſimplicity*, ſaith the Text, *ſhall leave his childen bleſſed*. 1. Simplicity. Mat. 10. 16. Job 1. 1. ch. 8. 20. Wiſd. 1. 1. Prov. 20. 7.

2. The other ſimplicity is contrary to *diſcretion*, and this is *reproved* & to be avoided; and therefore our Saviour bids us not only to be *ſimple* as Doves, but alſo to be as *wiſe*, as *diſcreet*, and as *ſubtil* as the *Serpent*, that as our *ſimplicity* and uprightneſs hindereth us to *wrong* and deceive others, ſo our *diſcretion* and wiſdome may preſerve us from *being wronged* and deceived by any other: *Quia non multum diſtat à vitio, aut decipere, aut decipi poſſe; nam ſicut prudentia abſque ſimplicitate malicia eſt, ita ſimplicitas abſque ratione ſtultitia eſt*; for as *wiſdome* and underſtanding without *ſimplicity* and uprightneſs, is *malice* and wickedneſs; ſo *uprightneſs* and ſimplicity without *wiſdome* and diſcretion is *folly* and weakneſs, ſaith S. *Hierom*. 2. Simplicity. *Hiero. ſup. Hoſ.*

And therefore we ſhould follow our Saviours counſel, to joyn the *wiſdome of the Serpent* to the *ſimplicity of the Dove*. But Satan is ſo *ſpighful* and ſo prevalent, that he maketh the wicked *worldlings* to be onely carefull to get *ſubtilty*, and to caſt away all *uprightneſs* and ſimplicity; and the children of God being onely careful to retain their *uprightneſs* and ſimplicity, are moſt commonly *careleſs* and negligent of that *prudence* and diſcretion which is moſt requiſite for them, while they live amongſt the wicked; and in that reſpect they are, for their *ſimplicity* herein reſembled unto ſheep, and well they may be ſo reſembled; for, though our enemies are ſo *ſubtil* and ſo crafty to attain unto their ends, that neither *Achitophel* nor *Machiavel* could go beyond them: yet we ſee how *dull* the ſervants of Chriſt are, and the ſervants of our Kingwere, either to preſerve *themſelves* or to prevent the *ſtratagems* of their adverſaries, or to deviſe *any wayes* to prevail againſt their enemies; otherwiſe our late good *Shepherd* had not been ſo *ſmitten*, and his ſheep had not been ſo *ſcattered*, as they are at this preſent. The godly men are careleſs to prevent the ſnares and dangers of the world.

6. And

6 In respect of the profit and good that is had from them

6. And lastly, they are resembled unto Sheep, in respect of the *utility* and great benefit that is made of them, and so received from them; for as there is no *part* nor parcel of the sheep, but it is good for something; as their *flesh* to feed us, their *wool* to cloath us, their *dung* to fatten our ground to inrich us, their *intrails* to make musical strings to delight us, and their *horns* and *hoofs*, as some say, to make perfumes for many uses; so all the *thoughts*, *words* and *works* of Gods children are good for something, either the *glory* of God, or the *edifying* of their neighbours, or the *discharging* of their own duties; and so *Omnia co-operantur in bonum*, all that they do is *some ways* good, or else will *turn* to good, as their very *sins*, when they are *confest* and *repented* of, do make for Gods *glory*, in pardoning them, and do make them the more *humble* and the more *carefull* to prevent the like sins; whereas the Prophet tells us, that with the ungodly, it is clean *contrary*; when, not onely *the words of their mouth are unrighteous and full of deceit*, and the *thoughts* of their hearts are *wicked*, and onely evil *continually*, but also their very *prayers*, and the *best* of all their actions shall be *turned into sin*.

Psal. 37. 3.
Gen. 6. 5.

The wicked, to whom they are like.

And therefore the wicked that *fear* not God, and *love* not men, are *no wayes* like unto sheep, but in respect of their subtilty, to circumvent and to *deceive* their poor neighbours, they are like *Foxes*; for *malice* and anger, they are like *Dogs*; for their implacable and *bloody* minds, they are as cruel as the *Tygers*; for their greedy and *covetous* affections, they are as ravenous as *Wolves*; for their *high minds* and haughty hearts, they are as proud as *Peacocks*, and for their *hypocrisie* and dissimulation, they are as deceitful as the *Syrens*. And so forth,

——— Forma non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen.——

Though *all of them* are not like to *each one* of these, yet *every one* of them is like to *some one* of these, and none of them like unto *sheep*.

But my time is too *short*, and my skill is too *scant* to shew unto you the subtilty, cruelty and other evil *qualities* of these *beasts*, and they are without the limits of my Text; and I pray God to keep *me* and every poor *simple sheep* without the limits of their *reach*; and *into their counsel let not my soul come*: we have felt too much of their weight already: yet by this that I have spoken, you may perceive *who* belongs unto my Text, and who are the *sheep* of Christ; not those *Foxes* that *beguile* their brethren, nor those *Wolves* that *devour* their neighbours, nor yet those that go under the *shew* of Sheep, and destroy their Shepherds, as you see who have now done it; for you perceive, our Saviour tells you, That *his sheep will hear the voice of their shepherd, and will follow him*.

What then shall I say of those *cruel* beasts, with whom S. *Paul* fought at *Ephesus*, and whose *brood* have ever since fought against, and robbed and *killed* their Shepherds, so that their *sheep*, which are the faithfull Christians, were miserably *scattered* and *shattered*, and *much troubled* for the *calamities* that befell unto their *Shepherds*, that have been often times so *sorely smitten*, that some of them knew not where to find *holes* to hide their heads, nor *bread* to put into their mouths.

And I speak this by sad experience.

Truly I will say *nothing* of them; but, if any be such *persecutors of their Shepherds*, I say that, as yet, they are not the *sheep* of Christ, what they *may* be hereafter I cannot tell; and for the *true sheep* of Christ, and his under-shepherds, the *Prelates* and *Preachers* of Gods Word, and the rest of them, I can give you none other *counsel*, then what S. *Paul* gives to his *Philippians*, *beware of dogs*, and what our Saviour saith to his Disciples, *Take heed of them that come unto you in sheeps cloathing, but inwardly are ravening wolves:* and if you be persecuted in *one city*, then *flie into another*; and when the enemies have way-laid *all cities*, then flie to *another Kingdome*, and know that the same sun *shineth*, and the same God reigneth in all the Kingdomes of the world

Phil. 3. 2.
Mat. 7. 15.
The authors counsel to his brethren, the Bishops and Preachers.

But let us, that are Gods Shepherds, especially Bishops, take *heed* that we be not found like the Bishop of *Spalato*, wavering with *every wind*, or like *Ecebolius*, that for-

forſook his *faith* to preſerve his living, and left the *ſervice* of God to ſerve the *ruling hereticks*, or like his imitator of *Cambridge*, Dr. *Perne*, that in King *Henry* the Eighth's time was a *Catholick*, and in *Edward* the Sixth's time a good *Proteſtant*, but in Queen *Mary's* a rigid *Papiſt*, and in Queen *Elizabeths* time, if I be not miſtaken, a kind of *another* Proteſtant; changing ſtill juſt as the *Camelion*, and as the children of *Ephraim*, that *being harneſſed and carrying bows*, and ſo able to do God ſervice, yet *turned themſelves back in the day of battel*: for this our *good* and *chief* Shepherd doth proteſs, that whoſoever denieth ſo, and *denieth him before men*, that is, ſticketh not unto him, to ſerve him and to defend his Service; him *will he deny before his father which is in heaven*. And that is a greater loſs then the loſs of a Living, and a worſer doom then all the perſecution that can be impoſed upon us.

But ſo much ſhall ſerve for the *denomination* of Gods *ſervants*, that they are ſtiled *Sheep*, both in reſpect of *Chriſt*, that is their *Shepherd*, and in reſpect of their *reſemblances* unto ſheep.

2. The next point that is here to be obſerved, is their appropriation, expreſſed in the word *My ſheep*; for though they be ſheep, and but ſheep, and like ſheep, yet they are *my ſheep*, and I do *own* them for *my ſheep*; which is the onely comfort of all Chriſtians. for otherwiſe it were but a ſmall joy, and a ſad caſe for us, to be Sheep for the Dogs to tear us, and the Wolves to eat us, and every one to take our Fleeces from us, unleſs we had a *good Shepherd* that is both willing to help us, and able to defend us from all evil: but in theſe words, *My ſheep*, both our Protection and our Conſolation is fully included, and if you obſerve it well, you may herein find inti nated theſe two ſpecial things: 2. Their Appropriation.

1. The *honour* and dignity
2. The *ſecurity* and ſafety } of all good Chriſtians.

Two things obſervable in the words, *My ſheep*.

1. The worldly men ſtand much upon their *Nobility*, and indeed, *E principibus naſci preclarum eſt*, it is an excellent grace to be born of *Nobles*, to have *Abraham* for our Father, and *Sarah* to be our Mother; and therefore not onely the *Romans* made great account of them that were ſprung of the *Julian* Family, and the like Noble Anceſtors, but alſo the *Grecians* did the like, as *Pauſanias* writes of *Epaminondas*, the moſt illuſtrious Captain of the *Thebans*; and the *Jews* in like manner boaſted much of their Anceſtors, as *Joſephus* is very carefull in deſcribing the Nobility of his Anceſtors, that of his Fathers ſide he was ſprung from the Prieſts, and his Mother from the *Aſmonæan* Princes; and *Jehu* gives this honour unto *Jezabel*, that ſhe was *a Kings daughter*. 1. The honour and dignity of good Chriſtians. *Pauſan. in Beoicis.* *Theatr. Zuing.* *in vita Joſeph.* 2. *Reg.* 9. 34.

But if we do not imitate our Noble Anceſtors in Nobleneſs, that is in Piety and Vertue; the very Heathens will tell us our *ſpringing* from them is worth nothing, but rather a ſhame then a credit unto us, becauſe as *Theognis* ſaith, ἀρετὴ δ' μεγα κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται, Vertue is the great Glory, which never periſheth; and therefore *Juvenal* ſaith, as I have ſhewed to you before, in my firſt Treatiſe:

Malo pater tibi ſit Thyrſites, dum modo tu ſis
Æacidæ ſimilis vulcaniaq; arma capeſſas,
Quam te Thyrſitæ ſimilem producat Achilles. *Juven. Sat. 8.*

I commend the ſon of a *Clown*, that is vertuous, and carrieth himſelf nobly, more then the ſon of a *Prince*, that is vitious and behave himſelf, like a Clown: And *Codrus Urceolus* ſaith,

Sis licet ingenuis clariſq; parentibus ortus,
Sint tibi divitiæ, ſit larga & munda ſupellex,
Deniq; quicquid eris, niſi ſit prudentia tecum,
Magna quidem dico beſtia ſemper eris. *Urceolus in Epigrammatibus.*

Though

Though thou beest born of never so noble Parents, and hast never so much Wealth and Lands, and what thou wilt, and hast no Wisdome nor understanding to be *vertuous*, thou art but a *very beast*; for so the Prophet saith, *Man being in honour and without understanding, is compared to the beasts that perish*: and the Poet saith,

Ovid de Ponto. Nam genus & proavos & quæ non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco.

——Non Census nec clarum nomen avorum,
Sed probitas magnos ingeniumq; facit.

Hieron. ad Celan.

And therefore S. *Hierom* tells *Celantia*, that *Sola apud Deum libertas est non servire peccatis, & summa apud deum nobilitas est clarum esse virtutibus*; he is the onely Free-man, that serves not sin, and followeth not his own lust; and he is the true Noble-man that is truly vertuous and godly: And *Palingenus* saith, *Nobilitas sola est atq; unica virtus: hac nobilis Hector--- Alcideque fuit.*——And the Prophet saith, *He had rather be a door-keeper in the house of God*, that is, to be a Porter, and to have the meanest office that is in the Service of God, then to have the *greatest honour* in the world, in the Courts and palaces of the *ungodly*; and the meanest man that serveth God, is more honourable then the greatest Potentate that serveth his own lust; for as *Abraham* is said to be *Pater sanctorum*, the Father of the faithfull, though he was *Filius peccatorum*, the off-spring of sinners, and the son of *Terah*, that was an Idolater, because his Fathers Idolatry was not able to obscure his Glory; so all the Indignities and Contempts that this world can cast upon the servants of God, can no wayes blemish their worth, or diminish their reputation in the sight of God.

To serve God truly, is to be truly noble.

And therefore I had rather be a *sheeep* of Christ, that is a *simple Christian*, that deceiveth no man, and hurteth none, but *suffereth* much, than to be a *Fox* of this world to *beguile* the simple, or a *Lion* to *crush* my neighbours all to pieces; for so I be with *John Baptist*, *Magnus coram Domino*, great in the sight of the Lord, that is, of good esteem with God, as he is said to be, I shall never greatly care how *meanly* I shall be accounted of in this world; but as *Constantine* rejoyced more in that he was *Filius Ecclesiæ*, a Son of the *Church* and a Member of *Christ*, then in being *Caput imperii*, the Emperour of the *whole world*; so I will be more glad, and take it for a greater Honour to be one of Christs *simple sheep*, of what condition soever my Earthly Father be, then to be the Son of the Noblest Father in the world, and to be as the *Jews* were, and all other our wicked, ungodly, and unrighteous men, though termed Saints, are the children of *their Father the Devil.*

2. The security and safety of all good Christians.

2. As the servants of God are *truly noble* in being Christ his *Sheep*, so being *his sheep*, they are, and may be, secure, and free from all fear, either

1. Of *Injuries*, or
2. Of *Wants*: For,

1. From *wrongs*

Zech. 11.

1. the Prophet *David* saith, *The Lord is on my side, therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me*, for though the *Idol shepherd*, whereof *Zechary* speaketh, and I told you before of his ill properties, and the *Hireling shepherd*, that our Saviour speaketh of, *Qui lanas plus quam oves diligunt*, which love the Wages better then the Work, and the Fleeces better then the Flock, will flie away, that is, from his Duty, and do any thing that is enjoyned him, when the Wolf cometh, that is, when the Devil, or the Tyrant, or the Heretick commandeth any other Service to be observed, or any other Faith to be professed; yet Christ, that is the *good Shepherd*, as he neither left his sheep nor forsook them, but *gave his life for them*, to deliver them from eternal death; so he will strengthen his Under-shepherds, and their sheep, that are his sheep likewise, by his Grace, against all fear, either of want of Necessaries, or loss of Life; so that none of these shall make them flie away from the performance of their Duties, because they know that this their good Shepherd is both able and willing to protect them from all evil.

What the false shepherds and covetous or timorous Preachers do.

And therefore

Terra fremat, regna alta crepent ruat ortus & orcus,
Si modo firma fides, nulla ruina nocet.

Let

let Tyrants *threaten* us, and let the world *rage* againſt us as much as they will, and let them do as much as they can, take away our *Churches*, rob us of our *Eſtates*, baniſh us from our *dwellings*, caſt us into *priſon*, and deprive us of our *lives*, yet if we ſtill continue Chriſt his ſheep, and retain the *innocency* and ſimplicity of ſheep, and obey the *voice* of this our good Shepherd, we need not fear the face of any man, nor the rage, ſtrength and malice of any Wolfe, but we may *comfort* our ſelves ſufficiently with what the *Angel* ſaith unto the Church of *Smyrna*; *Fear none of thoſe things which thou ſhalt ſuffer, but be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the Crown of life*; and ſo turn the *evils* that thine enemies ſhall do thee, to thine *eternal good*. 1. Tyrants cannot prevail. Revel. 2. 10.

And the ſtriving of the *Hereticks* to corrupt the *Faith*, and to ſuppreſs Gods *ſervice*, and the ſtrugling of the *Wolves* to devoure the *Sheep*, and to deſtroy Gods ſervants, is, but as Chriſt ſaith to *Saul*, when he breathed *ſlaughters* againſt the Church, *to kick againſt the pricks*; or as the Poet ſaith, *Cœlum ipſum petere ſtultitia*, moſt fooliſhly and madly to fight againſt *Heaven it ſelf*, which is a *harder task* then the twelve Labours of *Hercules*, or to take the City of *Troy*, that endured ten years ſiege, becauſe this our City is built *upon a Rock*, and the *gate of hell ſhall never be able to prevail againſt it*; not only, becauſe that being upon a *Rock*, it can never be *undermined*, but eſpecially, becauſe as S. *Cyprian* ſaith, *Non plus valet ad dejiciendum terrena pœna, quam ad erigendum divina tutela*: And this good *Shepherd*, which is the Lamb, that ſtandeth upon *Mount Sion* to defend it, is more *powerful* to ſave it, then the *Roaring Lyon*, which is the Prince of darkneſs, to *deſtroy* it. 2. Hereticks cannot prevail. Cyprianus.

2. The ſame Prophet *David* ſaith, *The Lord is my Shepherd, therefore I ſhall want nothing; he ſhall feed me in a green paſture, and lead me forth beſides the waters of comfort*: And in the Propher *Ezekiel* this good Shepherd ſaith, *I will feed my ſheep in a good paſture, and upon the high Mountains of* Iſrael *ſhall their Fold be, there ſhall they lye in a good Fold, and in a fat Paſture ſhall they feed upon the Mountains of Iſrael*: where you muſt obſerve, that this *Fold* is the *Church* of Chriſt, and the *fat Paſtures* are the Lilies, Violets, and the *ſweeteſt* of all pleaſant flowers, eſpecially the *three leaved graſs*, that as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, is moſt *delightſome* unto the ſheep; for this is the *food* of the Shepherd, even as he profeſſeth in the *Canticles*, that he *feedeth among the Lilies*; and that is, as *Pſellus* doth interpret it, where he ſeeth the *graces* of Gods holy Spirit, and the virtuous examples of the Saints; theſe are as *meat and drink* unto him, and ſo they are unto his ſheep: For as S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, the *Paſtures* of Gods ſheep are the *bleſſed Sacraments*, the holy Scriptures, heavenly Sermons, pious books, and holy meditations of heavenly things, and eſpecially the *three leaved graſs*, which is the underſtanding of that *great myſtery* of godlineſs, that our God, which is but *one God* in Eſſence, is diſtinguiſhed into *three Perſons*, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. 2. From wants. Pſal. 23. 2. Ezek. 34. 14. The beſt food for Gods ſheep what it is. Cantic. 2.

And the *waters of comfort*, are thoſe plentiful ſtreams of *milk and honey* of Divine Conſolation, wherewith the Spirit of God doth, as it were, *inebriate* the ſouls of his ſervants; for the *Church* of Chriſt is the *Land of Promiſe*, which floweth with milk and honey, it is the *Wilderneſs* where the Lord raineth *Manna*, the bread of heaven, to ſatisfie the ſouls of his children; it is the *Spouſe* of Chriſt, whoſe loves are better then *Wine*; and it is the *Houſe* of God, whereof the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh, that the ſheep of Chriſt ſhall be ſatisfied with *the plentifulneſs of his houſe*, and *he ſhall give them drink of his pleaſure, as out of a River* that is alwayes running, and yet *never* dried up. The waters of comfort, what they are. Cantic. 2. Pſal. 36. 8.

And Chriſt being our *Shepherd*, his ſheep ſhall not only have the *ſpiritual food* of their ſouls, and be ſatisfied with theſe *heavenly* juncates, but they ſhall have alſo *whatſoever* is neceſſary for the ſuſtentation of their *temporal* life: For as S. *Paul* ſaith, *Godlineſs is profitable unto all things, having the promiſe of the life that now is, and of that which is to come*: And our Saviour ſaith, that if we *firſt ſeek the Kingdome of God and his righteouſneſs*, and ſo to become the *ſheep* of this good Shepherd; then ταυτα παντα προστεθησεται ὑμιν, all the other things that you ſeek, as *food* and *rayment*, ſhall be given unto you, for your heavenly Father knoweth, that *you have need of theſe things*; therefore he that feedeth the young Ravens that *call upon him*, will *much rather* 1 Tim. 4. 8. Matth. 6.

ther feed you that are the *ſheep* of Chriſt, if you relye upon him: And they ſhall not only have *ſufficient* for themſelves, but alſo to *help* and to relieve *many* others; as the poor, and their children, and their childrens children; for *the bleſſing of the Lord*, ſaith *Solomon*, *maketh rich*, and a good man leaveth an inheritance *to his childrens children*; for *riches and plenteouſneſs are in his houſe*, and *his Seed is bleſſed*: And *Eliphas* the Temanite ſaith, *If thou return to the Almighty, and put away iniquity far from thy Tabernacles, then ſhalt thou lay up gold as duſt, and the gold of* Ophir *as the ſtones of the brooks*: Yea, the Almighty ſhall be thy *Defence*, and thou ſhalt have *plenty* of ſilver, even as the Lord bleſſed *Abraham*, that he became *very rich* in cattel, in *ſilver* and in *gold*, and had *ſheep* and *oxen*, and *he-aſſes*, and *men-ſervants*, and *maid-ſervants*, and *ſhe-aſſes*, and *Camels*.

Prov. 10. 22. Prov. 13 22. Pſal. 112. v. 2, & 3. Iob 22. 23. Gen. 13. 2. & c. 12. 16.

Or were it ſo that God *did not* thus bleſs us with *outward* wealth, but ſuffer the world to *frown* upon us, and to bring us to ſome *want* and poverty, as he did to *Job*, *Lazarus*, and others, either for the *tryal* of their faith, patience, and conſtancy in his ſervice, or for ſome *other cauſes* beſt known unto himſelf; yet if we be the ſheep of Chriſt, what need we *care* or *fear* any ſuch *want*, ſo long as we want not the *Wedding Garment*, and the *ſpiritual* food of our ſouls, *Quia major eſt ſuavitas mentis quam ventris*; becauſe the garment of *righteouſneſs* is of more worth, then any *Imperial Robe*, and the ſatisfying of our *Souls*, is a great deal better then the filling of our *bodies*, whoſe *food*, be the ſame never ſo dainty, is, compared with the *other*, nothing but *ackorns* and husks, and other like vanities, that are as ſoon *done* and gone, as they are *begun*; whereas a *good conſcience is a continual feaſt*, and the *food* of our ſouls, which our *good Shepherd* giveth us, never *periſheth*, but feedeth us to *everlaſting life*, as our Saviour ſheweth.

Iohn 6. 50. & 54.

O then beloved Brethren: What a *bleſſed* and a happy thing it is, to be the *ſheep* of Chriſt? to be thus *innobled* with ſuch a Maſter, *thus protected* from all evil, and *thus ſatisfied* with all good; though therefore the Proverb tells us, and it is *very true*, if thou make thy ſelf a *ſheep*, the Wolfe will *eat thee*; yet it is far more *excellent*, and to be *choſen* rather, to be a *ſheep* of Chriſt, then a *wolfe* of the world, and to be a *Lamb* of God, rather then a *Lyon* of the devil, when at the laſt we ſhall find it *far better*, to be *devoured*, then to *devoure*, and to be *ſpoiled*, then to *ſpoil* our Neighbours. But then

3. The duties and properties of Chriſt his ſheep. Two ſpecial points.

3. If you would be the *ſheep* of Chriſt, you muſt be *qualified* with theſe two ſpecial properties.

1. *To hear the Voice of Chriſt.*

2. To refuſe the hearing of a *ſtrangers voice.* For

Iohn 10. v. 5.

So our Saviour ſaith, *My ſheep hear my voice, but a ſtranger will they not follow*, but will *fly* from him, becauſe *they know not the voice of ſtrangers*: So you have

1. What the *ſheep* of Chriſt *muſt do*, to hear the voice of Chriſt.

2. What they muſt *not do*, that is, by no means to hearken and liſten to any *Syrens voice*, that intice them with fair promiſes, or to be *afraid* of any *thundring voice* of *Tyrants* and Perſecutors, that terrifie them with foul threatnings, to move them to change their *Faith*, and to leave the *right ſervice* of God, to follow after the *new directions*, and the idolatrous ſuperſtitions, that are ſounded in their ears by the voices of the *falſe Prophets*, of the *Idol Shepherd*.

1. What they muſt do.

1. In the *affirmative* part, that tells us, what we that are Chriſts ſheep are to do: You may obſerve theſe two things.

1. The act, to hear.
2. The object, my voice. } *For my ſheep will hear my voice.*

1. The act, to hear.

1. S. *Paul* ſaith, that *faith cometh by hearing*; *for how can we believe in him of whom we have not heard*? and therefore *Samuel* ſaith, that *to hearken was better then the fat of rams*; and this *fat of rams*, was in the old time, an holy *Oblation* inſtituted by God himſelf, and therefore a moſt acceptable offering unto God; and yet the Prophet tells us, that *to hearken to his voice*, was far more acceptable in the ſight of God, and it is far more profitable unto man, for ſuch *Oblations*, when they were offered by wicked hypocrites, were *abominations* unto God: But the Lord ſaith, *Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your ſoul ſhall live.*

Rom. 10. 14. 1 Sam. 15. 22. Eſay 55. 3.

And

And therefore, ſeeing that to *hear the voice of Chriſt*, is ſo beneficial to the ſheep of Chriſt, it is no marvel that our Saviour doth ſo often cry unto us, *He that hath eares to hear, let him hear*; becauſe this *hearing* of his voice, is not only a ſpecial means to beget faith and obedience in us, but it is alſo the *firſt ſtaff* in *Jacobs* Ladder, and the *firſt ſtep* that we make towards the Kingdome of heaven: For S. *Paul* tells us, *that whom God hath* predeſtinated, *them he hath* called, *and whom he hath* called, *thoſe alſo he hath* juſtified, *and whom he* juſtified, *them he alſo* glorified: So that there is no *glorification* without we be *juſtified*, and no *juſtification* without we be *called*, and in vain are we *called*, if we do not hearken to the Voice that calleth us; and therefore, *ad ſummum niſi a principio pervenire non potes*; thou ſhalt never be glorified in heaven, except thou doſt hear the Voice of Chriſt on earth; and therefore S. *James* adviſeth us, *to be ſwift to hear, and ſlow to ſpeak*; for which cauſe, that we may do ſo, God hath given us two eares, and but one tongue, that we might hear much more then we ſpeak; and leſt we ſhould ſpeak too much, he hath hedged in our tongues with the ſtrong *walls* of our teeth, to the end that we ſhould rather bite it, then ſuffer it to ſpeak too much, but our eares he hath left wide open, to the end we might hear very much, and our hearing many things, cannot ſo much prejudice us as our ſpeaking may.

Luke 8.8.

Rom.8.30.

Ia. 1. 19.

Why God hath given us two eares, and but one tongue.

And yet our Saviour knowing how we *fail* in the performance of our beſt actions, bids us *take heed how we hear*: And we have great reaſon to take heed how we hear, for our Saviour Chriſt, in the Parable of the Sower, ſheweth, that there be four ſorts of men that do hear his Voice, and but one of them do reap any good thereby; the other three *much hurt*, and *no good*. As

That there be four ſorts of hearers of Chriſt his voice.

1. The *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks* that are infected with *Elephantiaſis*, which as the Phyſitians ſay, is a very venomous diſeaſe, full of poyſon, becauſe it proceedeth from *corrupt blood*, that invadeth all the inward and outward parts of the body, and makes it ſo foul and filthy, that the *breath* of this Leper is very infectious, and it cleaveth ſo *faſt* to his bones, and is ſo fixed in his heart, infecting all his powers and *ſpirits*, that his *underſtanding* cannot comprehend *things aright*, eſpecially thoſe things that appertain to the *Spirit of God*, to be converted thereby: But though this man will hear as well as the beſt, and preſs to hear rather then the beſt, and ſay that *he can never hear too much*; yet as *all* were not *Iſraelites* which were of the houſe and ſeed of *Iſrael*, and as *all* are not *Chriſtians* that take upon them the Name of Chriſt, ſo *all* are not the ſheep of Chriſt, that with Chriſt his ſheep, and like Chriſt his ſheep, do *hear the voice of Chriſt*; for theſe *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks*, in a ſingularity of wit, will hold ſome falſe and erronious points, and they are ſo obſtinate and perverſe in their own opinions, that although they have the truth preached unto them, yet, ſaith Chriſt, *the devil cometh and taketh away the ſame* out of their heart, and hinders them to believe it: And though we make the point never ſo plain and ſo clear unto them, yet as S. *Hierome* ſaith of the *Luciferians*, *Solent oculis clauſis denegare, qui non credunt factum eſſe quod nolunt*: They will ſhut their eyes againſt the truth, and cannot endure to believe that which they would not have to be believed; but as S. *Aug.* ſaith of the *Donatiſts*, *Vident ſe non habere quid reſpondeant, putant tamen ſe habere quid faciant, quid loquantur non inveniunt, tacere tamen non permittuntur, quia malunt perverſis vocibus veritati reluctari, quam confeſſis erroribus paci reſtitui*: Though they ſee they have not what to anſwer, yet they know what to do; though they cannot find what they ſhould ſay, yet they are not ſuffered to be ſilent, becauſe they had rather moſt peeviſhly and perverſly to reſiſt the truth, then by confeſſing their errour, to ſubmit in peace; and ſo, as the ſame Father ſpeaketh, *Cum eos obmuteſcere compellat veritas; ſilere tamen non permittit iniquitas*: When the *truth* would have them to be *mute*, their *iniquity* will not permit them to *hold their peace*.

1. The Heretick and Schiſmatick.

Elephantiaſis, what kind of diſeaſe.

Luke 8.12.

Hierom. adverſus Luciſer.

And are not our *Sectaries*, our new Divines, and our Anabaptiſts, that have *unſainted* the bleſſed ſouls that are in heaven, and have trodden the *holy Feſtivals* of the Church under foot, and deny to the *innocent Babes* to be incorporated into Chriſt, and have turned the *true faith* and *right ſervice of God* topſie turvy, ſuch as theſe *Donatiſts* were; judge you that do ſee, what they do, and how they do *hear*

Our Sectaries juſt like the old Donatiſts.

the voice of Christ; for I am sure we have *too too many* that do *hear his voice*, and yet as *Job* saith, *Nolunt intelligere ut bene agerent*, they will not understand the *truth*, that they might *do well*.

2. The Hypocrites.

2. The next sort of *bad hearers* are the *hypocrites*, which for a while will seem to be *Saints*, and in the end will prove *Apostata*? and an *hypocrite* is a Greek word, that was used to signifie a *Stage-player*, who for a time weareth the *habit*, and carrieth the stile and title of a *King*, or acteth the part of some *valorous Knight*, when as indeed he is but a *Peasant* and a *Coward*, of no resolution; and being applied to matters of *Religion*, it signifieth such *a one*, whose *mouth*, *ears*, and *face*, and all other his outward deportment, do make shews of great piety and Religion, when as *really* he is *nothing* of what *he seems* to be; but as the Watermen do look *one way*, and row *another way*, so doth the *hypocrite* pretend one thing, and aim at another thing; as *those Spyes* that were sent by the chief Priests and Scribes to watch our Saviour Christ, did feign themselves *just men*, but it was to this end, saith the Evangelist, that *they might take hold of his words*, that so they might deliver him to the power of the Governour. So here is a *fair pretence* to be just and honest men, and yet a most *wicked purpose* to intrap and betray our Saviour Christ: And have we no *such Spyes* in these daies, that come to *hear us*, that they might take hold of our words, and pervert our words too, that they might *accuse us*? *Res ipsa loquitur*, and I have found them.

An Hypocrite, what it signifieth.

Luke 20.20.

And therefore seeing *such hearers* of Gods Words have but the shews and shadows of *Religion*, and no *substances*, they are fitly compared to those *falling stars*, which the Phylosophers do call *assub*; for as these in the night time do seem to be *true stars* in the Firmament, and yet they are nothing else but certain *fat exhalations* of the earth, which being lifted up through the upper Region of the ayr, and *kindled* through the heat and force of the *upper Element*, which is the fire, do suddenly fall again into nothing: So these *hypocritical hearers* of Gods Words, that are *Catones foris*, and *Neriones intus*, as upright as *Cato*, and as zealous as S. *Paul* without, and as deceitful as *Tyberius*, and as cruel as *Nero* within, do for a *while* seem to be *good Christians* in the Church of God; but because the *Words* that they hear, take no *root* in their hearts that are *canales non conchi*, like Sluces and Channels to *convey* it through them, and not pools or vessels to retain it still within them, when the fire of affliction and persecution, and the fear of losing their honours and preferment cometh, they *fall away*, saith our Saviour, even as the *falling stars*, and they are ready to turn with every wind, as you may note in your books the many multitude of Professors, both Clergy and Laity, that have done so since 1641. I pray God it be not laid to their charge.

3. The worldling.

3. The last sort of bad hearers, are those *worldly men* that would gladly come to the Kingdome of heaven, but they cannot be perswaded to *relinquish* and forsake the things of this world; but they are so far *addicted*, and so much in love with the *pleasures* and *vanities* of this present life, that as Christ saith, *the cares and riches of this world do so choak them*, that they bring no *fruit* unto perfection.

Luke 8 14.

4. The good Christian.

But the *sheep of Christ*, with an *honest heart*, and a simple desire to understand the will of God, and know the *truth*, that they may believe the *one*, and obey the *other*, do hear the *voice of Christ*.

And therefore, as when *Moses* called the people of God to *hear* the words and Commandments of God, and told them how the Lord willed them to *sanctifie themselves* the day before, to make clean their apparel, and to keep themselves from their wives, that they might with the more purity and sincerity *hear his words*: So the *sheep* of Christ, considering that this *outward sanctification* and preparation of this people to hear *Gods Word*, was but the *type* and *figure* of that *inward purity* and due preparation that they should make, when they come to hear the voice of Christ, do earnestly *pray to God*, that they may come to hear with a *good intent*, and not for *fashion sake*, or with a *prejudicate* conceit of the Preacher, or an *obstinate mind* to persist in their own erronious Opinion, whatsoever they hear to the contrary, or especially to *catch at some things* from the Preacher to accuse him, but to be truly *edified*

Exod 19.10. & 14. & 15.v.

How men should prepare themselves to hear Gods Word.

in

in the Faith of Chriſt, and rightly *inſtructed* for the true ſervice of God.

Theſe be the *true ſheep*, that do *rightly hear* the voice of the *true Shepherd*; and all *other hearers* that do *call* for preaching, and *run* after preaching, and *ſeek* for *ſingular* Preachers of their own Faction, are but wicked or *formal* hearers of the voice of Chriſt, and ſuch as the Prophet *Eſay* ſpeaketh of, which *follow after the Word*, and gather *precept upon precept*, and *word upon word*, and *line upon line*, here a little, and there a little, and are *never the better*, but fall backward, and grow *worſe and worſe*, becauſe theſe *hearers* do reſemble the *Inhabitants* that are about the fall of the river *Nilus*, which is very great, and the fall thereof ſo exceeding *high*, and the noyſe of the fall ſo *violent*, and ſo loud, that at the firſt it *aſtoniſheth* the hearers ſo much, and maketh them in a manner *ſenſleſs*, and to hear nothing elſe, by reaſon of the *violence* of the noyſe; yet at length, ſaith *Macrobius*, when they are accuſtomed with the noyſe thereof, and that it becomes *habitual* to them, it ſeems as *nothing* to move them to aſtoniſhment, even ſo is the *Word of God* to theſe hearers: At firſt it ſeems to *quicken* and make ſome *impreſſion* in them, but the ſame being ſo *often ſounded*, and the voice thereof ſo *familiar* to them, and ſo *often heard* of them, it moveth their hearts *no whit at all*, but it paſſeth ſo *ſmoothly* through them, that it maketh *no operation* within them, which makes the Apoſtle tell us, that they are *ever learning*, and ſo ever *hearing*, and yet *never able to come to the knowledge of the truth*.

Eſay 28. & 10. 13.

The cuſtomary hearers like the Inhabitants about the fall of *Nilus*. *Macrobius*.

2 Tim. 3. 7.

2. Having heard the *act* which my ſheep are to do, that is, to *hear* as they ought to hear, *attentively*, reverently and religiouſly, to be *edified* and bettered thereby; we are now to conſider the *object* of this act, *what* they are to hear, and that is, not the Turks *Alcoran*, nor the Popes *Traditions*, nor the Jewiſh *fables*, but my *voice*, ſaith Chriſt.

2. The object, my voice.

And this *voice* of Chriſt doth adminiſter *much matter* unto us, for Chriſt ſpeaketh unto his ſheep three manner of wayes.

Chriſt uttereth his voice three manner of wayes.

1. By the *inward inſpiration* of his ſpirit, which ſuggeſteth *good motions* into the hearts and heads of his ſheep.

1. Way.

2. By his *holy Word*, that is written unto us by his Prophets and Apoſtles, to declare his will, that is his *Laws*, Statutes, and Ordinances, his decrees, promiſes, and threatnings, that we might obey his *precepts*, believe his *promiſes*, and fear his *threatnings*.

2. Way.

3. By the *lively voice* of his under Shepherds, *thoſe Preachers* that he continually ſendeth to inſtruct his ſheep, and to inform them of the truth and *true meaning* of his will, that is ſet down in his written Word.

3. Way.

1. And becauſe there are *many ſpirits*, we are not to believe *every ſpirit*, but we ought to be very careful, to *try the ſpirits*, whether thoſe motions and *inſpirations* of the ſpirit that we have, be agreeable to the *written Word* of God, which if they be not, they are the *ſuggeſtions* of the lying ſpirit, and not the *inſpiration* of Gods Spirit.

1 John 4. 1.

2. And becauſe the *written Word* is but the dead letter, a *dumb* Judge, and full of myſteries and obſcurities, Chriſt ſends his *ſervants* to explain that written Word, as Councellors do the written Law unto his ſheep; or, if it were not ſo, there was *no need* of Teachers, but every one that had a *Bible*, and could read it, could underſtand the *voice of Chriſt*: But Chriſt knew how *neceſſary* it was for his ſheep to have *Inſtructors*, and explainers of his will; and therefore he ſendeth his *under-Shepherds* continually to ſound forth his voice unto them, and he tells us plainly, *He that heareth them, heareth him.*

Luke 10. 16.

But here, by the *voice of Chriſt*, which the preachers are to *explain* unto the ſheep, the *queſtion* is, whether they ought to alledge or cite *any other voice*, or the voice of any other man, then what is ſet down by the divine *Pen-men* of the *holy Scriptures*, in the Canonical books of the Old and New Teſtament, which are the only writings that are of divine inſpiration, and infallibly true, without any commixion of any errour: For ſome will believe *nothing*, and would have nothing ſaid or alledged, but what is ſet down *directis terminis* in the holy Scriptures, that are the *only undoubted*

doubted voice of Chriſt; therefore they do blame them much, and tax them ſore, that cite any other Author, or produce any other proof of any truth, then what is found in the holy Bible.

To theſe men I anſwer, that as I love their Zeal to Gods Word, ſo I pity their Ignorance of Gods Will; for they ſhould know, that as *every lie* is the voice of the Devil, who is *a lier from the beginning*, and the Father of all lies, as our Saviour ſaith, ſo *every one* that is of the *truth heareth my voice*, ſaith Chriſt: and as he is *Pater luminum*, the Father of Lights, ſo he is *Pater veritatum*, the Father of Truths, and *every truth qua truth*, is the Voice of God, and comes from God, as when *Saul* propheſied, it became a Proverb in *Iſrael*, *Is Saul alſo among the Prophets?* and when *Caiphas* the high Prieſt, that condemned Chriſt to death, propheſied, that it was expedient for the Jews, *That one man ſhould die for the people, that the whole nation periſh not*; his words were the Truth of God, and they are regiſtred in the holy Scriptures; nay more, when Satan ſaid, *I know who thou art, even the holy one of God:* And again, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of God:* And when *Peter* ſaid, *Thou art Chriſt the ſon of the living God. Utriuſque confeſſionis non neganda ſed agnoſcenda eſt veritas*, the truth of either of their confeſſion cannot be denied, but muſt be acknowledged, & ought to be believed for truth, not becauſe either of them hath ſaid it, but becauſe what either of them hath ſaid, is true; otherwiſe, if we refuſe to believe the truth, becauſe the Devil ſpeaks it, his malice is ſo great, that, to hinder our Faith, he would perchance very often ſay the truth, that we might not believe it, which is his aim and deſire alwayes, when he doth ſpeak truth; and therefore, *Quamvis hic laudatur, iſte tamen vituperatur*, though S. *Peter* was commended, yet Satan was reproved for his confeſſion, becauſe he had no command nor commiſſion to ſpeak that truth, and he ſpake it to none other end, but that it might not be believed, becauſe he hoped that none would believe the Devil: but S. *Paul* tells us, That *if an angel from heaven ſhould preach to us any other goſpel then what was truth*, he ſhould be *accurſed*, to teach us, that neither the worthineſs nor, the unworthineſs of the perſons ſpeaking, but the lawful commiſſion and authority of the ſpeaker, the truth of what is ſpoken, is moſt chiefly to be regarded by the hearers; and therefore Chriſt ſaith, *The Scribes and Phariſees*, that were wicked men, and his enemies, *do ſit in Moſes chair*; that is, they are lawfully called to teach the people, and to expound the law of God; *All therefore whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do*; but do not ye after their works, becauſe they ſay and do not.

John 8.44. John 18.37. 1 Sam. 10.12. John 11.10. Luke 4.34. & 4. Galat. 1.8. Mat. 23.2. & 3.

And therefore, though the holy Scriptures primarily, infallibly and perfectly, without errour, be the voice of Chriſt, and the true Word of God, yet this denieth not, but that other Writings, either of holy Faith, witty Poets, and learned Philoſophers, or whoſoever they be that write the Truth, either Hiſtorically or Phyſically, or Morally, may ſecondarily be ſtiled the *voice* of Chriſt, ſo far forth as they are *the words of truth*: otherwiſe S. *Paul* would never have cited three Teſtimonies of the Heathens, to juſtifie the truth of what he delivered, which was like the fact of *David* to cut off *Goliah*'s head with his own ſword, or as the *Iſraelites* robb'd the *Egyptians* of their Gold and of their Jewels, when we take *what is good* out of prophane Authors, as S. *Aug.* ſheweth at large: *De doct. Chr. l. 2. c. 40.* and produceth many excellent points out of their Writings. *De civ. dei l. 8. c. 6, 7, 8.*

And if it were not lawfull and uſeful to quote other Authors, as the Voice of Chriſt unto the people, it had been but a vain thing, either for the Fathers of old, or for any other learned Divine now to write any thing at all, if their writings bare no credit, or was of no uſe, either with the Readers or the Hearers of their explications; or ſhall we think that all the learned Authors, that have written ſince the Apoſtles time, were *ſuch fools*, as to take ſuch pains as they have done to *no purpoſe*, which muſt needs be to *no purpoſe*, if *no uſe* can be made of them.

You will perchance ſay, yes, they may be read by the Preacher, but not quoted and cited to the hearers; but as *Virgil* ſaith,

Hos

——*Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.*

So I say, this is to rob the Bees of their Honey, and to eat that our selves which we our selves never gathered; and so, to take the Honour which is due to other men unto our selves, which is a kind of Theft, and an Injury done unto our deceased brethren, and not so beneficial to the hearers, who ought rather to respect them more then us.

But to prove both the lawfulness and the necessity of using the help of as *many Authors* as we can conveniently read, you know that the holy Scriptures are like a *deep well*, from whence we cannot draw out the water, without the help of some things to reach it, as the *Samaritan* woman said to Christ; it is full of Figures and Mysteries, so difficult, that in S. *Pauls* Epistles S. *Peter* saith, there are *quædam intellectu*, some things *hard to be understood*; and in other places much more, and perhaps more difficult, when as the Scriptures do comprehend a Literal or Historical sense, and a Spiritual or a Mystical sense; and the Literal sense is either *simple*, which consisteth in the propriety of the words, or *figurative*, whereby the words are transferred from their natuaral signification to another signification, as when Christ saith, *I have other sheep that are not of this fold*; the meaning is, that besides the people of the *Jews*, he had *other people* that were to be brought to the *Church* of God; *Et hujus sensus tot sunt genera quot sunt genera figurarum*, saith *Bellarm. l. 3. c. 3.* very truly. John 4. 11. 2 Pet. 3. 16. The difficulty of the Scripture is more fully shewed in my book of the *Great Anti-christ*.

And the *spiritual sense* is distinguished to be three-fold *allegoricall*, *tropological* and *anagogical*; and the not understanding in what sense the Scripture is to be interpreted, hath caused many great scholars to erre most foully, as *Origen* doth so allegorize the *terrestial* Paradise, that he taketh away the truth of the History, when for the *trees* he understands the *Angels*, for the *rivers* the heavenly *vertues*, and the *coats of skin* their humane *bodies*: and others have as foully erred in taking that litterally which ought to be figuratively understood, as *Papias*, and those that follow him, *Just. Martyr, Iren. Tertul. Lactant.* and some others do expound the *new Hierusalem*, and the *thousand years* that the Saints are said they should *reign with Christ*, altogether litterally, which are figuratively to be understood, as both S. *Hierom* and S. *Aug.* testifie.

And therefore S. *Aug.* demandeth, how he, that cannot understand *Terence* without a comment, dares presume to understand the Scripture without a Teacher, when as *Quicquid est in scripturis illis, altum & divinum est*, all & every thing that is in these holy Scriptures, is very deep and divine: And S. *Paul* saith, that the *letter killeth*, that is, the words of the Scriptures litterally interpreted, when they ought to be figuratively understood, do bring men into many errours; and indeed, as S. *Augustine* saith, *Hinc omnes hæreses, dum scripturæ bonæ intelliguntur non bene*, from hence all Heresies and Errours do arise, when the good Scriptures are misconstrued, and not rightly understood.

For it is not enough for us to have the Bible in our hands, and the words of it in our mouths, unless we have also the sense and meaning of it in our heads; therefore our Saviour Christ knowing, that, as the *Eunuch* who had perfectly read the prophesie of *Isaiah*, yet understood it not without a guide; and as the Jews, that had the Laws of God written upon their doors and the posts of their houses; yet were they to seek the meaning thereof from the mouth of the Priests; so, our having the words of the Scripture at our fingers end, would avail us nothing, unless we understood it, and understand it we could not, unless with the Jews and the Eunuch we were instructed in the true sense and meaning thereof, he sends his Embassadors, the *Bishops* and *Ministers*, as I said before, to instruct his people to understand the sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, and the voice of Christ in such and such words and places of the holy Scripture as are difficult and obscure, and saith, *He that heareth you heareth me*. Acts 8. 21. Mal. 2. 7. Luke 10. 16.

And of all those that Christ sendeth to explain his Will, and to interpret his Voice, and to give the true sense of his words unto the people, who, I pray you, do

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doubted voice of Christ; therefore they do blame them much, and tax them sore, that cite any other Author, or produce any other proof of any truth, then what is found in the holy Bible.

To these men I answer, that as I love their Zeal to Gods Word, so I pity their Ignorance of Gods Will; for they should know, that as *every lie* is the voice of the Devil, who is *a lier from the beginning*, and the Father of all lies, as our Saviour saith, so *every one* that is of the *truth heareth my voice*, saith Christ: and as he is *Pater luminum*, the Father of Lights, so he is *Pater veritatum*, the Father of Truths, and *every truth qua truth*, is the Voice of God, and comes from God, as when *Saul* prophesied, it became a Proverb in *Israel*, *Is Saul also among the Prophets?* and when *Caiphas* the high Priest, that condemned Christ to death, prophesied, that it was expedient for the Jews, *That one man should die for the people, that the whole nation perish not*; his words were the Truth of God, and they are registred in the holy Scriptures; nay more, when Satan said, *I know who thou art, even the holy one of God:* And again, *Thou art Christ the Son of God:* And when *Peter* said, *Thou art Christ the son of the living God. Utriusque confessionis non neganda sed agnoscenda est veritas*, the truth of either of their confession cannot be denied, but mutt be acknowledged, & ought to be believed for truth, not because either of them hath said it, but because what either of them hath said, is true; otherwise, if we refuse to believe the truth, because the Devil speaks it, his malice is so great, that, to hinder our Faith, he would perchance very often say the truth, that we might not believe it, which is his aim and desire alwayes, when he doth speak truth; and therefore, *Quamvis hic laudatur, iste tamen vituperatur*, though S. *Peter* was commended, yet Satan was reproved for his confession, because he had no command nor commission to speak that truth, and he spake it to none other end, but that it might not be believed, because he hoped that none would believe the Devil: but S. *Paul* tells us, That *if an angel from heaven should preach to us any other gospel then what was truth*, he should be *accursed*, to teach us, that neither the worthiness nor the unworthiness of the persons speaking, but the lawful commission and authority of the speaker, the truth of what is spoken, is most chiefly to be regarded by the hearers; and therefore Christ saith, *The Scribes and Pharisees*, that were wicked men, and his enemies, *do sit in Moses chair*; that is, they are lawfully called to teach the people, and to expound the law of God; *All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do*; but do not ye after their works, because they say and do not.

John 8.44. John 18.37. 1 Sam. 10.12. John 11.10. Luke 4.34. & 4. Galat. 1.8. Mat. 23.2. & 3.

And therefore, though the holy Scriptures primarily, infallibly and perfectly, without errour, be the voice of Christ, and the true Word of God, yet this denieth not, but that other Writings, either of holy Faith, witty Poets, and learned Philosophers, or whosoever they be that write the Truth, either Historically or Physically, or Morally, may secondarily be stiled the *voice* of Christ, so far forth as they are *the words of truth*: otherwise S. *Paul* would never have cited three Testimonies of the Heathens, to justifie the truth of what he delivered, which was like the fact of *David* to cut off *Goliah*'s head with his own sword, or as the *Israelites* robb'd the *Egyptians* of their Gold and of their Jewels, when we take *what is good* out of prophane Authors, as S. *Aug.* sheweth at large: *De doct. Chr. l. 2. c.* 40. and produceth many excellent points out of their Writings. *De civ. dei l.* 8. *c.* 6, 7, 8.

And if it were not lawfull and useful to quote other Authors, as the Voice of Christ unto the people, it had been but a vain thing, either for the Fathers of old, or for any other learned Divine now to write any thing at all, if their writings bare no credit, or was of no use, either with the Readers or the Hearers of their explications; or shall we think that all the learned Authors, that have written since the Apostles time, were *such fools*, as to take such pains as they have done to *no purpose*, which must needs be to *no purpose*, if *no use* can be made of them.

You will perchance say, yes, they may be read by the Preacher, but not quoted and cited to the hearers; but as *Virgil* saith,

——*Hos ego verſiculos feci, tulit alter honores.*

So I ſay, this is to rob the Bees of their Honey, and to eat that our ſelves which we our ſelves never gathered; and ſo, to take the Honour which is due to other men unto our ſelves, which is a kind of Theft, and an Injury done unto our deceaſed brethren, and not ſo beneficial to the hearers, who ought rather to reſpect them more then us.

But to prove both the lawfulneſs and the neceſſity of uſing the help of as *many Authors* as we can conveniently read, you know that the holy Scriptures are like a *deep well*, from whence we cannot draw out the water, without the help of ſome things to reach it, as the *Samaritan* woman ſaid to Chriſt; it is full of Figures and Myſteries, ſo difficult, that in S. *Pauls* Epiſtles S. *Peter* ſaith, there are *δυσνόητα τινα*, ſome things *hard to be underſtood*; and in other places much more, and perhaps more difficult, when as the Scriptures do comprehend a Literal or Hiſtorical ſenſe, and a Spiritual or a Myſtical ſenſe; and the Literal ſenſe is either *ſimple*, which conſiſteth in the propriety of the words, or *figurative*, whereby the words are tranſferred from their natuaral ſignification to another ſignification, as when Chriſt ſaith, *I have other ſheep that are not of this fold*; the meaning is, that beſides the people of the *Jews*, he had *other people* that were to be brought to the *Church* of God; *Et hujus ſenſus tot ſunt genera quot ſunt genera figurarum*, ſaith *Bellarm. l.3.c.3.* very truly.

John 4.11. 2 Pet.3.16. The difficulty of the Scripture is more fully ſhewed in my book of the *Great Antichriſt*.

And the *ſpiritual ſenſe* is diſtinguiſhed to be three-fold *allegoricall*, *tropological* and *anagogical*; and the not underſtanding in what ſenſe the Scripture is to be interpreted, hath cauſed many great ſcholars to erre moſt foully, as *Origen* doth ſo allegorize the *terreſtial* Paradiſe, that he taketh away the truth of the Hiſtory, when for the *trees* he underſtands the *Angels*, for the *rivers* the heavenly *vertues*, and the *coats of skin* their humane *bodies*: and others have as foully erred in taking that litterally which ought to be figuratively underſtood, as *Papias*, and thoſe that follow him, *Juſt. Martyr*, *Iren. Tertul. Lactant.* and ſome others do expound the *new Hieruſalem*, and the *thouſand years* that the Saints are ſaid they ſhould *reign with Chriſt*, altogether litterally, which are figuratively to be underſtood, as both S. *Hierom* and S. *Aug.* teſtifie.

And therefore S. *Aug.* demandeth, how he, that cannot underſtand *Terence* without a comment, dares preſume to underſtand the Scripture without a Teacher, when as *Quicquid eſt in ſcripturis illis, altum & divinum eſt*, all & every thing that is in theſe holy Scriptures, is very deep and divine: And S. *Paul* ſaith, that the *letter killeth*, that is, the words of the Scriptures litterally interpreted, when they ought to be figuratively underſtood, do bring men into many errours; and indeed, as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, *Hinc omnes hæreſes, dum ſcripturæ bonæ intelliguntur non bene*, from hence all Hereſies and Errours do ariſe, when the good Scriptures are miſconſtrued, and not rightly underſtood.

For it is not enough for us to have the Bible in our hands, and the words of it in our mouths, unleſs we have alſo the ſenſe and meaning of it in our heads; therefore our Saviour Chriſt knowing, that, as the *Eunuch* who had perfectly read the propheſie of *Iſaiah*, yet underſtood it not without a guide; and as the Jews, that had the Laws of God written upon their doors and the poſts of their houſes; yet were they to ſeek the meaning thereof from the mouth of the Prieſts; ſo, our having the words of the Scripture at our fingers end, would avail us nothing, unleſs we underſtood it, and underſtand it we could not, unleſs with the Jews and the Eunuch we were inſtructed in the true ſenſe and meaning thereof, he ſends his Embaſſadors, the *Biſhops* and *Miniſters*, as I ſaid before, to inſtruct his people to underſtand the ſenſe and meaning of the holy Ghoſt, and the voice of Chriſt in ſuch and ſuch words and places of the holy Scripture as are difficult and obſcure, and ſaith, *He that heareth you heareth me*.

Acts 8.21. Mal.2.7. Luke 10.16.

And of all thoſe that Chriſt ſendeth to explain his Will, and to interpret his Voice, and to give the true ſenſe of his words unto the people, who, I pray you, do

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ye think can beſt do it, the preachers that are now living, or thoſe that are *dead*? Surely the *wiſe men* were wont to ſay, that the *beſt Counſellors* are the *dead*; that is, the *counſels* and inſtructions that the *dead men* have left in their books, becauſe they are no *time-ſervers* that fear the Tyrant, or *flatter* for reward: And truly I am of the *ſame mind* for our *Preachers* and inſtructors in the Word of God, when I ſee *many men* for the love of *preferment*, and many *others* for fear of looſing their livings, doing *that ſervice* to God, and teaching thoſe documents unto men, which otherwiſe, I know, they would not do.

Who are the beſt Counſellors.

Dead Preachers rather to be believed, then the living Preachers, ſo ſaith Chriſt, they have *Moſes* and the Prophets that were all dead.

And therefore if you believe *me*, or any other *living* man, that Chriſt ſendeth to inſtruct you, why ſhould you not rather, or at leaſt as ſoon believe S. *Aug.* S. *Chryſoſt.* or any other of the holy Fathers that are dead, when we are *aſſured* they were ſent from God to declare his will unto his people, and who we know were *moſt learned*, zealous, and moſt faithful Miniſters of Chriſt: And ſo you ſee what the *ſheep of Chriſt muſt do*, to hear *his voice* from thoſe *meſſengers* that Chriſt *ſendeth*, and hath ſent to inform them of it.

2. The negative part, what they muſt not do.

2. What they *muſt not do*, is here likewiſe ſet down by Chriſt; and that is, they muſt not hear the voice of a *ſtranger*, which Chriſt *hath not ſent* to declare his will, and to explain his meanings, for a *ſtrangers voice*, ſaith Chriſt, *my ſheep will not hear*, but will *fly from him*, for that they know not the voice of ſtrangers.

Who is meant by a ſtranger.

Where you muſt obſerve, that by *ſtranger* is not meant, a *ſtranger* that cometh unto the people, but a ſtranger unto Chriſt, and to the *truth of Chriſt*, and *true ſervice* of God; and becauſe he ſpeaketh here firſt in the *ſingular* number, of a *ſtranger*, whoſe *voice* Chriſts ſheep will not *hear*, but will fly from him; and then in the *plural* number of ſtrangers, whoſe *voice* his ſheep *know* not; for though *Tremel.* tranſlates it out of the *Syriack*, *Non norunt vocem alieni*, yet the Greek Copy hath it, οὐκ οἴδασι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τὴν φωνήν, which *Beza* tranſlates, *Non norunt vocem alienorum*; they know not the voice of *ſtrangers*, as our Engliſh tranſlation hath it very right.

Whom doth Chriſt mean by the ſtranger, and who by the ſtrangers.

Therefore I conceive that by the *ſtranger*, he meaneth that fooliſh *Idol Shepherd*, whereof the Prophet *Zachary* ſpeaketh, that ſhould come in the time of Chriſt, to be the *type* of the *great Anti-chriſt*, that ſhould be manifeſted *in our time*; and by the other *ſtrangers* he meaneth, thoſe *many Anticks* that S. *John* ſpeaks of, the *Hereticks* and *falſe Prophets*, that from time to time, and *now* more then *at any other time*, do intrude themſelves into the *Sacred Function* of the Miniſtry, and as the Prophet *Jeremy* ſaith, *do run*, when Chriſt hath not *ſent them*, and do *ſpeak* what he hath not *commanded* them, but do preach the *lying inventions* of their own heads, to ſeduce the *ſheep* of Chriſt to follow the *Anti-chriſt*, and to relinquiſh the *true received worſhip* of the living God.

Ier. 14. 14. & c. 23. 21.

But the true and *right ſheep* of Chriſt will hear none of theſe, nor follow after any of them, for they *know*, that as they which are not *lawfully called*, or allowed to be the *lawful* Miniſters of Gods Word, ſhould not *preach*, and cannot do it without *great offence* to God, that may juſtly ſay to them, as he doth to the Jews by his Prophet, *Quis avobis requiſivit hac*? Who hath required theſe things at your hands? So they cannot hear them without the *like offence* to God, yea, though they ſhould preach the *truth*, and nothing but the *truth* unto them; for as Chriſt reproved Satan, and bad him hold his *peace*, when he ſpake the *very truth*, that he was *the Son of God*, becauſe he had no *Commiſſion* to be the Embaſſador of Chriſt, to *publiſh that truth* unto his people, ſo ſhall they be ſharply *cenſured* by God, though they preach the *very truth*, when they are not lawfully called, and have no *Commiſſion* from God to do the ſame; & I think the *fearful Judgement of God* upon King *Uzzia*, for invading the *Prieſts* office, and upon *Uzza*, for doing that which appertained to the *Levites* to do, 1 *Chron.* 13. 10. and upon King *Saul* for offering *Sacrifice* to the Lord, ſhould be a ſufficient warning for them to *take heed* how they *thruſt themſelves* into the Miniſtry; for King *Uzzia*, preſuming to burn *Incenſe* unto the Lord, which appertained to the *Prieſts*, the ſons of *Aaron* to do, the Lord ſuddenly ſmote him with *Leproſie*, and ſo he continued a *Leper* to his dying day: And *Uzza*, putting forth his

2 Chro. 26. 21.

hand

hand to hold up the *Ark*, when the Oxen ſhook it, which belonged only unto the *Levites* to carry it, the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt *Uzza*, that he ſmote him *dead* in the very place; and *Saul* loſt his Kingdome for his *intruſion* into the *Prieſts Office*; and how dare theſe men to *intrude* themſelves into this *Sacred Office*, to be the *Embaſſadors* of Chriſt, to *declare* his will, and to *expound* his meaning, without *Commiſſion*? And if they ſhould dare to *preach*, how dare the *ſheep of Chriſt* hear their voice, when as Chriſt tells us plainly, *his ſheep will not hear the voice of ſtrangers*; and the Lord commands them by his Prophet, *not to hearken* to thoſe whom he hath *not ſent*? And *Solomon* ſaith, *Ceaſe my ſon to hear the inſtruction that cauſeth to erre from the words of knowledge*, *Prov.*19.27. Surely *none* would do it, but that we love to ſhew our ſelves to be the children of *Adam*, and to ſtretch forth our hands to the *forbidden fruit*, and as the Poet ſaith, Ier.27.14. & c.29.8.

Nitimur in vetitum ſemper, cupimuſq; negata.

We *long* to do what we are *forbidden*, and will the *rather* do it, becauſe it is *forbidden*; like the man, that for ſome juſt *impediment*, never went out of his houſe, but being for ſome offence injoyned to *keep his houſe*, he was ſo *moved* for the debarring of his liberty, that to croſs the *command* of his Superiours, and to become *liable* to his *cenſure*, he would needs preſently *walk abroad*, and ſo with *Shimei*, bring himſelf to death: And ſo it is with us, we will not *hear* when we are *commanded to hear*, and we long to *hear* thoſe that we are *forbidden to hear*, as if God envied our good when he *forbad* us, when as he forbids nothing but for our good, as when we forbid a man to drink *poyſon*, that it might not *kill him*. 1 Reg.2.46. Our wilfulneſs to do what we are forbidden.

Secunda pars, I know them.

2. Having heard how the ſheep of Chriſt are *called*, it followeth that I ſhould ſhew how they are *juſtified*, in theſe words, κἀγω γινώσκω αὐτα, and *I know them*, that is, I do *acknowledge* them for my *ſheep*, and do own them for *my people*, for my *ſervants*, and for *my children*; for there be *very many* that go under the ſhape and ſhew of Gods *ſheep*, and are indeed the *Foxes*, *Wolves*, and *Lyons of Satan*, of whom Chriſt never ſaith, *I know them*, but rather, *Depart from me*, *I know you not*, *you workers of iniquity*.

The wicked and the hypocrite not acknowledged by God to be his ſheep.

Yet theſe ſubtil Foxes, and theſe Wolves in *ſheeps cloathing*, that profeſs themſelves to be the only *Saints*, and are indeed the *deſtroyers* of Gods ſervants, may eaſily *blind* the eyes of men, but they cannot *beguile* the all-ſeeing God; for as the *Sichemites* whereof *Moſes* teſtifieth, that they came with *diſſembling hearts* to deceive *Jacob* and his children, were contented to be *circumciſed*, and take upon them the habit of *Gods children*, in hope that *all theirs* ſhould be their own, if they were circumciſed, as themſelves confeſs; yet the Lord that knew them to be *hypocrites*, doth not *acknowledge* them for his children; and therefore their *diſſembling* of Religion brought on their *deſtruction*, and their *Circumciſion*, which they thought would be the means to *inrich* them, became the means to *deſtroy* them, for while they were *weak* and *ſore*, by reaſon of their Circumciſion, the ſons of *Jacob* fell upon them, and *ſlew* all that were male, which was a *juſt judgment* of God for the diſſembling of their Religion: And as the *Gibeonites* with falſe hearts, and a *diſſembling ſhew* of a religious deſire of *communion* with Gods children, came to the children of *Iſrael*, and through their lies and *diſſimulation* made a league with them, and ſo freed themſelves from the *Sword* of *Joſhua*, and deceived the *Iſraelites*, yet they could not *deceive* the Lord, who knew their *hypocriſie*, and knew them not for any of his people, and therefore made them *ſlaves* and drudges to *draw* water, *carry* wood, and do all manner of *ſervile* work for the ſons of *Iſrael*: So amongſt us *in all places*, and *at all times*, we have ſuch *Sichemites* and *Gibeonites*, as deceive the *world*, and do blind the eyes of men, by making them to believe they are the *only Saints* of God, and do all for the *honour* of God, but the Lord *knoweth them not* for any ſuch Saints, and Chriſt doth not *acknowledge* them for any of *his ſheep*; but though they ſhall ſay to Chriſt, *Lord*, *Lord*, *have we not propheſied in thy Name*, *and in thy Name have caſt out devils*, *and in thy Name done wonderful works*, that is, *preached*, and *faſted*, and *prayed*, and

The *Sichemites* how ſerved for their deceitful hypocriſie. *Gen.*34.23. V.26.

*Joſh.*9.15. V.27. The *Gibeonites* how ſerved for their diſſimulation.

fought for thy service, and the like evidences of our *faithfulness* unto thee; yet Christ,
Mat.7. 22,23. that knoweth very well they did all these things for their own ends, will profess unto them, *I never knew you, depart from me ye that work iniquity.*

And S. *Luke* is more ample in setting out the discourse and *Dialogue* betwixt Christ and these men at the last day, saying, When once the *Master of the house* is
How S. *Luke* describes the hypocrites. risen up, and hath *shut the door*, and they standing *without* shall *knock at the door*, saying, *Lord, Lord, open to us*; and he shall answer and say unto them, *I know you not, whence you are*; then shall they begin to say, *we have eaten and drunk in thy presence*, that is, when they received the *blessed Sacrament* of his Body and Blood at his own Table, *and thou hast taught in our streets*, and we were *daily hearers* of those Sermons that were preached, though but in *Chambers*, or in *Barns*, or in the *streets*; but he shall say, *I tell you*, as being angry for their presumption and hypocrisie, *I know you not, whence you are, depart from me all ye workers of iniquity*; *there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth*, when they shall see *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and all the *Prophets*, and the rest of Gods *faithful* servants, whom they *persecuted*, in the *Kingdome of God*, and themselves *thrust out of doors.*
Luke 13.25, 26,27,28.

But can they perswade themselves, that our Saviour Christ *will not know them*,
How hardly it is to perswade hypocrites, to acknowledge themselves to be hypocrites. when as they seem to be so *zealous* of his worship, and profess themselves so *earnestly* and so *strictly* to observe his *will*, and to do nothing without a *warrant* from his *written Word.*

Surely no, they cannot be perswaded hereunto; but it is easier to convert the *drunkards*, *adulterers*, and *harlots*, then to perswade these *hypocritical Saints*, that they are sinners, save in that *general notion*, that we are all *sinners*; for as *decipimur specie recti*, we are deceived in them, and the world is blinded, through that *shew* of piety and profession of Religion which they make, so they *deceive themselves* hereby.

Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis & umbra.

For it is most certain, that *vice* deceives the *owner*, under the shew and shadow of virtue, when as our Saviour saith to his Apostles, they shall *persecute you*, and *imprison you*, and scourge you, silence you, and *rob* you of your means and maintenance; and as the Prophet *Jeremy* saith, cause those that did *feed delicately*, to lie desolate *in the streets*, and those that were brought up in *Scarlet*, to imbrace *dunghills*; and yet they that do these things shall not be *Infidels* and *Pagans*, but such as shall think themselves *very good Christians*, and to do God herein *very good service*, to persecute his servan s.
Lament.4.5. Was there ever any time wherein this was more truly fulfilled, then now in our daies?

And what a *cruel deceit* is this, to beguile their own hearts, and to deceive their *own souls*, to think they have *God Almighty* by the *hand*, when the *devil* holds them fast by the *toes*, and to perswade themselves they are the *sheep of Christ*, when Christ professeth *he knows them not* to be *his sheep*, but knoweth them to be the *Wolves* of Satan.

But can any thing be *unknown* to God, or be *hid* from him which knoweth the *secrets* of our hearts, and understandeth our *thoughts long before*? he knoweth what is in the *deep Sea*, and how far the world *extendeth*; he knoweth the *number of the stars*, *and calleth them all by their names*; and he knoweth the *height* of heaven, the *depth* of the Sea, and the *length* of all the Spheres; and doth he not know *these men*?

Indeed *we know them not*, they are such *Camelions* that can change themselves into *all colours*, saving *white*; that is, put on all manner of shews and shapes, but that which is virtuous and honest, but God *knoweth them very well*, *intus & in cute*, both within and without; for so the Lord professeth, *I know their works and their thoughts*, *Esay* 66.18. And therefore you must understand there is a *twofold knowledge* in God.

1. The one *general*, or universal.
2. The other *special*, or particular.

The

The twofold knowledge of God.

The firſt is over *all the things* in the world; as they are his *creatures*, and the works of his hands; and ſo he knoweth all men, *good* and *bad*, and all creatures both in *heaven* and in *earth*.

The other is only over his *Church*, that is, his *children*, whom he hath choſen and loveth, and which therefore do *love*, *honour*, and *obey* him, in doing his *will*, and keeping his *Commandments*: And thus he *knoweth not* the wicked hypocrites, oppreſſors, extortioners, and the like *ſinful* generation, and brood of Vipers, as *John Baptiſt* calls them, to be *his children*, but knoweth that they are none of his children, but rather the children of their *Father* the Devil; for as a *Father* knoweth his *Son*, and as he is his *Son provideth* for him an inheritance, and knoweth his *ſervant*, but knoweth him not for his *Son*, and therefore provideth *no inheritance* for him, but appointeth him to do ſome *drudgery*, and keepeth him for his ſervice: So Chriſt knoweth his *ſheep*, and as they are his ſheep, he provideth for them *eternal life*, and he knoweth the *Goats*, the *Wolves*, and the *Foxes*, and knoweth them not *to be his ſheep*; and therefore provideth *no inheritance* for them, but will *ſeverely* puniſh them, becauſe they neither *follow him*, nor *hear his voice*, but as the Lord ſaith, *Refuſed his counſel, and deſpiſed his reproof*, *Prov.* 1. 30. And this ſhould be an exceeding grief and terrour unto the *wicked*, when God ſhall ſay unto them, as a Father doth to his *diſobedient* Son, *I will not know him*; that is, I will not acknowledge him for my ſon; ſo God will not *own* nor *acknowledge* theſe men for his *children*, though he knoweth them, and knoweth their *works* well enough.

How God knoweth both the godly and the wicked.

And on the other ſide, this is an exceeding *comfort* and joy unto the *godly*, when as a friend ſhall ſay of his friend, I will *know him whereſoever I ſee him*, before friend and foe, and I will acknowledge him my *friend*, and *my ſelf* his friend, in what ſtate or condition ſoever he be, rich or poor, bond or free, ſo God *knoweth them that truſt in him*, ſaith the Prophet, and he ſhall ſay of them, *I know them*, and I will acknowledge them to be *mine*, my ſheep, and my ſervants, whereſoever they are, and in what ſtate or condition ſoever they be: And therefore *they follow me*, and ſtudy to be *holy*, *as I am holy*; which is their *ſanctification*, and the third part of theſe words.

Nahum. 1. 7.

Tertia pars, they follow me. Luke 9. 23.

3. Chriſt told his Apoſtles at the firſt, that *if any man would be his Diſciple*, and ſo his ſheep to hear his voice, and to learn of him, *he muſt take up his croſs and follow him*.

The following of Chriſt twofold.

And this *following* of him, as you ſee by theſe words, muſt be twofold.

1. *In patiendo*, in ſuffering, as he ſuffered.

2. *In agendo*, in doing, as he did. For

1. In ſuffering. Eſay 53. 3.

1. Our Shepherd Chriſt was *vir dolorum*, a man of ſorrows, as the Prophet calls him, that had experience of *infirmities*; and his whole life, from his Cradle to his Croſs, was but a life of *ſuffering*, the *ſcornful reproofs of the wealthy*, and the *deſpitefulneſs* of the proud, who did all that either *tongues* or *hands* could do againſt him; and yet, *as a Lamb before his ſhearer is dumb*, *ſo he opened not his mouth*, but forgave them all their indignities, and *prayed* for them that *crucified* him, which was an *example* of ſuffering without example, and beyond all examples. V. 7.

And our Saviour tells us, the *Diſciple* muſt not be above his *Maſter*, he muſt not look to walk on *flowers*, when his Maſter walks through the bryars; but where the Maſter goeth *before*, the ſervant ſhould *follow* after.

And yet we may juſtly ſay with S. *Bernard*, *Quam pauci, O Domine Jeſu, poſt te ire volunt, cum tamen ad te pervenire, nemo ſit qui nolit, hoc ſcimilibus cunctis, quæ delectationes in dextra tua uſq; ad finem?* How few, O Lord *Jeſu*, there are, which will come after thee, when as to come unto thee, there is no man but is willing, becauſe where *thou art*, and in *thy right hand*, there is *fulneſs of joy*, and abundance of pleaſures for evermore.

Ea propterea, ſaith that Father, *Pauci omnes te ſequi, at non ita & imitari, conregnare cupiunt, ſed non compati*: And therefore all men would *enjoy* thee, but not ſo as to *follow* thee; they would *Reign* with thee, but they will not *ſuffer* with thee; they can be contented with the Apoſtle, to *build Tabernacles*, and to abide with him on

mount Tabor, where he was transfigured in Glory; but they can all forsake him on *mount Calvarie*, when he was overwhelmed with sorrow, and confusion went *over his face.*

This is the common course of the world, to follow him close in *prosperity*, and to seem *zealous* of his honour and of his service, *Cum benefecerit illis*, when as the Prophet *David* saith, *Their corn, and wine, and oyle encreaseth*, and they prosper in their successes; but if they should be *ejected*, suppressed and persecuted for serving him, then will they start aside *like a broken bow*, and like the children of *Ephraim*, that, being harnessed, and *carrying bowes*, and so being enabled by their learning wealth and friends, to *do God good service*, do turn their backs to him in the *day of battel*, when there is *most need* of their help, and they could most chiefly follow him.

But the *true sheep of Christ*, and the faithfull servants of God will follow him, *Per mare, per saxa, per ignes*, and will say, *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ*, or withdraw us from the service of our God, and following after *our Shepherd*? or shall *tribulation*, or *distress*, or *persecution*, or *famine*, or *nakedness*, or *peril*, or *sword*? No sure, in all these things they are *more then Conquerours*, through him that loved them, so that neither Death, nor life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor *Things present*, nor *things to come*, nor *height*, nor *depth*, nor any *other creature*, shall be able to separate them from the *love of God*, and from following their Master *Jesus Christ* our Lord.

Rom. 8. 35. & v. 38. 39.

And they that cannot truly say thus, or they that love Father, or Mother, or Son, or Daughter, or any other thing in this world, even their own life, more then Christ, they are not worthy of Christ, as Christ himself doth testifie.

Mat. 10. 37.

And therefore, seeing that to suffer with Christ, and for Christ his Service, is an *especial gift* and *grace* of God, as the Apostle sheweth, and that they are happy and blessed that *suffer persecution for righteousness sake*, and when men shall *revile them*, and say *all manner of evil against them*, falsly for Christ his sake, I say with the Poet,

Phil 1. 29. 1 Pet. 3. 14. Mat. 5. 11.

Lucan Pharſ.

——Componite mentes,
Ad magnæ virtutis opus, magnosque labores.

And as our Saviour saith, when you suffer all that can be suffered, and all that your enemies can impose upon you, *rejoice and be glad*, yea, and be exceeding glad, because *your reward shall be great in heaven*; and let not your sufferings trouble you.

Mat. 11. v. 12.

Ovid Met. l. ult. fab. 44.

——Nec enim fortuna querenda
Sola tua est, similes aliorum respice casus,
Mitius ista feres.

For this is not your case alone, but if you look what happened to other men, you shall finde, that as our Saviour saith, *So persecuted they the Prophets*, that were before you, and so are many of your brethren persecuted as well as you, and perhaps more then you, which should teach you, *Mitius ista ferre*, to follow Christ in his sufferings, the more patiently and contentedly, without any manner of muttering.

2. In Doings. 2. As we are to follow our Shepherd Christ in his Sufferings, so we are to follow him in his Doings, that is, to imitate him in our actions, and to make him the Exemplar and the Pattern of all our doings; for though we should live by Rules, and not by Examples, yet the Example of Christ is beyond all Rules; *Et validior est vox operis, quam oris, Bern. in Cant. Ser. 59.* and morall operations are more forcible then all the logicall demonstrations in the world.

But you must understand, that the Acts and Doings of Christ are of two sorts:

1. *Unimitable.*
2. *Imitable.* And,

The

The firſt he did as God, to approve his Office, and to confirm our Faith, that we might believe him to be the Son of God, and the *Meſſias* that ſhould come to be the Saviour of the world; for ſo he ſaith himſelf, *The works that I doe, do teſtifie*, and beare witneſſe of me. And herein we are not required to follow him; and we are not able to imitate him, neither ſhould we attempt to doe it; for when he ſaith, *Learn of me*, he meaneth not, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, that thou ſhouldſt *learn* of him, *Aut mundos fabricare, aut mortuos ſuſcitare, aut per maria ambulare, aut cœcos illuminare*—but learn of me, that *I am meek and lowly in heart*. Therefore,

Aug. de bonis Conjug. c. 37. Non in quantum fil. dei ſed in quant. filius hominis, Id. de ſanctitat. Virginit. c. 27.

The *ſecond ſort* of the Acts and Doings of Chriſt are *ſuch* as he did as man, and are *imitable*, to be imitated by us, that are men, and would be counted the Sheep and Servants of Chriſt: and herein we ſhould follow him.

And therein alſo we are to *follow him*.

1. In reſpect of the *Manner*.
2. In reſpect of the *Matter*. For,

1. Sincerely.
2. Totally.
3. Diligently.
4. Conſtantly.
5. Humbly.

1. What vertuous or pious act ſoever we deſire to do, and to imitate Chriſt therein, we muſt ſtrive to do it to the uttermoſt of our power, *Modo & forma*, in the *ſame manner* as Chriſt did it; and that is,

1. In *ſincerity*, without *hypocriſie*.
2. For Gods *glory*, and not for our own *commodity*.
3. In a *diſcreet knowledge*, and not in a *blinde zeale*.

Diabolus dux nobis fuit ad ſuperbiam. Aug. ho. 12. Phil. 2. 7.

Without the *obſervation* of which rules, the Acts that we do may be good in themſelves, and yet quite ſpoyled from yielding any great good to us, by our ill manner of doing them. As,

1. To faſt and pray, and to pay Tythes of Mynt and Annyſe, were very good deeds, commended and commanded to be done by God himſelf; yet becauſe the Scribes and Phariſees did them in *hypocriſie*, to be *ſeen of men*, and to make the world believe they were Saints, and the onely religious men, our Saviour denounceth many a bitter woe againſt them, and tells us, that *they have their reward*, and that is, as Saint *Hierom* ſaith, *Gloriam mercenariam & ſupplicia peccatorum*. So they that proclaim dayes of Humiliation, and practiſe nothing but Oppreſſion, that pray to God, *to bleſſe them*, and prey upon the poor that *curſe them*, do but as the Greek Adage ſaith, πρὸς τὸν μητρυιᾶς τάφον δακρύειν, to weep for the death of our Stepmother, and double their ſin in the ſight of God, *Quia levius eſt in alium aperte peccare, quam ſimulare ſanctitatem*, becauſe the *profeſſed thief*, that robs by the high-way-ſide, is not ſo bad as the *holy Saint*, that under the *ſhew* of Religion takes away mine Eſtate, ſaith Saint *Hierome*; for as Wine mingled with Water doth ſooner provoke vomite, then either Water alone, or pure Wine, *Ita intolerabilior eſt nequitia pietatis ſimulatione condita, quam ſimplex & aperta malitia*, ſo any wickedneſs that is covered with the Cloak of Religion, is a great deal more intolerable, then if the ſame were plainly committed without any pretence of Piety, ſaith *Eraſmus*, So horrible a ſin it is to cloath Sin in the garment of Holineſs, as to put the Coat of Chriſt upon *Judas* his back.

1. *Boni videri volunt ſed non eſſe. Bern. in cant. Ser. 66. 1 Chr. 28. 9. Prov. 21. 1. Pſal. 51. Ad novercæ tumulum flere. Hieron. in Eſa. l. 6.*

How horrible it is to do villanies under the pretence of Piety. *Eraſm. in ſimil.*

2. As it was an acceptable ſervice unto God, and a very good work to root out the houſe of *Ahab* for his Idolatry and prophaning Gods Service; yet becauſe *Jehu* did it rather to get the Kingdom unto himſelf, and deſtroyed all the Kings children, the better to ſecure himſelf in his Kingdome, then to ſatisfie Gods juſtice for *Ahabs* Impiety, the Lord ſaith, that he *will require the blood of Ahab on the houſe of Jehu*: even ſo, they that deſtroy any Offenders, root out the Tranſgreſſors of Gods Lawes, and puniſh the Corrupters of Gods Worſhip, be they whom you will, the Work may be good and juſt; yet if the doers thereof do it, not ſo much to execute Gods Will, as to ſatisfie their own Malice, to ſuppreſs whom they hate, or according to their ambition, to make themſelves great, and to get their Eſtates and Poſſeſſions to themſelves and their Poſterity, God will never accept of this work for any ſervice done to him, but will moſt ſeverely puniſh it at the laſt.

2. Many doe Gods work for their own end, as to ſubdue the rebels to get their lands for themſelves. The continual courſe of all worldlings in the ſervice of God.

And I think, that the making of themſelves great, as *Jehu* did, by the ſervice that

that men pretend to do to God, doth ſufficiently cauſe many others to doubt, whether they have done thoſe things onely for Gods glory, or for a conjuncture likewiſe of their own profit; and I conceive, you may be ſure, the jealous God will not regard that ſervice which is done to him with a ſiniſter aſpect and reſpect to our own profit, becauſe he will not give *his glory unto another*, he will not yield any part of his ſervice to any of them that do the ſervice; but, though he will certainly reward every man that doth him ſervice; yet, as our Saviour explaineth the words of *Moſes*, it is written, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerve*, and not thy ſelf with him in the ſervice that thou doſt to him, ſo he will neither accept nor reward that ſervice which thou doſt to thy ſelf as well as to God, or rather to thy ſelf then to God.

I would the Rebels would conſider this.

And therefore I would adviſe all thoſe, that in doing ſervice unto God, by pulling down the Tranſgreſſors of his Lawes, have raiſed themſelves to ſuch great Poſſeſſions, to look well to their intention, progreſſion and execution of their work, leſt that for the ſervice they believe they do to God, they receive the reward of the Scribes and Phariſees, or of *John*, that pulled down King *Ahab*, to make himſelf King of *Iſrael*.

3. Many do good in a blind zeal Num. 11. 28. 2 Sam. 16. 9.

3. The love of *Joſhua* to *Moſes*, when *Eldad* and *Medad* propheſied was good, and ſo was the love of *Abiſhai* to *David*, when *Shimei* curſed him, and of *James* and *John* to Chriſt, when they would have called for *fire out of heaven* to deſtroy the Samaritans for not receiving Chriſt; but the love of them was in a blind Zeal, without knowledge, and therefore inſtead of being commended, they were much reproved for their indiſcretion; even as Saint *Paul* perſecuted the Saints, when his blind zeal perſwaded him, that he deſtroyed Gods enemies.

Origen in ep. ad Rom. Zelus ad mortem. Amb. in Pſ. 119.

And as *Aiax* in his frenzy, is reported to have ſlain his own children, by taking them for *Uliſſes* and *Agamemnon*; ſo many men in their blind Zeal deſtroy the true Ambaſſadors of Chriſt, and the Paſtors of Gods people, by taking them for Popiſh Prelates; and therein think, they do God good ſervice, as the Jews thought when they crucified Chriſt; for, as *Origen* ſaith, *Putant ſe zelum Dei habere, ſed quia non ſecundum ſcientiam zelati ſunt, ſacrilegi extiterunt in filium Dei*; they perſwaded themſelves that they had the love and zeal of the honour of God; but becauſe their zeal was not *according to knowledge*, they became ſacrilegious againſt the Son of God; and their fiery zeal to Gods Worſhip became as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, A bloody Zeal unto Death; and like unto a Ship under ſaile, without a *Pilate*, that will daſh it ſelf againſt the Rocks all to pieces; ſo it is, when we rob and ſpoyl, and perſecute the true Servants of Chriſt, for being, as we ſuppoſe, the limbs of the Antichriſt.

The continual practice of the Devil.

But ſuch and ſo great is the malice and ſubtilty of Satan towards mankind, that he cares not which wayes he brings man to deſtruction, ſo he may bring him any way, either in being too zealous without knowledge, and ſo perſecute the good for bad, or too careleſs with all our knowledge, and ſo bleſs the bad for the good, either by hating the ſuperſtitious Papiſt, beyond all reaſon, or loving the malicious Sectary, contrary to all reaſon; either by falling into the fire on the right hand, or into the water on the left hand, either by making the whole Service of God to conſiſt onely of preaching and hearing Sermons, and neglect the Prayers and all other Chriſtian duties, or uſing the Prayers onely with the Service of the Church, and omit the preaching of Gods Word; for this hath been alwayes the Devils practiſe, *To ſeparate thoſe whom God would have joyned together*, and to joyn thoſe together whom God would have kept aſunder.

And therefore we ſhould be very careful to joyn Knowledge and Diſcretion with our Zeal, and deſire to do God ſervice, if we deſire to follow Chriſt.

2. The matter wherein we are to follow Chriſt.

2. For the Matter, Points, or wayes, wherein the Sheep of Chriſt are to follow him, they are very many, but the chiefeſt of them are reducible into theſe three principal Heads.

1. The

1. The works of *Piety.*
2. The works of *Equity.*
3. The works of *Charity.*

*Joh.*2.17. *Jam.*2.16. *Eph.*5.1,2.

In all which we are to do our best endeavour to imitate and to follow Christ, and therein we shall do the things that are most acceptable unto God, and most profitable for our selves. For the first, none doubts of it, but that these things are most acceptable in the sight of God: And for the second, we may be sure of it, that it is better for us to build Churches, to maintain Preachers, and to erect Hospitals, then to raise our Families; and we shall receive more comfort to do Justice, and to protect the Innocent, and to relieve the Poor, then by gaining *Naboths* Vineyard, or helping *Dives* his Treasures unto our selves. *Actu & effectu. Bern. in Cant. S.50.*

The time will not give me leave to prosecute these particulars any further; but I pray God give us grace to prosecute the performance and doing of them throughout all our lives, to the *glory of God*, the discharging of our *Duties*, and the *eternall comfort of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, To whom with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all Glory and Honour, for ever and ever.* Amen, Amen.

Jehova Liberatori.

The

THE SEVENTH TREATISE.

1 John 4.19.

We love him, becauſe he firſt loved us.

THis text, you ſee, is a text of love, a Theam that filleth Sea and Land, Heaven and Earth, and as the Poets feign, Hell it ſelf; when as the King thereof——*Tumidas exarſit in iras*, did ſwell with rage, becauſe he might not enjoy his love in hell, as *Jupiter* did in heaven. *Claudian de raptu Proſerpinæ.*

And yet the ſcarcity and want of *true love*, cauſeth ſuch plenty of great evils in every place; for we love not *God*, we love not our *neighbours*, we love not our *own ſelves*, for if we loved God, we would keep his *Commandments*; if we loved our *neighbours*, we would neither wrong them, nor oppreſs them; and if we loved our *ſelves*, then we would love *God*, if not for his own ſake, which is the right love, yet for our own good, and our neighbours, for Gods ſake: But for Gods *Commandements*, I may truly ſay it with *Nehemiah*, *Neither have our Kings, our Princes, our Prieſts, nor our Fathers kept his Laws, nor hearkned unto his Commandments*; but as *Ezra* ſaith, *We have all been in a great treſpaſs unto this day*, and for *our iniquities have we, our King, our Prieſts, our Biſhops, our Judges*, and all of us *been delivered to the ſword, to the ſpoil, to confuſion of face*, and to all theſe miſeries, *as it is this day*. *Nehem.9.34.* *Ezra 9.7.*

And for *wronging* one another, if we conſider *all the oppreſſions that are done under the Sun*, nay, that were done in theſe Kingdomes, and the *tears of ſuch as were oppreſſed, and had no Comforter*, when the oppreſſors had ſuch power, that none durſt ſpeak againſt them; then, as *Solomon* ſaith, we may moſt juſtly *praiſe the dead, which are already dead, more then the living which are yet alive, and him better then both which hath not yet been*, to ſee the great evils that are done amongſt us. And for our own *Eccleſ.4.1,2,3*

ſelves, we do juſt as the wiſe man ſaith, *ſeek our own death in the error of our life*, and *Sampſon-like*, pull down the houſe upon our own heads; as you may remember, that when we had plenty of peace and proſperity, then as the children of *Iſrael* murmured againſt *Moſes*, that delivered them out of the *Ægyptian* bondage, and loathed *Manna* that came down from heaven, ſo were we diſcontented at every trifle, and ſo weary of *peace*, and ſuch murmurers againſt our happineſs. When the Articles of peace were publiſhed, we were ſo diſcontented and murmured ſo much thereat, that the *ear of jealouſie, which heareth all things*, heard the ſame, and was pleaſed to ſatisfie our diſcontents, and to ſend us our own deſires, ſuch plenty of wars, and fulneſs of all miſeries, plagues, famines, and oppreſſions, as our Fathers never knew the like, and are like to continue amongſt us, until God ſeeth us more in love with his goodneſs towards us, and our *repentings* move him to repent him of the evils that he intendeth againſt us, that have ſo *juſtly* deſerved them from him.

Therefore to ingender and beget love where it is not, to *encreaſe* it where it is but little, and to *rectifie* it where it is amiſs, either towards God, or our neighbours, or our ſelves, I will by Gods help, and your patience, with as much brevity as I can, expreſs the plenty of theſe few words, ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν ἀυτον, ὁτι ἀυτος πρωτος ἠγαπησεν ἡμας.

How the created Trinity fell, and may be reunited to the uncreated Trinity.

Melliſluous S. *Bern.* (whoſe laborious work is like a pleaſant garden that is repleniſhed with all ſorts of the moſt *odoriferous* flowers) ſaith, that in the *Unity* of Gods Eſſence, there is a Trinity of perſons, the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*; and in the *unity* of the ſouls ſubſtance, there is a *trinity* of faculties, the *reaſon*, the *will*, and the *memory*, which being created in holineſs, fell away from the *uncreated* goodneſs of God: And in the *unity* of Chriſtian Religion, there is a *trinity* of invaluable grace, *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Love*, whereby the relapſed trinity of mans ſoul is *reunited* unto the bleſſed favour of the *Eternal Trinity* of Gods Eſſence.

The three chiefeſt graces expreſt by the three chiefeſt Apoſtles.

And theſe three graces I find moſt excellently delivered and explained by three of the chiefeſt Apoſtles (the three worthieſt Pillars of Gods Church) S. *Peter*, S. *Paul*, and S. *John*; for as *Faith* is *radix omnium virtutum*, the root of all virtues, as S. *Ambroſe* ſaith; and *prima quæ ſubjugat animam Deo*; and (as S. *Hierome* ſaith) the firſt grace that bends and brings our ſouls to God, and the foundation of all other graces, from whence, as from the root of a tree, thoſe fair and fruitful *branches* of hope and love do ſpring: So S. *Peter* was the firſt of all the Apoſtles, and his confeſſion, σὺ ει ὁ χριστος, ὁ ὑιος τυ θευ τυ ζωντος; *Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living God*, was the *Rock*, whereupon the *whole frame* of Chriſtian Religion was eſtabliſhed, as both S. *Ambr.* and S. *Aug.* teſtifie: And as hope is, *quaſi columna, quæ totum ſpirituale ædificium ſuſtentat*, as *Laurentius Juſtinianus* ſaith, like the Pillar that beareth and upholdeth faith and love, or the *Anchor* that preſerveth the *little ſhip* of Gods Church in all ſtorms, as the Apoſtle calleth it, and is indeed the only *Nurſe* that feedeth, inlargeth, and maintaineth the very life of theſe graces: So the bleſſed Apoſtle S. *Paul* was the greateſt Inlarger and Cheriſher of the Doctrine of Chriſt, that we can read of, for he cauſed the ſame, by his own *indefatigable* pains, to be planted and watered, preached and publiſhed in *abundance* of places, as you may ſee in the Table of his *Peregrination*, collected out of his own writings, and the Acts of the bleſſed Apoſtles; and as love is τὸ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας, the perfection and complement of all virtues; *indeficiens theſaurus gratiarum*, an unexhauſtible treaſure of graces, *& unguentum ſuave, quo peſtes animi ſanantur, & oculi cordis illuminantur*; and that ſweet precious oyntment which healeth all the ſores of our ſouls, enlighteneth the eyes of our underſtanding, and ſweeteneth all thoſe fruits that proceed from Faith and Hope, as S. *Baſil* ſaith: So that heavenly *Evangeliſt*, and beſt beloved Apoſtle S. *John*, is the beſt and chiefeſt expreſſor of *Gods love* to man, and the moſt careful exacter and requirer of mans love to God again; for what elſe doth he chiefly aim at in all his *Goſpel*, but to ſhew *how God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten, and his dearly beloved Son*, coequal and coeſſential unto himſelf: ὁτι ὁ ὑιος ἐν ὁ λογος, καὶ ὁ λογος ἐν ὁ θεος; for this Son was the

1. Faith expreſſed by S. *Peter*.

2. Hope explained by S. *Paul*.

3. Love amplified by S. *John*, Iohn 3.

Word

Word, and that *Word* was *God* (ſaith S. *Baſil*) that *whoſoever believed in him, ſhould not periſh, but ſhould have everlaſting life*: And what elſe doth he in all his Epiſtles, in every Chapter, and almoſt in every verſe; but as the Prophet *David* (in the 119. *Pſalm*) doth continually touch upon the ſtrings of Gods Law, ſo doth he as ſweetly play upon the ſtrings of Gods Love, his love to us, and that love which *we owe*, and are ſo many wayes bound to render *unto him*: And to his dying day, when he could not go, he would be carried to the Church in a Chair, and when he was able to ſay *no more*, his whole Sermon was *ut diligatis invicem*, that they would love one another. John 3.

And no marvel, for he was indeed the Diſciple which our Saviour *loved* above the reſt, and before all the reſt of the Apoſtles; he was the chiefeſt child of Love, as S. *Aug.* calleth S. *Paul* the beſt Child of Grace: And therefore, as S. *Paul* gave himſelf principally to magnifie the *free grace* of God, ſo doth S. *John* wholly dedicate himſelf to amplifie the *great love* of God; and as he doth the ſame in all his works, ſo he doth it eſpecially in this my *Text*, which I may well call the Epitome of all his writings, and it containeth theſe two things, which contain the ſum of all Divinity.

1. *Gods love to Man.*
2. *Mans love to God.*

} For what

The ſum of all Divinity twofold.

Is the end of the Law, and the *ſubſtance* of the Goſpel, but to ſhew *how God loved us*, and to teach us, why and *how we ſhould love God again*, and manifeſt this our love to God, by loving *one another*? For to *love God with all our hearts*, is the great command of the Law, and to love *one another* as Chriſt hath loved us, is the new Command of the Goſpel: In theſe two hang all the *Law* and the *Prophets*; and in theſe are comprehended all our duties, and all this is contained in theſe few words: ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν ἀυτὸν, ὅτι ἀυτὸς πρῶτος ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς. Wherein the Apoſtle doth principally aim at the main ground, and chiefeſt cauſe, why we do, and ſhould *love our God*. This is the ſum of the whole, expreſſed in the word ὅτι; and theretore muſt be firſt treated of. Quia cauſa precedit effectum.

Indeed, if we do contemplate of thoſe *infinitely* amiable excellencies, and *tranſcendent* beauties, that are ſo *accumulated* and reſplendent in the Eſſence of God, which is that *light* in whom is no darkneſs at all, We ſhall find that, as *Nazian.* ſaith of Chriſt, he is ὅλος ἐπιθυμητὸς, wholly deſiderable, and wholly delectable, ſo fully inveſted with ſuch *attractive excellencies*, as are eaſily able to *confound the ſenſes*, and to *raviſh* the deſires of all that truly conſider them; for when we hear *Abraham* ſo highly commended for his Faith, *David* for his Valour, *Solomon* for his Wiſdome, *Hercules*, *Achilles*, *Alexander*, *Hannibal*, *Cæſar*, and the like, ſuch glorious *Heroes*, celebrated and *admired* for their eminencies above other men, we cannot *chuſe* but deem them *worthy of love*, when ſo many *wiſe men* as have written of them, thought them worthy of *admiration*, and reputed them the Worthies of the world. So when we conſider the glory of nature, and the beauty of bodies (which is nothing elſe but an *apt proportion*, and a juſt correſpondence of the *parts and colours* of theſe viſible creatures) they do ſo intice our *ſenſes*, captivate our *affections*, and raviſh our *minds*, that our hearts are more preſent, in their deſires, with ſuch bodies that they like and love, then with our own, wherein they ſojourn and live. Worthy men worthily loved.

But what are all the Mights and *Monarchs* of the World, compared unto God, but as *Lambs* among *Lyons*, or as the leaves that are driven away with the wind, blown down from their *Regal Thrones*, conſumed to aſhes, and reduced to *nothing*, their power weakneſs, their prudence folly, and their excellency baſe, in reſpect of that *boundleſs* Omnipotencie, infinite Wiſdome, and *incomprehenſible* tranſcendent excellencies of God. For if he is not barren that impartech *fecundity* unto others, nor he *poor* that can make many *rich*, then ſurely he muſt needs be *moſt beautiful*, that can adorn the *poor Lilies* of the field with a far more *glorious mantle*, then any of thoſe *choiceſt robes* that covered the body of the wiſeſt *Solomon*: For though *fields* and *gardens*, and *Palaces*, and the *bodies* of men and women (and ſo the *Heavens* No excellency any wayes comparable to the excellencies of God.

ſelves, we do juſt as the wiſe man ſaith, *ſeek our own death in the errour of our life*, and *Sampſon-like*, pull down the houſe upon our own heads; as you may remember, that when we had plenty of peace and proſperity, then as the children of *Iſrael* murmured againſt *Moſes*, that delivered them out of the *Ægyptian* bondage, and loathed *Manna* that came down from heaven, ſo were we diſcontented at every trifle, and ſo weary of *peace*, and ſuch murmurers againſt our happineſs. When the Articles of peace were publiſhed, we were ſo diſcontented and murmured ſo much thereat, that the *ear of jealouſie*, *which heareth all things*, heard the ſame, and was pleaſed to ſatisfie our diſcontents, and to ſend us our own deſires, ſuch plenty of wars, and fulneſs of all miſeries, plagues, famines, and oppreſſions, as our Fathers never knew the like, and are like to continue amongſt us, until God ſeeth us more in love with his goodneſs towards us, and our *repentings* move him to repent him of the evils that he intendeth againſt us, that have ſo *juſtly* deſerved them from him.

Therefore to ingender and beget love where it is not, to *encreaſe* it where it is but little, and to *rectifie* it where it is amiſs, either towards God, or our neighbours, or our ſelves, I will by Gods help, and your patience, with as much brevity as I can, expreſs the plenty of theſe few words, ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν ἀυτον, ὁτι ἀυτος πρωτος ἠγαπησεν ἡμας.

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2. Hope explained by S. *Paul*.

So the bleſſed Apoſtle S. *Paul* was the greateſt Inlarger and Cheriſher of the Doctrine of Chriſt, that we can read of, for he cauſed the ſame, by his own *indefatigable* pains, to be planted and watered, preached and publiſhed in *abundance* of places, as you may ſee in the Table of his *Peregrination*, collected out of his own writings, and the Acts of the bleſſed Apoſtles; and as love is τὸ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας, the perfection and complement of all virtues; *indeficiens theſaurus gratiarum*, an unexhauſtible treaſure of graces, *& unguentum ſuave, quo peſtes animi ſanantur, & oculi cordis illuminantur*; and that ſweet precious oyntment which healeth all the ſores of our ſouls, enlighteneth the eyes of our underſtanding, and ſweeteneth all thoſe fruits that proceed from Faith and Hope, as S. *Baſil* ſaith: So that heavenly *Evangeliſt*, and beſt beloved Apoſtle S. *John*, is the beſt and chiefeſt expreſſor of *Gods love* to man, and the moſt careful exacter and requirer of mans love to God again;

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for what elſe doth he chiefly aim at in all his *Goſpel*, but to ſhew *how God loved the world, that he gave his only begotten, and his dearly beloved Son*, coequal and coeſſential unto himſelf: ὁτι ὁ ὑιος ἐν ὁ λογος, καὶ ὁ λογος ἐν ὁ θεος; for this Son was the

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Word, and that *Word* was *God* (ſaith S. *Baſil*) that *whoſoever believed in him, ſhould not periſh, but ſhould have everlaſting life*: And what elſe doth he in all his Epiſtles, in every Chapter, and almoſt in every verſe; but as the Prophet *David* (in the 119. *Pſalm*) doth continually touch upon the ſtrings of Gods Law, ſo doth he as ſweetly play upon the ſtrings of Gods Love, his love to us, and that love which *we owe*, and are ſo many wayes bound to render *unto him*: And to his dying day, when he could not go, he would be carried to the Church in a Chair, and when he was able to ſay *no more*, his whole Sermon was *ut diligatis invicem*, that they would love one another. John 3.

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The ſum of all Divinity twofold.

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} For what

Is the end of the Law, and the *ſubſtance* of the Goſpel, but to ſhew *how God loved us*, and to teach us, why and *how we ſhould love God again*, and manifeſt this our love to God, by loving *one another*? For to *love God with all our hearts*, is the great command of the Law, and to love *one another* as Chriſt hath loved us, is the new Command of the Goſpel: In theſe two hang all the *Law* and the *Prophets*; and in theſe are comprehended all our duties, and all this is contained in theſe few words: ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν ἀυτὸν, ὅτι ἀυτὸς πρῶτος ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς. Wherein the Apoſtle doth principally aim at the main ground, and chiefeſt cauſe, why we do, and ſhould *love our God*. This is the ſum of the whole, expreſſed in the word ὅτι; and therefore muſt be firſt treated of. Quia cauſa precedit effectum.

Indeed, if we do contemplate of thoſe *infinitely* amiable excellencies, and *tranſcendent* beauties, that are ſo *accumulated* and reſplendent in the Eſſence of God, which is that *light* in whom is no darkneſs at all, We ſhall find that, as *Nazian.* ſaith of Chriſt, he is ὅλος ἐπιθυμητὸς, wholly deſiderable, and wholly delectable, ſo fully inveſted with ſuch *attractive excellencies*, as are eaſily able to *confound the ſenſes*, and to *raviſh* the deſires of all that truly conſider them; for when we hear *Abraham* ſo highly commended for his Faith, *David* for his Valour, *Solomon* for his Wiſdome, *Hercules*, *Achilles*, *Alexander*, *Hannibal*, *Ceſar*, and the like, ſuch glorious *Heroes*, celebrated and *admired* for their eminencies above other men, we cannot *chuſe* but deem them *worthy of love*, when ſo many *wiſe men* as have written of them, thought them worthy of *admiration*, and reputed them the Worthies of the world. So when we conſider the glory of nature, and the beauty of bodies (which is nothing elſe but an *apt proportion*, and a juſt correſpondence of the *parts and colours* of theſe viſible creatures) they do ſo intice our *ſenſes*, captivate our *affections*, and raviſh our *minds*, that our hearts are more preſent, in their deſires, with ſuch bodies that they like and love, then with our own, wherein they ſojourn and live. Worthy men worthily loved.

But what are all the Mights and *Monarchs* of the World, compared unto God, but as *Lambs* among *Lyons*, or as the leaves that are driven away with the wind, blown down from their *Regal Thrones*, conſumed to aſhes, and reduced to *nothing*, their power weakneſs, their prudence folly, and their excellency baſe, in reſpect of that *boundleſs* Omnipotencie, infinite Wiſdome, and *incomprehenſible* tranſcendent excellencies of God: For if he is not barren that impartech *fecundity* unto others, nor he *poor* that can make many *rich*, then ſurely he muſt needs be *moſt beautiful*, that can adorn the *poor Lilies* of the field with a far more *glorious mantle*, then any of thoſe *choiceſt robes* that covered the body of the wiſeſt *Solomon*: For though *fields* and *gardens*, and *Palaces*, and the *bodies* of men and women (and ſo the *Heavens* No excellency any wayes comparable to the excellencies of God.

and the *Angels*, and the whole frame of this Universe (which the Grecians called κοσμὸς) because it is so admirably *beautified* and composed in *number*, *weight*, and *measure*) are all innamelled with abundance of beauty, yet *all these beauties* proceeds from him, and reside in him, and are comprized in him, in a far *more eminent degree of excellency*, then they are in the best of these creatures themselves, because that in these creatures they are all *limited* in Essence, and *hedged* within the narrow bounds of natural perfections: But in God, *all the Attributes* of his bounty, simplicity, verity, charity, justice, mercy, benignity, and all other amiable colours, and most glorious beauties of his perfections, which the Angels rejoyce to *behold*, the blessed Saints *contemplate*, and we poor wandring Pilgrimes do all *aspire* to see, are all *illimited*, infinite and boundless.

How eminently all perfections are in God.

And besides all this, if we consider him *truly*, he is whatsoever is *desirable*, or can be desired by any one; as *Omnipotency* to him that affecteth power, *Omnisciency* to him that desireth knowledge, and the *Antient of daies* to him that delighteth in antiquity: And as S. *Ambrose* saith, *Si esuris, ipse est panis*; if thou art *hungry*, he is the Bread of Life; if thou art *thirsty*, he is the Fountain of Living Water; if thou art *naked*, he is the Garment of Righteousnes; if thou art sick, he is a heavenly Physitian; if thou art in *prison*, he is with thee, as he was with *Joseph*; if thou art in *danger*, he is a *present help in trouble*; if thou beest *dead*, he can restore thee to life, for he is *life*, which is of all things so infinitely desired, and he is *light*, which is so much admired; he is *truth*, which is so much commended; he is the God of *Peace*, which is the Mother of all plenty; he is the God of *Unity*, which is the honour of all Brethren; he is the God of *Constancy*, which is the Crown of all Friendship; and he is the God of *Wisdome*, which is the glory of every man: And to be brief, all things that are good are in him, and derived from him, who is goodness it self.

Whatsoever we desire, we may have the same in God.

And therefore, *causa diligendi Deum Deus est*; this only consideration that he is God, and such a God, is a sufficient cause of loving God, as S. *Bern.* saith, because these are *excellencies* enough to attract love from the stonyest hearts, *quæ gemmare feræ*, which the most salvage men have produced, if they did but truly consider them.

And yet this is not that which the Apostle setteth down here, to be the *ground* and *cause* of our loving God; but seeing our *weakness* could not ascend so high, as to conceive the *excellent brightness* of this everlasting glory; therefore his *goodness* was pleased to *descend* so low, as to express that which is neerer unto us, and doth more *feelingly* concern our selves; that is, the *love of God towards us*, and the *great good* that we receive from that love; for the Apostle knew, that all men were naturally inclined to love their *benefactors*, and to love them best which do profit them most: And albeit, very often this kind of love is but *base and vitious*, yet being guided *with reason*, and ruled by *charity*, it may prove good and *virtuous*; therefore, as the devil maliciously suggested of holy *Job*, that *he served not God for nought*, so the *Apostle wisely* doth here intimate, that *we* love not God *without cause*, especially if *we* consider that great and real love of God, which hath and doth *continually* so infinitely profit us, for *we love him, because he loved us first*. Touching *which words*, though our *love* to God is first set *down* in the *series of these words*, yet seeing by the order of nature, *causa precedit effectum*, the cause doth ever *precede* the effect, I will by Gods help speak:

Whom men do naturally love best.

Iob 1.

1. Of that *great love which God hath shewed unto us*.

2. Of that *love, which* in requital thereof, *we owe unto God*. And the first shall be the subject of my *whole* discourse at this time, *wherein* you may observe as many *parts*, as there be *words*.

1. In God love to us four things observable.

1. The Lover, *he*
2. The affection, *loved*
3. The beloved, *us*
4. The time, *first*.

} *He loved us first.*

1. The Lover. Divers pretend to love us.

1. Who is this *He* that loveth us? for there be very many that *pretend* to love us, and yet in *very deed* do love us not at all, especially: 1. The

1. The *Devil.*
2. The *World.*
3. Our *own ſelves.*

1. How the Devil profeſſeth to love us.

1. In the third of *Hoſea*, v. 1. *Diabolus Dicitur amicus*; ſaith a Father: Satan is ſaid to be the *lover* of the *ſeduced ſoul*, even as the *laſcivious* loves the *Harlot*; for the Devil comes unto us as he came unto *Adam*, and ſaith, *You ſhall be as gods*, and I will make you happy, and you ſhall be victorious, when he means to plunge us into all miſeries, and to hurl us *headlong into hell*: And to that end, we can intend nothing, nor reſolve upon any good *action*, wherein this diſſembling *Lover* is not alwayes ready to intrap us, as *Progne* did to *Tereus*, *proponendo quod delectabile, & ſupponendo quod exitiale*; by giving us, like the Whore of *Babylon*, a drink of *deadly poyſon* in a *golden Cup*, to teach us *Hereſies* out of the holy Scriptures, to ſet up a meer *Anarchy* under the glorious title of a *Goſpel-Government*, and to raiſe a moſt *odious rebellion*, under the name of *King* and *Parliament*, and under the pretence of *Faith and Religion*: But O good God, is it poſſible, that *tantum potuit Religio ſuadere malorum*? No, no, God will tell us, this is nothing elſe but Satans plot, who deſires our ruine; and he deſires, not only thus to fill us up with *evil*, but alſo to infect all *our good*; for if we pray, he caſteth *waudring thoughts* into our minds, and when our hearts ſhould think moſt of God, he will guide our eyes, to *withdraw them* to ſome other object, as S. *Hierom* confeſſeth of himſelf, that *while his tongue was talking with God* in his private Cloſet, his mind *was wandring* among the *Wantons* in the Galleries of *Rome*: If *we hear Sermons*, he *will* poyſon our Opinions, and prejudicate our minds with ſome *ill conceit* of the Preacher; if *we do well*, he *will* infect our *beſt deeds* with Phariſaical *pride*, *& tumſuperbia deſtruit, quicquid juſtitia ædificat*, pride deſtroyeth whatſoever righteouſneſs buildeth; if *we do ill*, he *will perſwade* us to perſevere therein: And ſo in all things elſe, though he profeſſeth love, yet is it but δωρον ἀδωρον, like the gift of an enemy, as was *Ajax* Sword that he received from *Hector*, wherewith he kill'd himſelf; a moſt *deadly love*, worſe then any *open hate*.

What manner of love the Devil beareth to us.

2. How the world profeſſeth to love us.

2. Paſſing over all *diſſembling flatterers*, and all *flattering friends*, *& perditiſſimos homines*, and thoſe villanous men, as *Cicero* terms them, which can give a *ſtab* to the ſmile of an innocent, and perfidiouſly deceive them, *qui læſi non eſſent, niſi credidiſſent*, which had been ſafe if they had not truſted them: The *whole world* is the Devils *Ape*, and imitates him to a hair, like the Courtlie *Mountebank*, that is compoſed of nothing elſe but *Complements*, and can promiſe *golden Mountains*, but perform *dirty Dales*, and deal with us as *Laban* did with *Jacob*, when he had ſerved ſeven years for *beautiful Rachel*, to thruſt into his bed and to his boſome *bleer-ey'd Leah*: It is like *Dalila*, able to betray the ſtrongeſt *Sampſon*, and like *Circe*, powerful enough to bewitch the Wiſeſt *Solomon*. Gen. 29. 24.

And if I had time to relate unto you the Tragedies of *Mar. Attilius Regulus*, *Cheops* King of *Egypt*, that erected the Pyramides, *Crœſus* King of *Lydia*, *Darius* King of *Perſia*, *Manius Acilius* the *Roman Conſul*, *Beliſarius* the brave General of *Juſtinian*, who in his old age begged, *Date obolum* Beliſario, *quem virtus exaltavit*, *fortuna depreſſit*, *& malitia excecavit*: O give one half-peny to him, whom *virtue raiſed*, *fortune ſpoiled*, and *malice* made him a poor blind begger: And thoſe thirty *Emperours*, or thereabouts, that died not *ficea Morte*, but were killed, from *Julius Ceſar* to *Charlemaigne*, and eſpecially that notable example of *Hebraim Baſſa*, chief Councellor, and of greateſt power with *Solyman* the Great Turk, whom *Paulus Jovius* termeth the *greateſt Minion* of the worlds inconſtancy, becauſe he was ſo intirely beloved of *Solyman*, that he entreated his Maſter not to make ſo much of him, leſt being elevated with *Haman* too high, he might have like him, too great a fall, and the Emperour ſwore he would never take away his life while he lived; yet afterwards, for ſome diſtaſte of his inſolent carriage, *Solyman* being informed by a *Taliſman*, or Turkiſh Prieſt, that a man aſleep cannot be counted among the *living*, ſent an Eunuch into his Chamber, who with a ſharp Razor cut his throat, as he was quietly *ſleeping* in his bed. And likewiſe Pope *Baltazar Coſſa*, who Iob 30. 4.

who called himſelf *John the XXIV.* that being thrown out of his *Popedome*, by the Council of *Conſtance*, 1417. made theſe verſes of himſelf.

Qui modo ſummus eram, gaudens & nomine Præſul,
Triſtis & Abjectus, nunc mea Fata gemo;
Excelſus ſolio nuper verſabar in alto,
Cunctaq; Gens pedibus oſcula prona dabant;
Nunc ego panarum fundo devolvor in imo,
Vultum deformem quemq; videre piget:
Omnibus e terris Aurum mihi ſponte ferebant,
Sed nec Gaza juvat, nec quis amicus adeſt;
Sic varians Fortuna vices adverſa ſecundis,
Subdit, & ambiguo nomine ludit atrox.

And a thouſand like examples that might be produced of ſome men, that as *Job* ſaith, *cut up mallows by the buſhes, and Juniper roots for their meat, children of fools, yea, children of baſe men, that were viler then the earth, whoſe Fathers we would have diſdained to have eaten with the dogs of our flocks*, are now keepers of *Caſtles*, and Commanders of *whole Countryes*: And others, that from the higheſt honor, were *ſuddenly* thrown down to the *loweſt miſery*, & compell'd to *change* their *ſcarlet robes* for *rugs*, it would plainly appear unto us, that the lovers of this world, which relie upon the *Worlds love*, are greater fools then *Heliodorus* the *Carthaginian*, who cauſed this Epitaph to be ingraven upon his Tomb, hard by the ſtraight of *Gibralter*: *I* Heliodorus, *a fool of Carthage, have ordained by my laſt will to be buried in this place, in the remoteſt part of the world, to ſee if any man more fooliſh then my ſelf would come thus far to ſee me.*

Camer.l.4.c.7. 248.

Camerarius, l. 3. c. 5. 162.

Heliodorus his Epitaph.

How we ought to deal with the world.

And therefore the beſt way to eſcape the deceits of the World, is to follow the counſel of the *Epicarmus*, that is, *ſemper diffidere*, alwayes to diſtruſt it, and never to believe it, but with *Ulyſſes*, to tye our ſelves unto the main Maſt of our ſhip, *i.e.* to *ſound reaſon*, or rather to *true Religion*, that teacheth us to deal with this World, as the *worldlings* deal with God, to ſtop our ears, like the deaf *Adder*, that layeth one *ear* cloſe to the earth, and clappeth her *tail* in the other, and ſo never liſtneth to the voice of the Charmer, *charm he never ſo wiſely.*

3. How we love our ſelves 2 Tim. 3. 2.

3. The Comique tells us, *verum id eſſe, vulgo quod dici ſolet*, that every man loves himſelf better then another: And *Euripides* ſaith, ὁκ ἔστι τις ἄνθρωπος τῦ πέλας μᾶλλον φίλος; every one loves himſelf better then his friend; and the Apoſtle ſaith, that in the laſt times men *ſhould be lovers of themſelves*: And yet there was not a ſounder truth uttered by the mouth of any Phyloſopher, then *nemo leditur niſi a ſeipſo*, no man is wounded but by himſelf; becauſe as *Aquinas* ſaith, *inordinatus amor ſui eſt cauſa omnis peccati*: Sin is the cauſe of all our miſeries, and the inordinate love of our ſelves, is the chiefeſt cauſe of all ſins: And *Plato* calleth this φιλαυτία, *fons omnium malorum*, the root and fountain of all miſchief: And experience tells us, that *intus eſt equus Trojanus*, every mans greateſt enemy lodgeth within his own boſome; otherwiſe, if we had the true reins of our own paſſions, and could bridle our *own affections*, then *outward occaſions* might well exerciſe our virtue, but not much injure our actions, becauſe others cannot draw us into any great inconveniences, if we do not ſome way *help our ſelves* forward: As the *Adulterers* cannot bereave us of the *chaſtity* of our bodies, if there be not an *Adulterer* lodging within our ſouls; and the *Fornicator* cannot take away the *chaſtity* of a Virgin, if her corrupted *heart* doth not ſome way yield conſent; and therefore the Law ſaith of the raviſhed woman, that ſhe ſhall be *freed, and no cauſe of death ſhall be in her*, becauſe the fact was committed againſt her will; and actual ſins have ſo much dependency upon the hearts approbation, as that the ſame alone can either *vitiate* or *excuſe* the action, and no outward force hath any power over mine inward mind, unleſs my ſelf do give it him; as all the power of the Kingdome cannot force my heart to hate my King, or to love his enemies, they may tear this poor body all to pieces, but they can never force the mind to do but what it will.

That our ſelf-love is the cauſe of all our ſins, and of all our miſeries

No force can prevail againſt the will.

And

And yet, ſuch is the deceit of our own fleſh, that if the devil ſhould be abſent from us, our own frailties would be his tempting deputies, and when we have none other foe, we will become the greateſt foes unto our ſelves; as *Apollodorus* the Tyrant dreamd, that he was flead by the Scythians, and that his heart, thrown into a boyling caldron, ſhould ſay unto him, That *it was the cauſe of all his miſeries*, and ſo every man that is undone, hath indeed *undone himſelf*: for *Perditio tua ex te, thy deſtruction is from thy ſelf*, ſaith the Prophet; yea the *very beſt men*, by whomſoever wronged, yet wrong themſelves, as now it is with our gracious King: for as *Valentine* the Emperour, when he cut off his beſt Commander, and demanding of his beſt Counſelour what he thought of it, had this anſwer given him, That he had cut off his own right arm with his left hand; ſo when the good King, ſeduced and over-perſwaded, gave way (though againſt his will) to make an *Everlaſting Parliament*, he then *gave away the Sword out his own hand*; and when he excluded the Biſhops out of the *Houſe of Peers*, *he parted with ſo much of his own ſtrength*, and brought himſelf thereby to be *weaker then he was before*: and ſo it will be with every one of us, and it may be in a higher miſpriſion then with our King, if we look not well unto our ſelves, and take heed, leſt in ſeeking to preſerve our *bodies* we deſtroy our own *ſouls*, or to ſave our *eſtates* we make ſhipwrack of our *faith*, or eſpecially to uphold an earthly Rule or Kingdome, we expoſe to ruine the *ſpiritual Kingdome of Chriſt*, which is the Church of God, as you know how the Parliament do it at this day.

Hoſ. 13. 9.

So, I could tell you of a very good man that is *brought* to very great exigency, by parting with his owne ſtrength, and giving his ſword out of his own hand.

And therefore the *Spaniards* prayer is very good, *Dios mi, guarda mi, de mi, O my God, defend me from my ſelf, that I do not deſtroy my ſelf*: and Saint *Auguſtine* upon the words of the Pſalmiſt, *Deliver me from the wicked man*; demanding, who was that wicked man: Anſw. it was a *ſeipſo*: and ſo the wiſeſt Philoſophers have given us many Precepts, to *beware of our ſelves*: And he that can do ſo,

——Latius regnat, avidum domando
Spiritum, quam ſi lybiam remotis
Gadibus jungat, & uterque penus,
Serviat uni.——

Horatius.

doth more, and ruleth better then he, that reigneth from the *Southern Lybia* to the *Northern Pole*: ſo hard it is for man, under all the *cope of Heaven*, to find any one that truly loves him.

But God is *Verax & veritas*, true and the truth it ſelf; and as *Hugo* ſaith, *Veritas eſt ſine fallacia, & felicitas ſine miſeria*, he is Truth without Deceit, that neither can deceive nor be deceived; and as this our Apoſtle ſaith, *God is love*, and the Fountain of all true love; and he is ſweet, he is wiſe, and he is ſtrong; therefore S. *Bern.* ſaith, that he loveth ſweetly, wiſely and ſtrongly, *Dulciter, quia carnem induit: ſapienter, quia culpam cavit; & fortiter quia mortem ſuſtinuit*; ſweetly, becauſe he was made man to have a *fellow-feeling* of our miſeries; wiſely, becauſe he did avoid ſin, that he might be able to help us; and ſtrongly, becauſe his love was as *ſtrong as death*, when rather then he would leſſen his love unto us, he would *loſe his life for us*.

1 John 4. 8. How God loveth us, and how ſweet and gracious his love is.

And therefore of all that pretend to love us, God alone is the onely *pure and truly perfect lover*.

2. For the *affection*, it is *love*; for *God loved us*; and *love*, as it is in the creatures, is a *paſſion* better *perceived* by the *lover*, then it can be *expreſſed* by any other, and it comprehendeth three things:

2. The affection. Love comprehendeth three things.

1. A *liking* to the thing beloved.
2. A *deſire* to enjoy it. And
3. A *contentment* in it, as when the Father ſaith, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα. *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed*; becauſe, ἀγαπᾶν, derived of ἄγειν τόπον, or as others think of ἄγειν & πιέζειν, ſignifieth to be fully and perfectly ſatisfied in the thing loved, as *Phavorinus* teſtifieth.

And ſo though the affection of love is not the ſame in God as it is in us, becauſe he is a Spirit moſt ſimple, *without paſſion*, and we are often-times tranſported and

and ſwallowed up of this affection; yet in the *love of God* we finde theſe three things moſt perfectly contained:

3. Things contained in the love of God.

1. An *Eternal benevolence*, or purpoſe to do good unto his creatures.

2. An *Actual beneficence* and performance of that good unto them.

3. A *Delightful complacency*, or contented delight in the things beloved; as *the Lord loveth him that followeth after righteouſneſs*, that is, he taketh delight and pleaſure in all righteous livers; and as he *hateth* the ungodly, ſo he *loveth* the righteous, and taketh *delight* in them, and in their juſt and righteous dealing.

But becauſe *love is an inward affection* that can hardly be diſcerned without ſome *outward* demonſtration of the ſame; and that as S. *Gregory* ſaith, *Probatio dilectionis exhibitio eſt operis*, the trial of our love is ſeen by our actions, which teſtifie our love far better then our words, when we ſee too too many that profeſs to love us, when they labour to deſtroy us, as the rebels pray for the King, when they fight againſt him; ſo finely can the Devil deceive us: therefore God manifeſted his love by many manifold arguments. As

How God manifeſteth his love many wayes.

1. Way. 1. By creating things of nothing, and making them ſo perfectly good, that when himſelf had conſidered them all, he ſaw that *they were all exceeding good.*

2. Way. 2. By preſerving all things, that they return not to nothing, *Quia fundavit Deus mundum ſupra nihilum, ut mundus fundaret ſe ſupra Deum*; becauſe God laid the foundations of the world upon nothing, that the world might wholly rely upon God, who is the *baſis* that beareth up all things with his *mighty word*; and more particularly, in preſerving not onely the righteous, but even the wicked alſo from many evils, both of Sin and Puniſhment; for did not God withhold and reſtrain the very reprobates, even from *many ſins*, they would fall into moſt fearfull abominations: and did not he ſuſtain them with his hand, they would *pull down* many miſchiefs, and kindle many plagues upon their *own heads.*

3. Way. Acts 14.17. 3. By beſtowing many gifts and favours upon his creatures, as *ſending them raine and fruitfull ſeaſons*, making the Sun to ſhine both upon the *good* and upon the *bad*, and filling our hearts *with food and gladneſs*, by giving us Health, Wealth and Proſperity...

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But, though God loveth *every thing which he hath made*, yet he loveth not all things equally alike; for we finde that he ſhewed more evident teſtimonies of far greater love to mankind, then he did to any other creature whatſoever: for though he loveth his Angels with a very great and ſingular love, when he maketh them his Miniſters, and theſe Miniſters flames of fire, that do continually burn with the love of his Sacred Majeſty; yet we do not read that he ſtileth himſelf φιλαγγελος, a lover of Angels, as he termeth himſelf, φιλανθρωπος, a lover of men, as *Zanchy* well obſerveth out of *Tit.*3.4. That of all Creatures God loved Mankind beſt.

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and ſwallowed up of this affection; yet in the *love of God* we finde theſe three things moſt perfectly contained:

3. Things contained in the love of God.

1. An *Eternal benevolence*, or purpoſe to do good unto his creatures.

2. An *Actual beneficence* and performance of that good unto them.

3. A *Delightful complacency*, or contented delight in the things beloved; as *the Lord loveth him that followeth after righteouſneſs*, that is, he taketh delight and pleaſure in all righteous livers; and as he *hateth* the ungodly, ſo he *loveth* the righteous, and taketh *delight* in them, and in their juſt and righteous dealing.

But becauſe *love is an inward affection* that can hardly be diſcerned without ſome *outward* demonſtration of the ſame; and that as S. *Gregory* ſaith, *Probatio dilectionis exhibitio eſt operis*, the trial of our love is ſeen by our actions, which teſtifie our love far better then our words, when we ſee too too many that profeſs to love us, when they labour to deſtroy us, as the rebels pray for the King, when they fight againſt him; ſo finely can the Devil deceive us: therefore God manifeſted his love by many manifold arguments. As

How God manifeſteth his love many wayes.

1. Way. 1. By creating things of nothing, and making them ſo perfectly good, that when himſelf had conſidered them all, he ſaw that *they were all exceeding good.*

2. Way. 2. By preſerving all things, that they return not to nothing, *Quia fundavit Deus mundum ſupra nihilum, ut mundus fundaret ſe ſupra Deum*; becauſe God laid the foundations of the world upon nothing, that the world might wholly rely upon God, who is the *baſis* that beareth up all things with his *mighty word*; and more particularly, in preſerving not onely the righteous, but even the wicked alſo from many evils, both of Sin and Puniſhment; for did not God withhold and reſtrain the very reprobates, even from *many ſins*, they would fall into moſt fearfull abominations: and did not he ſuſtain them with his hand, they would *pull down* many miſchiefs, and kindle many plagues upon their *own heads.*

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neſs doth his ſoul abhor. And thus not onely the Elect are beloved better then the Reprobates, and the Saints better then Sinners; but among the very *choſen Saints*, God loveth ſome better then others; for every like loveth his like; and therefore God embraceth them with a greater love whom he vouchſafeth to make, and findeth them willing and moſt yielding to be the more like unto himſelf, and ſo he loveth thoſe that are the better, more then thoſe that are leſs good: as the more we excell in Vertue and Goodneſſe, the more dearly doth God love us, ſo he loved *Abraham* among the Patriarchs, *Moſes* among the Prophets, *David* among the Kings, and this *beloved Diſciple* among the Apoſtles, more (as it ſeemeth) then any other: and ſo the *bleſſed Virgin*, whom all generations ſhall call bleſſed, was highly beloved, and loved more then any of all the daughters of men. And of this *gradation* of Gods love S. *Aug.* ſaith, *Omnia diligit Deus quæ fecit*, God loveth all that he made, and among them he loveth rather the reaſonable creatures, and of theſe he loveth them more which are the members of his Son, and moſt of all his onely begotten Son.

And this greater love of God to ſome men more then to others (beſides thoſe internal graces of Faith, Hope, Love, Patience, and the like, which he giveth to the Elect, and not to the Reprobates, *Quia vobis datum eſt*, becauſe it is given to you to know the myſteries of the Kingdome of heaven, but to others not, becauſe they will not accept of them when they are offered) God manifeſteth the ſame to all men by two outward infallible demonſtrations:

Mark 4.11.

1. The *donation* of his *graces.*

2. The *preſervation* of their *perſons.* For,

1. There is no man but might conſider how God hath beſtowed more excellent gifts and graces on himſelf, then he hath done to many others, as either Health, or Wealth, or Honour, or ſome other gift that the meaneſt man hath, which many others have not: or if not, yet ſeeing God out of his greater love to ſome men more then to others, beſtoweth on ſome five Talents, when he beſtoweth on others but two, or but one, and maketh ſome men Princes and others Peaſants, or indueth ſome men with Learning and Knowledge, when he leaveth others ignorant and fooliſh; and ſo maketh ſome men rich, when as many others are very poor: *Why ſhould our eyes be evil becauſe he is good:* For, *Cum huic ſit miſericordia, tibi non ſit injuria.* when as herein he doth but ſhew mercy unto one, and injury unto none. Why ſhould we not rather conſider that he may love whom he will, and *ſhew mercy on whom he will have mercy*, and ſo do what he will with his own, eſpecially ſeeing we know not, why he doth, what he doth.

1. God giveth his Gifts and Graces ſeverally and differently.

2. God doth guide ſome men with his counſel, that they run not with the wicked, into the ſame exceſs of riot as they do, for ſeeing by nature we are all equally indifferent, and equally inclined to all ſins, *Repleti omni injuſtitia*, ſaith the Apoſtle, How comes it to paſs that ſome men abſtain from odious Rebellions, and other impious abominations and abominable impieties, that many wicked men do perpetrate? Is it from out ſelves, and from the goodneſs of our Natures, or the ſweetneſs of our diſpoſitions? No, no, it is from God that giveth his grace and holy Spirit unto ſome, that are willing and ready to receive it when God offereth it unto them, rather then to others, that refuſe to anſwer when he calleth, and to accept his gifts and graces when he offereth the ſame unto them; ſo God preſerved *Noah* from partaking with the wickedneſs of the old world, *Lot* from following after the abominations of the Sodomites, *Joſeph* from conſenting to the lewd inticements of his Miſtreſs, and the like: and ſo he doth preſerve them that he loves from imitating the wicked in their odious ſins, becauſe theſe men love God again, & are ready and willing to be preſerved by God; for, did not the bleſſed God work this happy change in our ſouls, and the Father of Lights illuminate our minds with a more diſtinct knowledge of his grace, we might have groped and ſtumbled in a thicker miſt of ſtupidity then now befools our unnurtured brethren, and whatſoever is either odious or ridiculous in them might have beene farre more prodigious in us.

Pſ. 37.24. Rom. 1.

And

And ſo S. *Aug.* doth moſt excellently confeſs it, ſaying, *tentator defuit*, Satan was away, and time and place was wanting to do the *deed*, but this was *thy doing*, to preſerve me, the *Tempter* came in time and place convenient, but then thou *withheldeſt* me from conſenting: So when I had a *will*, I *wanted ability*, and when I had *ability*, I wanted *opportunity*, and all this was from thy bleſſed Spirit that preſerved me: And this preſervation of us from evil, is offered by the goodneſs of God unto the wicked, but that they refuſe it, as the wiſe man ſheweth, and the Scripture teſtifieth in many places. *Aug. Soliloqu. L. 16.* Prov. 1.

And as God preſerveth thoſe that he loveth from the ſins, ſo he delivereth them, alſo from the puniſhments of ſin; for though *misfortune ſhall ſlay the ungodly*, yet as the Prophet ſaith, *God preſerveth the righteous*: And though the *plagues* of God ſhall range and rage ſo far againſt the wicked, that thouſands of them ſhall fall beſides the godly, and *ten thouſands on his right hand*, yet *it ſhall not come nigh him*, becauſe God giveth his Angels charge over thoſe that he loveth, and they do preſerve them in all their wayes, that *they daſh not their foot againſt a ſtone*.

And here in ἡμᾶς, the perſons on whom God ſhewed ſo many teſtimonies of his abundant love, to ſome more then to others, I may, and muſt put our ſelves before many thouſands of others, that perhaps deſerved the ſame far better then we do: For whereas all other places, that had the truth of the Proteſtant Religion amongſt them, have now their Candleſticks removed, and the true publick ſervice of God metamorphoſed, and corrupted with *lyes, hereſies, and blaſphemies*, we alone, of all our Kings Dominion, have the *true light*, and the *publick ſervice* of God ſhining in the right Candleſtick, and with Authority maintained: And I humbly beſeech Almighty God, that our ſins, unthankfulneſs, and unworthineſs, do not ere long deprive us of it: And whereas this day five years paſt, all the Proteſtants in this *Kingdome*, and we eſpecially of this *City*, were deſtined to be ſacrificed, and ſlaughtered, and ſent as an *Holocauſt*, or whole burnt-offering, from the holy Father, to the infernal God, as many thouſands of our Brethren were then and ſince, yet by the love of God towards us, we are ſtill preſerved alive, that we might ſerve him, and *love him again*.

And what more ſhall I ſay, but cry out with the Pſalmiſt, *O how plentiful is thy goodneſs which thou haſt laid up for them that fear thee*; and that thou haſt prepared for them that put their truſt in thee, even before the Sons of men! for thou haſt ſhewed us Marvellous great kindneſs, I cannot ſay in a ſtrong City, but I ſay, in a *weak* City, and delivering us from ſtrong Enemies, whoſe *Subtilty* and Cruelty, Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs, would require the head of the beſt experienced converted *Jeſuite*, to expreſs it: I had rather preach of Gods *Love*, than treat of their *Malice*, and to talk of his *Goodneſs*, rather than their *wickedneſs*, and that *great goodneſs*, which he hath ſo *lately* ſhewed in delivering our moſt *Excellent Governour* ſo often from that malicious wickedneſs of the Sons of *Belial*, ſo perfidiouſly intended againſt him, is not the *leaſt Teſtimony* of Gods Love to us all; eſpecially if we conſider, that what was intended this day 5 years, had now queſtionleſs been *executed*, if God had not broken the Snare of the *Fowler*, and by delivering him, redeemed us all from the *Sword* of Malice, and from the *Jawes* of death; and therefore this ought to be *rightly* weighed, and duly remembred in our *Thanksgiving*, among the many great undeſerved and *unexpected Preſervations*, that our good God hath wrought for us. And becauſe his *Excellency* truſteth not in *Lying Vanities*, but putteth his Truſt in the *Lord*, and in the Mercy of the Moſt High, therefore he *ſhall not miſcarry*. Pſal 31. 21. The Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond*.

But indeed this *Love* of God to us, hath been ſo *great*, and his Bleſſings in our *Deliverances* have been ſo *many*, that if I ſhould go about to *enumerate* them, I might as well tell the Stars; for as the Prophet ſaith, *they are more in number than I am able to expreſſe*; and therefore I will now *conclude* with our *hearty thanks* and Praiſe unto our *good God* for all his *Love* and Favours and Deliverances, that he hath ſhewed unto us through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, who is bleſſed for evermore,

How eaſily and how ſoon men forget good things.

Labilis memoria hominis, the memory of man is very frail and ſlippery, eſpecially in the retention of all good things, for though, as the Poet ſaith, *Scribit in marmore læſus*, we write injuries in marble, and never forget nor forgive the leaſt ill turn that is done againſt us; yet we write all benefits and all good inſtructions in the ſands, where the *waves of forgetfulneſs* do ſoon waſh all away; as the children of *Iſrael* regarded not the wonders that God *wrought in Ægypt*, neither kept they his great goodneſs in remembrance, but ſoon forgot his *works*, yea, and forgat God their Saviour, which had done ſo great things in *Ægypt*, *wondrous works* in the Land of *Ham*, and fearful things by the *Red Sea*; therefore, leſt you ſhould forget the firſt part of this text, before you heard the ſecond, I thought it high time to proceed to thoſe points, which the time prevented me to inlarge, not the laſt time I was in this place, but the laſt time I treated of this verſe; and I hope you do remember that I told you, this text was a *text of love*, and of a twofold love.

Pſal. 106. 7, 13, 21.

1. The *love of God to man.*
2. The *love of man to God.*

} And

In the firſt I noted theſe four things,

1. The *lover*, *God.*
2. The *affection*, *Love.* *He loved us firſt.*
3. The *beloved*, *Us.*
4. The *time*, *Firſt.*

And I have done with the firſt three; and therefore, not to ſtand upon any further repetition, I am now to proceed to ſhew you the fourth point, that is, the time when he loved us, πρῶτος *firſt*; he loved us firſt, *i.e.* before we would, or could love him; for love is one of the affections, and the affections are ſeated in the heart, and the heart is placed in the midſt of the body, and the body could not contain the heart, nor the heart caſt forth the affections, nor the affections produce love, before our loves, and affections, and hearts, and bodies, had their being.

4. The time when God loved us firſt.

Jer. 31. 3. God loved us from everlaſting before our Creation.

But God *loved us*, before we were created, and before we could have the *leaſt thought* of our very being, for *I have loved thee with an everlaſting love*; therefore with loving kindneſs have I drawn thee, ſaith the Lord; and this love was *everlaſting*, as well a *parte ante*, from the time paſt, as a *parte poſt*, for the time to come; and this love will appear the greater, if we conſider how *freely*, and how *undeſervedly* he hath loved us, for the object of love is good, either that which is really ſo indeed, or ſeeming ſo to be: And S. *Aug.* reaſoneth moſt truly, that *antequam creati eramus nihil boni merebamur*; before *we were made*, we could do no good, we could merit no *reward*, we could *deſerve* no love.

And yet, before we had received any *being*, the love of God towards us had received a beginning; and when our ſouls were unbreathed, our bodies unframed, and all this glorious ſtructure laid in the duſt, before ever we beheld the light, or the light was brought out of darkneſs, or the darkneſs was upon the *face of the deep*, our bodies and our ſouls were *affected* by God, and we had a *deep intereſt* in the love of God, when as then the earth was created for our *habitation*, the creatures were produced for our ſervice, and the heavens were appointed for our comfort: So God loved us before our Generation, before *we were*, before we had our being, and after our tranſgreſſion, when as God had made us his ſons, like himſelf, and we had made our ſelves like our *Father the devil*, there was cauſe enough of hate, but none of love, for then *we* found a way to *run away from God*, we invented garments to hide our ſhame, and to cover our nakedneſs from the eyes of men, but to make us moſt *loathſome* in the eyes of God, and we became θεοστυγεῖς, haters of God, that laboured with the old Gyants, θεομαχεῖν, to fight and *war with God*, to *unthrone* him, and to ungod him, when *we* deſired to make our ſelves like Gods, nay the *only Gods*, and he ſhould be no God at all, unleſs we might have *our wills*, and not *his will* to be done in *heaven*, as we do *in earth*.

God loved us after our tranſgreſſion. John 8.

Yet then, when *we were* thus filled *with malice*, ſwelled *with enmity*, and oppoſite to *all amity*, to *all verity*, to *all goodneſs*, when we lay *polluted* in our *own blood*, as the Prop. *Ezek.*

Ezek. ſaith, *Ez.6.6.* & were *enemies* unto God, and were, as the Ap. ſpeaketh, *dead in treſpaſſes & ſins*, having hearts, but no hearts to love him, having ſouls, but no ſouls to *long for him*, and having bodies, but no bodies to ſerve him, but ſuch as were breathing out *ſlaughters againſt him*, as *Saul* was breathing the like againſt the Church; and *when we were* no more *willing* to yield him any, the leaſt jot of true love, or holy affection, then *dead bodies* are able to perform the *moſt honourable action*; God then pittied our miſeries, and had compaſſion of our *unworthineſs*, and as S. *Aug.* ſaith, *etiam non dilectus dilexit*, out of his abundant goodneſs, without any other *motive*, he loved us, when we thus *hated, wronged*, and abuſed him, continually provoking him to anger with our continual abominations; and yet he doth not ſay with the Poet, *Odero ſi potero, ſi non invitus amabo*; I love them againſt my will, but *indignos amavi*, I have freely loved them that are ſo worthy of my hate, and ſo *unworthy* of my love. Eph.2.1. Acts 9.1.

And therefore here is *love*, and the *love of loves*, and the *wonder of all wonders*, to proſecute them *with love*, that perſecuted him *with hate*; and ſo *mercifully* to give his *only Son* to ſave their lives, that ſo *cauſleſly* and *maliciouſly* put his Son, whom he ſo *dearly loved*, to a moſt direful and a moſt *ſhameful death*: And therefore, as *David* directeth his 45. *Pſalm*, which is *Epithalamium Chriſti & ſponſæ*, or *Canticum amicorum*, a Song of Loves to the chief Muſitian upon *Shoſhannim*, or to him that *excelleth in Muſick*: So muſt I leave this great *love of God* to be amplified by him that is *vates amorum*, the Diſciple of Love, not he that termed himſelf ſo, but he that *was ſo indeed*, the Diſciple *which our Saviour loved*.

And ſo I will deſcend unto the ſecond part of this text, which is, ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν *Pars 2.* *autor*, *nos diligimus eum*; as *Catharinus, Calv. Beza, Tremel.* and abundance more do read it; or *diligamus eum*, as the Vulg. Lat. *Aquinas, Juſtinianus, Corn. a Lapide*, and all thoſe that follow the *vulgar tranſlation*, do expound it, which in effect is all one, the Holy Ghoſt purpoſely uſing that word, which in the original, is both the *Indicative* and the *Subjunctive Mood*, to teach us, that what the holy men of God do, all men ſhould do the ſame, that is, to *love him*, which is the ſecond part of my Text, far different from the former, that being high and excellent, this *low*, and but indifferent, that very great, and more then can be expreſſed, this *very very little*, and leſs then ſhould be imagined; and therefore I can ſpeak but a little of it, and for that little, I beſeech you to conſider theſe two points.

The { 1. From the conſideration of Gods love, that he *loved us*.
2. From the conſideration of the time, that he *loved us firſt*.

The firſt point teacheth us to *love God again*, *Quia amor amoris magnes, & durus eſt qui amorem non rependit*, and *Lex talionis*: The Law of like, doth require no leſs, then that we ſhould love him that loveth us, for even reaſon ſheweth, that *Lex non juſtior ullaeſt*, there cannot be a juſter Law in the world, then the *Law of Retaliation*; and ſo our Saviour teſtifieth, *With the ſame meaſure ye meat, it ſhall be meaſured to you again*, and Nature it ſelf teacheth us the ſame Leſſon.

1. VVhat the firſt Point teacheth us, i.e. to love God again.

De Lege Talionis.

Res dare pro rebus, pro verbis verba ſolemus.

Pro buſis buſas, pro truſis reddere truſas.

Buffets with blowes and mocks with mowes, *Dalton* p. 180.

Quod tibi fieri velis, aliis hoc fieri videto,
Quod tibi fieri nolis, aliis hoc fieri caveto.

And the Eternal Verity ſaith, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.* And this Law holdeth good not only in *general*, but alſo in the *particular* retribution,

1. *Of evil for evil.*
2. *Of good for good.* As,

1. *Moſes* that was *Faithful in all Gods Houſe*, ſaith, *If men ſtrive*, and any miſchief follow, then thou ſhalt give *Life for Life, Eye for Eye*, &c. which is to be underſtood not of *private revenge*, but to be executed by *him* that is *juſtly* deputed to execute *vengeance* upon the *evil doers*: And ſo we find it executed, both by God and men; for the Old world that filled the Earth with a *Deluge* of all *wickedneſs*, God brought a *Deluge* of *Water*, to waſh the ſame clean away, and the *Sodomites* Mat.7.12.

1. In retaliation of evil for evil. Exod.21.22.

mites that burned with the *fire* of unlawful Luſts, were conſumed with *Fire* and *Brimſtone* for the ſame; and the *Egyptians* that *drowned* all the Male Children of the *Iſraelites*, were themſelves drowned *in the Red Sea*; and the Children of *Iſrael* when they took *Adonibezek*, cut off his *Thumbes* and his *Great Toes*, and he
Judges 1. 6,7. ſaid, *Threeſcore and ten Kings having their Thumbes and their Great Toes cut off, gathered their meat under my Table, and now as I have done, ſo God hath requited me.* So when *Perillus* made his Brazen Bull to torment others, *Phalaris* thought it *juſt*, that himſelf, which made it, ſhould *firſt* taſt of his own Invention. And when *Egypt* wanted the wonted Inundation of *Nilus*, and *Thracius* told *Buſiris* that the *Wrath* of the gods would be appeaſed by the Sacrificing of a *Strangers* Blood, and the King underſtanding, by his own *Confeſſion*, that he was an Alien,

Illi Buſiris, ſies Jovis Hoſtia primus
Inquit, & Ægypto tu dabis hoſpes aquam.

He thought it the *juſteſt* act to offer him *firſt* unto the gods. So we read that thoſe Lords which firſt called the *Moores* into *Spain*, to ſuppreſſe their King *Rodericke* whom they hated, were *themſelves* and their Families *deſtroyed* by the meanes of thoſe Moores; and the *Britains* that rejected their Juſt and Lawful King, *Aurel. Ambroſius*, and ſent for the *Saxons Hengiſt* and *Horſus*, to aid *Vortigerne* and
Speed, l. 7. c. 12. his Aſſociates, that were Intruders, were driven by the *Saxons* into the Rocky Mountains, where they remain *exiled* from their own *Right*, to this very day: and becauſe the God of *Long Patience* is a God of *Great Juſtice*, that will render to every man *according to his deeds*, and holds it *very juſt*, that thoſe *rebellious people*, which call any other *Nation* to ſuppreſſe their own Lawful King, ſhould at one time or other, either by that very Nation, or ſome other, be ſubdued and *deſtroyed themſelves*; therefore Subjects ought to think of Gods *Juſtice*, before they caſt off the *Yoke* of their *Allegiance*.

And 2. As the Poet ſaith,

Lex non juſtior ulla eſt,
Quam necis Artifices arte perire ſua.

2. In retaliation of good for good. There cannot be a *juſter Law*, then for him that *diggeth a Pit*, to fall into it himſelf, or that he that loveth *War*, ſhould *periſh* in the War, and he that ſheddeth *mans Blood*, ſhould have *his Blood* ſhed by man; ſo in the retaliation of *good for good*, the *ſame Law* holdeth moſt *juſt*, and more eſpecially,

1. In *Giving*.
2. In *Suffering*.
3. In *Loving*. For,

1. In giving. 1. Is it not *juſt*, that we ſhould *give* to him that hath given *all* to us? And *what have we that we have not received from God?* Why then ſhould we think much either to give the *Tenth* to God, or our *Almes* unto the Poor? when the Lord himſelf profeſſeth, *he that giveth unto the poor, lendeth unto the Lord:* and whatſoever you do to *theſe*, you do to *Him*.

2. In ſuffering. 2. Is it not as *juſt*, that we ſhould be ready to *ſuffer* for him that hath ſuffered ſo much for us? The Apoſtle ſaith, that Chriſt *exinanivit ſeipſum*, though he thought
Phil. 2. 6. it no Robbery *to be equal with God*, yet he *emptied* himſelf of all his Royal Dignities, and *ſuffered* all the *Indignities* that could be laid upon him *for our ſake*; and ſhall we grudge to *ſuffer* the Loſſe of a little *Worldly Traſh?* or the bearing of ſome *Light Affliction* for him, and for the Defence of his Truth and True Service, that hath ſuffered *all Sufferings* for us? No, no, when we ſuffer any thing for the *Faith* of Chriſt, or our *Loyalty* to our King, let us but conſider, what Chriſt hath *ſuffered* for us, and what our *good King* hath ſuffered for the Defence of our *Faith*, becauſe he will not yield to deface the *Church* of Chriſt, and to deſtroy the True Service of God, and this will *ſupport* us in all our *Sufferings*, we ſuffer a *little* for him that ſuffered *much* for us.

3. Becauſe

3. Becauſe all men have not *wealth* to give, and all men have not the *patience* to ſuffer, yet all men have *hearts to love God*, and they can have no *excuſe* if they *love him not*; becauſe he hath ſo *dearly* loved them: for if you conſider all the *Motives* and procurements of Love, which are very *many*, as Beauty, Benignity, Bounty, Wiſdom, Valour, and the like; yet there is *none* of theſe, nor *all* theſe, nor any *other* thing in the world, ſo powerful to *beget* Love, as *Love* it ſelf; neither is there any thing ſo available to *encreaſe* or to *continue* Love, as *Love it ſelf*: Therefore the Poets feign, that when *Venus* the *Goddeſs of Love*, brought forth her *firſt* begotten Son, ſhe called him Ἔρως, Love; and when ſhe ſaw, he *thrived not*, but was ſtill lean, meager, and bloodleſs, ſhe conſulted with *Themis* the Goddeſs of *Juſtice*, which was Mother to *Minerva* the Goddeſs of *Wiſdom*, to know the *reaſon* of the ſad condition of her Son, and ſhe told her, that ſhe muſt bring forth *another* Son, which ſhe did, and called him Ἀντέρως, *i.e. Love for Love*, and then both her Children proſpered, and became exceeding *beautiful* and *lovely*: So among men, when we proſecute any one with *Love*, it is impoſſible that *Love* ſhould be laſting, if at *no time*, in no *meaſure*, it ſhould be requited with Love again; for as the Coales *Conjoyned*, will preſerve the heat, but when they are *ſcattered*, will be ſoon extinguiſhed; ſo *debet amor læſus iraſci*, love when it is deſerted and forſaken or left alone, will be *ſoon loſt*. And therefore if we deſire the *Love* of God to *continue* towards us, we muſt reſolve to ſhew our *Love* to God again; for *I will love them that love me, and ſhew mercy unto Thouſands of them that loue me*, ſaith the Lord: And ſo the Apoſtle ſaith, *we love him becauſe he loved us firſt*, that is, ſeeing he hath loved us, therefore we are bound to love him; where you may obſerve,

3. In loving.

How *Venus* conſulted with *Themis* about her ſon *Eros*.

Prov. 8. 17.

1. The *Perſons*, We.
2. The *Act*, Love.
3. The *Object*, Him.

} *We love him.*

3. Parts.

1. The perſons here ſaid to love God are not the Angels, though they do exceedingly love him, when as the Script. ſaith, *He maketh his angels ſpirits, and his miniſters a flame of fire*, where you may ſee three moſt admirable and tranſcendent excellencies of the Angels: as

1. The perſons that love God, *We*.

1. *Purity of ſubſtance*, becauſe they are *Spirits*.

2. *Readineſs of obedience*, becauſe they are his Angels and his Miniſters, and ſuch as for their ſwift execution of Gods commands, are compared to the wings of the wind.

Three excellent properties of the Angels.

3. *Ferventneſs of charity*, or *burning love*, not only of one towards another, but eſpecially towards God, becauſe they are flames of fire: but the perſons here meant are men, we love him, *i.e.* we that are the ſons of *Adam* do love him; & ſeeing mans love to God is but *Radius divini amoris erga homines, in deum reflexus*, a beam of Gods love towards man, reflected from man to God again, as *Zanchius* ſaith, and ſeeing that where ſo powerfull a cauſe doth exiſt, the ſubſequent effect muſt needs follow.

Therefore, ſeeing God loveth all men, it muſt needs be, that all men, in ſome meaſure do love God again, that is, as God is their Creator, Preſerver, and Cauſe, in whom *they live, and move, and have their being*, and from whom they have, and do receive all the good that they have: ſo the Jews, Turks and Heathens, Worldlings, Rebels and Traytors, and all the wicked men in the world, doe love God.

How all men do love God. Acts 17.

But ſeeing this love is too general and too baſe for all Chriſtians, ſcarce worthy of the name of love, it will not ſerve the turn to make us happy, but will deceive and deſtroy thoſe lovers, that have none other love to God but this poor confuſed general love. Therefore,

2. To proceed unto the ſtricter diſcuſſion of the act, or the affection of love, *We love him*, you muſt note the ſame to be according to the original cauſe and ground thereof: And that is two-fold.

2. The act, *love*. The Original cauſe of love twofold.

1. *General*, as the *many* manifold benefits that we continually receive from God, as he is the faithful Creator, a wiſe Preſerver, and a bountiful Beſtower of abundance

1. General.

of

So the Reprobates love God. 2. Special.

of all *good gifts* upon his Creatures; and in *this reſpect*, the very *Reprobates* (as I told you) cannot chuſe but *love the Lord*, that is their *Creator* and *Preſerver*.

2. *Special*, as the ſerious *apprehenſion* of our own infinite *wants* and miſeries, and of thoſe *Miracles of Love* and Mercies, which God hath performed to *cure our ſouls* from thoſe Miſeries, by ſending his *only Son*, to ſave us from all our ſins.

Thus the Saints only love God.

And thus the true Saints that do hate their *ſins*, and lay hold on *Chriſt*, do only love the Lord, and the wicked that *delight* in ſin, and perceive not the *ſweetneſs* of their Saviour, cannot be ſaid to *love God*; for as the *whole have no need of the Phyſitian*, and give no *thanks* for his Phyſick; ſo they that feel not the *ſenſe* of their own miſeries, and perceive not their *Obligation* to their Deliverer, can have no love to God their *Saviour*.

Therefore ſeeing as the Poet ſaith,

Quod latet, ignotum eſt, ignoti nulla cupido.

And as S. *Bern.* ſaith, *non potes aut amare quem non noveris, aut habere quem non amaveris*; we cannot *love* whom we *know* not, nor *enjoy* whom we *love* not; it behoveth us to ſearch into our *ſpirits*, to look into our own *ſtates*, to conſider the *multitude* of our own *ſins*, and to bethink our ſelves, in what need we ſtand of a *Deliverer*, to ſee if this will not bring us *in love* with God our *Saviour*:

Two ſpecial Points to be conſidered.

And then I beſeech you, let us conſider,

1. What *manner* of Love we ought to have } towards him.

2. How *great* a love it *ought* to be }

1. What manner of Love we ought to have.

And 1. I preſume, there is no man in this Aſſembly, but he would think himſelf much *injured*, if it were but imagined, that he did not *love God* his Saviour; and it is not my deſire to *diſhearten* any, when I wiſh from *my heart*, that every the *leaſt ſparke* of your *love* to God, might prove a *Glorious Flame*. Yet I fear there be very many men that come into the world, they know not why, and live therein they care not *how*, and go out of it again, they cannot tell where, but do *live* in it without a *God*, and then *die* without any *hope*. And others there be, that *dream* of happineſs, and their *hopes* being but *dreams*, they do therein but *deceive* themſelves, like thoſe that *dream* they are at a pleaſant *Banquet*, yet when they *awake*, their ſoul is *hungry*: For as the *Jews*, in our Saviours time, did indeed perſecute him, becauſe they were ſo blinded, that they could not *apprehend* him to be the *Son* of God; but for *God himſelf*, they made *full account*, that they *alone*, and none but they did *love* him, and for *Moſes*, whoſe very Name was the *Glory* of their Nation, they profeſſed to *love him* beyond meaſure, ſo that whoſoever ſpake any *blaſphemous* words againſt *Moſes*, was thought worthy to be *ſtoned to death*: And yet our Saviour tels them, *I know you, that you have not the love of God in you*, and that *Moſes* in whom they truſted, ſhould *accuſe them before God*: So many *Chriſtians* at the *laſt day* ſhall profeſs, that they have *propheſied in Chriſt's Name, & caſt out Devils, & done many wonderful works in his Name*, & rebelled againſt their own King, and killed their *own* Brethren, and ſtarved their *own* Shepherds, and hazarded their *own* Lives *for his ſake*; and yet he ſhall proteſt unto them, *I never knew you, i. e.* to *love* me, or to do theſe things for my ſake, but for your *own ends*, and to ſatisfie your *own deſires*; and therefore *depart from me ye Workers of Iniquity*.

Acts 6. 11. John 5. 42. V. 45.

Two ſorts of the Lovers of Chriſt. 1. Formal. 2. Real.

And the *reaſon* is, that there are two ſorts of the *lovers* of Chriſt, and two kinds of profeſſors of Chriſtianity: 1. *General.* 2. *Special.* That *formal*, this *real*; that in *ſhew*, this in *deed*; that *ingendred* by Education, by Country, by Cuſtome, by conformity to the Laws and Faſhions of them with whom they live, and by a *common ſence* of Gods *outward favours* for Chriſt his ſake unto them; and this *infuſed* by an inward operation of *Gods Spirit* in the heart, in all ſincerity and truth, and is continually preſerved and encreaſed by a *lively ſence* of Gods *ſpecial favour* unto them through Jeſus Chriſt. And you know that S. *Paul* tells us, he is not a *Jew* which is

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one, ἐν τῳ φανερῷ, *in that which appeareth outwardly in the fleſh*; *i.e.* which is but only born and bred a Jew, of the ſeed of *Abraham*, of the *viſible* Synagogue, and partaker of all the *external* Covenants of grace; but he only is the *right Jew*, which is one ἐν τῳ κρυπτῷ, *inwardly* in the ſecrets of the heart; ſo he is not a *Chriſtian* that is but only born a Chriſtian, and doth but *outwardly* profeſs Chriſtianity, to come to the *Church* to hear *Sermons*, to receive the *Sacraments*, and to accuſtome himſelf to all the *outward* formalities of Chriſtianity; but he is the *true Chriſtian*, that is ſo made by his *ſecond birth*, and by that *internal grace*, which is indeed *inviſible* unto others, but moſt *ſenſible* unto himſelf, and who, as the Evangeliſt ſaith, *is born not of bloud, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God.* Who is the true Chriſtian? John 1. 13.

And therefore, ſeeing God is not *mocked*, and that he *requireth truth in the inward parts*, and the *exacteſt kind* of love that can be imagined, let us not mock our *ſelves* by any *preſumptuous* conceits of our love to God, and ſo *deceive* our own hearts, and *betray* our own ſouls; which is the *uſual practice* of too too many men; for if we *love* God, as we *ought*, then our love muſt be, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, in purity, in ſimplicity, or, as the word ſignifieth, in *incorruption*; *i.e.* ſuch as neither the moſt *honourable*, nor the moſt *profitable*, nor the moſt *delectable* things in this world can ever be able to *leſſen*, or *diminiſh* the leaſt jot of our *love* to God; when, with the Apoſtle, we diſeſteem our *preferments*, and our *honours*, and *whatſoever* elſe the world could *confer* upon us, and account them all but as *dung* in compariſon of our *love* to God, and the diſcharging of that duty which we owe unto him; for ſo *Abraham* forſook his *Country*, neglected his *honour*, and was ready to ſacrifice his *only Son* in obedience to the commands of God, and ſo will all they do, that do *truly love* the Lord as they out to love him.

2. For the *extent* and quantity of our love to God, S. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that *Modus diligendi Deum eſt, ut diligatur quantum poteſt diligi, & quanto plus diligitur, tanto eſt dilectio melior.* And St. *Bernard* ſaith, that *Modus diligendi Deum eſt ſine modo*; The *meaſure* of our love to God ſhould be *beyond meaſure*, ſo much, that we ſhould prefer his *Love*, his Honour, and his Service, before our *Father*, or Mother, or Wife, or Husband, or Children, or Pleaſure, or Profit, or *any other thing* in this World; yea, before our *own life*, which we ſhould be *ready* and willing to *lay down* for the *love* of him, and the *defence* of his truth and ſervice, *Qui amori noſtri placide ac benigne pro nobis mori dignatus eſt*; which for the purchaſing of our *Salvation*, did moſt *chearfully* and readily vouchſafe to ſuffer a moſt *ſhameful death* for us; for ſo *much only* we do *love* God, as we love him *more* than we love *any thing elſe*, though the ſame ſhould be never ſo lovely. Aug. *de moribus Eccleſiæ.*

And in very deed, our *love* to his honour, and our *care* of his ſervice, and the *maintaining* of his truth, can never be near ſo *much* performed as we *ought* to do.

Therefore, let others *laugh* at our *too-much love* to God, and our *too hot zeal* to promote his *truth*, and to maintain his *ſervice*; yet I ſhall never condemn the *nature* of thoſe men, that with the zeal *Phinees*, and the boldneſs of St. *Peter*, are ſometimes *violent* and *vehement* in theſe proceedings; but I ſhall blame them that know not *when*, and *wherein* it is fitting to be ſo; for in this our *love* to God, if it be directed to the *right end*, though we ſhould fail in the *manner*, yet we can never fail in the *meaſure* of loving God; becauſe, as when the *ſubject* of our hatred is *ſin*, it cannot be too *deep*: So when the *Object* of our love is *God*, it cannot be too *high*; and they that with the *Laodiceans* are but warm, when God requireth them to be *hot*, can never be *freed* from ſin; when their *moderation* is become a *tranſgreſſion*, and their *Sobriety* is belied into a *Vertue*; which had it been done by *Elias*, *John Baptiſt*, and the reſt of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and the Fathers of the *Primitive Church*, we had been deprived of *much truth*, and they had failed of the Crown of *Martyrdom*. We cannot love God too much, nor near ſo much as we ought to love him.

Yet I deny not, but a man may eat *too much honey*, and in *Solomons* ſence, a man may be *righteous overmuch*, and make himſelf *over-wiſe*; that is, if I might expound it, make *thoſe things* to be ſins, to be *ſuperſtitions*, to be *Idolatrous*, to be *Popiſh*, which Men may be too preciſe.

are not ſo, (as the Engliſh Rebels throughout all *England* now do) and to make that for *Gods ſervice*, and teach thoſe things for *truths*, which are not ſo: As the *Romiſh Prieſts* throughout all this Kingdom do; but to love God *too much*, to be *too careful* to obey Gods Precepts, or *too vehement* to publiſh what we know to be a truth, moſt *neceſſary* to be known, it is the Sophiſtry of Satan to ſay, this is too much.

That there are divers degrees, as of Faith, ſo of Love.

And yet I ſay not that *every* Chriſtian doth, or can love God in ſo *great* a meaſure as is required of him, or as *many* others have and do love him; for as there are *degrees* of faith, ſo there are degrees of love; and *every* degree of ſpiritual love proceeds from a *proportionable* act of ſaving faith. And therefore, as our *faith*, ſo our *love* is ſubject to all variations and changes, ebbings and flowings, according to the *ſtrength* of our perſwaſions, or the *violence* of our deſertions. And, as ſome men are indued with a *greater* meaſure of *faith* than others be, (when as ſome have no more than a *grain of muſtard ſeed*, and that mixed with much anxiety, and others are *ſtrong* in faith, like *Abraham*, that doubted *nothing* of Gods Promiſe, notwithſtanding all the *impediments* that might croſs it;) ſo ſome men have but an ordinary love to God, and others are indued with a *more* eminent and heroical love.

Euſ. l. 4. c. 15. & l. 5. c. 1.

And ſuch was the love of the *Primitive* Chriſtians when the rage of the Pagans was ſo *great* againſt them, that to be a *Chriſtian* was a ſufficient *accuſation* to draw them to their *execution*, as it appeareth by thoſe two *memorable* examples of *Attalus* and *Polycarpus*; for as they made *Attalus* to walk about the *Amphitheater* of the Lions, there was a little *Tablet* born before him, wherein thoſe four words were only written, οὗτός ἐστιν Ἄτταλος χριστιανός, This is *Attalus* the Chriſtian; and when *Polycarpus* was led to his *Execution*, the Governour commanded the *Cryer* to make Proclamation, that *Polycarpus* had confeſſed himſelf to be a *Chriſtian*.

Euſ. l. 4. c. 15. & l. 5. c. 1.

And yet ſuch was their *Conſtancy*, and ſo great was their *love* to Chriſt, that they did not only ſay with *Ignatius*, *Ure*, *tunde*, *divelle*, Burn me, kill me, tear me to pieces, yet thou ſhalt *never* draw me from my *Saviour Chriſt*, but they did alſo ſuffer the moſt *exquiſite torments* that could be *invented* with ſuch *incredible* patience, that the ſight thereof was ſo far from *terrifying* the beholding Chriſtians, that it rather *enflamed* them to undergo the *like tortures*; for as they were leading *Ptolomæus*, an honourable perſon, to a moſt diſhonourable death, only becauſe he had *confeſſed* himſelf to be a Chriſtian; *Lucius*, another Chriſtian, ſeeing this injuſtice of *Urbicius* the Governour, goeth unto him, and demands, What *reaſon* is it that thou ſhouldſt put *Ptolomæus* to death for confeſſing himſelf to be a *Chriſtian*, ſeeing he hath not committed *Adultery* nor *Murder*; and thou canſt not prove him a *Thief* or a *Raviſher*, or guilty of any *crime* or iniquity, therefore thy Sentence doth no *credit* unto the Emperour *Antoninus* the meek, nor to his *Son*, nor to the Senate of *Rome*. To whom *Urbicius* anſwered nothing, but only asked *Lucius*, if he was a *Chriſtian*? Who replyed *Yes*, *that I am*; and was therefore preſently led to his *execution*; For which *injuſtice* he joyfully thanked *Urbicius*, that by this means he ſhould be *delivered* out of the hands of ſuch *cruel* Maſters, and ſhould go to God his moſt *loving* Father.

The great love of the Primitive Chriſtians unto God.

Iſidor. de ſummo bono, l. 1. c. 28.

Rev. 20. 2.

And albeit, in the time of the Apoſtles and the Primitive Fathers, the *Perſecutions* raiſed againſt the Chriſtians were *thus* cruel, and ſo tyrannical, that many good minds cannot *read* or remember the ſame without *weeping*; Yet *Iſidorus* tells us, That in the time of *Antichriſt*, and towards the *end* of the world, the Synagogue of Satan, and the *wordly Senate* ſhall more *furiouſly* rage againſt the Church of Chriſt and the City of God, than ever he did in the *Primitive* times; for Satan was to be *bound* for a thouſand years; whereby his malice was *chained*, and his power *abridged*, that the Church might have *ſome refreſhment*, and therefore if the devil (ſaith he) when he was *faſt bound* handled the Martyrs ſo *cruelly*, then ſurely he will do *much more* when he ſhall be *unchained*, which ſhall be, and now is in the time of *Antichriſt*.

Thuanus Hiſt. l. 6. *Cham de crudel. Antich.* l. 16. c. 15. Mr. *Fox.*

And truly I think that whoſoever readeth *Thuanus* and *Chamier*, and the book of the *Martyrs* of our Church, and conſider the Maſſacres of thoſe Chriſtians, that within this *laſt* Century of years have ſuffered in *France*, *Germany*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and other places round about, and that only for *Religion*, and not for worldly *Dominion*, which

which is the suffering of the *Christians* under the *Turk*, that permitteth any *profession* so they yield themselves to his *subjection.*) He must ingenuously confess this truth of *Isidorus*; that the greatest of all Persecutions is that which is *prosecuted* by the Ministry of *Antichrist* that now raigneth in the world.

But if you would desire to know *who is this Antichrist* that *now reigneth* and thus rageth in the world?

VVho is the Great Antichrist divers opinions.

I answer, That although *many good Arguments* are produced to prove the *Great Turk* to be that Great Antichrist, and *Constantinople* to be that *Babylon* which is the Throne of that bloudy beast; and *as many* good Arguments are alleadged by *Powel*, *Whitaker*, *Downham*, *Thompson*, and others of our Protestant Writers to prove that *series paparum* from *Boniface* in *Phocas* time, to this present Pope, is that ὁ ἀντιχριστος, spoken of by St. *Paul*, 2 *Thes.* 3. and that *Rome* is his proper seat, and so called *Babylon* by St. *Peter*. Yet divers others, of no small Learning, do avouch, That as *Ecclesia credentium, corpus cum capite*, the whole Catholick Church of Christ, head and members, is said to be, and is so termed, *unus Christus*, one Christ, as in *Joh.* 3. 13. And Christ saith unto *Saul*, *Why persecutest thou me*, when he persecuted his *Church*; So *Ecclesia malignantium*, the Congregation of the wicked, or especially *Senatus consultus*, the great Sanedrim of the people, the *supream Counsel*, and the *highest Court* of any Nation, which is the *representative* mystical body of that dispersed and *nefarious* Synagogue, is oftentimes, for their *unanimous* consent in all wickedness, spoken of, *quasi unus homo*, as if they were but *one man*; because they all have but *one head*, one will, and one end, to destroy the *truth*, and the true *Church* of Christ. And this *supream stool* of wickedness, that establisheth mischief *by a Law*, doth now appear to many men to be ὁ ἀνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτιας, *That man of sin, and the child of perdition*, whom *the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming*; because they say,

A pack of wicked men is termed the Antichrist.

2 Thes. 3. 8.

First, There is neither *Note*, Argument, Saying, nor Testimony of holy Scripture that doth, *competere antichristo*, and is suitable unto Antichrist, but it is most properly found to agree with that *Cumulus Senatorum*, the representative Council of all wickedness. As,

1. They have seated themselves in a *mystical Babylon*, the *Amsterdam* of all confusion, where you may easily find almost *all Heresies* maintained that have been invented, and *any Religion* used but the *true Religion*, that dares not be professed.

2. They do sit in the *Temple of God* as God, that is, they do possess the *truest Church* of God that we know to be on earth, and as God they establish *Worship* and Religion, and ordain *Laws* for the *Government* of that Church, and root out that *Worship* and Government which God himself hath ordained.

This point of the Great Antichrist is fully and at large handled in my Book of *The Great Antichrist revealed.*

3. They *exalt themselves* above all that *is called God*, *i.e.* Above *Kings*, of whom the Scripture most properly saith, *Dixi Dii estis*; I said you are Gods, because they are in *Gods stead*, and do exercise Gods *Power* here on Earth; and yet this *grand Council* of the Great Synagogue would not only be *worshipped* themselves as *Kings*, but will suppress *Kings*, deny any *service* to be done to them, and suffer none to do them *Worship*, which is properly to *exalt* themselves above *Kings* when they keep Kings *so low*.

4. When, by their false *assembled* Prophets, they deny the *Notions*, whereby we understand the *Father* and the *Son* to be the *true God*, (as they plainly do by the cashiering of the words, *Essence*, *Person*, *Trinity*, and the like words, which the Church of God, *penes quam norma loquendi*, hath ever used to bring her *Children* thereby to some sure knowledge of that *great mystery* of godliness, and to inable them to *confute* those wicked Hereticks that *denied* the same) they do manifest themselves to be *that Antichrist*, who, as St. *John* saith, *denieth the Father and the Son*, which neither *Turk* nor *Pope* as yet ever did.

1 Joh. 2. 22.

5. The unfolding of that *great mystery* of the *Beast*, which Beast St. *Augustine* understandeth of the *Society of wicked Christians*, and the City of Satan, that is signified by that *Beast*; and the mystery which the Holy Ghost setteth down to be observed as the most *proper* Note of the Beast, is, that it containeth *666*. touching which, if you

Aug de Civitat. Dei. l. 20. c. 9. & 14.

omit *one thousand*, which is a full and perfect number, and which is not an *unusual* thing in the Scripture to do, to make the other the *more mystery*, and consider that in 646. this *great Sanedrim* or superlative Council demanded the *Militia* or soveraign rule over the *King*, for twenty years, which being added to 646. do make up the just number of 665. This they say is a strong Argument to prove the *grand Council* to be that *Great Beast*.

6. And lastly, The unspeakible *unparalelled persecution* of this Antichrist, above *all the persecutions* that preceded it, either of *Pope*, *Turke*, or *heathen Tyrants*, do plainly prove them, to the judgment of some men, to be the *greatest Antichrist* that as yet is *revealed* unto the world; though some think that a greater may yet come before Christ does come to judgment; which I do not believe.

But though I say, as St. *Augustine* doth in the like case, *Alii atque alii aliud atque aliud opinati sunt*; Divers men have divers opinions about the *time*, *place*, and *person* of Antichrist which neither my *Text* nor my *time* will give me leave, either to *discuss*, or to *disprove* any of the same now.

Yet thus much I dare *boldly* say, that letting pass the persecutions of the Preachers, not to be paralelled in any History, if you consider first the *number* of them, all the Reverend Bishops, all the Deans, all Prebends, and all the best Divines in the whole Kingdom And 2. the *misery* that is imposed upon them, *worse* than death, *Quia dulce mori miseris*? To be spoyled of *all their means*, banished from all *their friends*, wife, children, and Parents, and exposed to *all wants* and contempts, so that neither *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Diocletian*, nor *Julian*, brought such a *storm* upon the Church of Christ, as is now brought upon the *body* of the whole *Clergy* within these five years; and omitting the *many thousands* of good Christians, that for their *Religion* and *good conscience* have lost their *lives*, *livings*, and *liberties*. I say, letting all these things pass, I dare appeal to any *impartial* Reader, that neither *Eusebius*, nor *Socrates*, nor *Thuanus*, nor *Chammier*, nor any *other* Hystorian, *Eccleſiastical* or *Prophane*, that have written of *Persecutions*, or of the *cruelty* of Antichrist can shew me *any King* (since the King of the Jews) that by his *own Subjects*, and for no *vice* of his own that malice it self can tax him, but only in reality (whatsoever is otherwise pretended) for the *defence* of Christ his *faith*, and the *true service* of God, the protection of all *faithfull Preachers*, and the upholding of the *Fundamental Laws* of his Kingdom, *hath* or *could* suffer more *unkingly indignities* by any Antichrist, than our *gracious King* hath done by his own *ungracious Subjects* of these three Kingdoms.

No Historian can shew me any King that hath suffered more indignities at any Antichristian hand, than King *Charls* hath suffered from the Long Parliament.

But stay, and let us consider, that, although these *Persecutions* be exceeding *great*, yet our *sins* and transgressions are far *greater*, and God in all this is *most just*; and as *Ezra* saith, *Punisheth us less than our iniquities deserve*; for certainly we must *confess*, what the world seeth, that we have sinned *with our Fathers*, we have done amiss and *dealt wickedly*; and therefore as *Eusebius* confesseth the iniquities of the *Primitive* Christians to have pulled upon them those *Heathen Persecutions*, so must we acknowledge this *Antichristian* Tyranny, to have *most justly* fallen upon us.

Ezra 9 13.

And not only so, but seeing we have so *justly* deserved it, let us *submit our selves* under the mighty hand of God, *repent* and be *sorry* for *whatsoever* we have done *amiss*, and pray to God for *grace* and strength, to suffer what shall be laid upon us, either for the *punishment* of our sins, or the *trial* of our Faith to God, and our *Loyalty* to our King, not only the *loss* of all *worldly* things, but even of our *life it self*, because that in *so suffering* unto *death*, we shall be sure to have the *Crown of life*; which the Lord grant unto us for Jesus Christ his sake, to whom be all glory and honour for ever and ever, *Amen*.

I have spent two hours in treating of this one verse already; and because here is *magnum in parvo*, abundance of treasure in this *little mine*, I must crave leave to spend one hour more, and with that I hope I shall *finish* all that I have to say on these words.

You may remember I told you the words contain,

1. *Gods love to Man.*
2. *Mans love to God.*

The

The first I handled in my first Sermon. And,
In the second; I shewed you three parts; that is to say,

1. The *Persons*, We,
2. The *Act*, Love, } *We love him.*
3. The *Object*, him;

3. The Object of our love, God.

The two first in my last Sermon. And now because I love neither *Tautologies*, nor to stand long upon repetitions, I will proceed unto the *object* of our love, where the Apostle saith, *We love him*, that is, *God*. And I would to God that we did *all* love him, *quia actus distinguitur per objectum*; because it is not our *love* that doth hurt us, but the *object* of our love maketh or marreth all; for as St. *Augustine* saith, *Duas civitates duo faciunt amores*; our love to *God* buildeth up *Jerusalem*, the Church and City of God, and our love to the *world*, and these worldly things, buildeth up *Babylon*, the Synagogue of Satan. *Aug. super* Psal. 64.

The errour of men.

And therefore this is the *errour* of the sons of men, not that we are subject unto *Passions*, and endued with the *affections* of Fear, Hate, Love, and the like; but that we *misguide* our Passions, and misorder our affections, by *misplacing* them where they *ought not* to be setled; for we may *fear*, so it be him that can cast *both body and soul into hell fire*; we may *hate*, so it be the thing that *is evill*, and we may *love*, so it be *what we ought*, and as we ought to love.

But this is that which God cannot endure, that we should fear *men* more than God, or fear *temporal* losses, goods, or lands, more than the loss of our *souls*, and the wounding of a *good conscience*; or that we should hate our *brethren*, and not their *sins*, which we cherish in our *selves*, though we detest them in all *others*; or that we should love the *world* and not God, or any thing in the world *more* than God, or so *much*, that it should any waies *lessen* our love to God.

The love of vain things choaketh our love to God.

And therefore here I may *stop* my course, and stay a while, to reprove those *many millions* of men that are, as the Philosophers said, *The Citizens of the world*, and do freely *bestow* their loves, not on *God*, but either upon the *vain pleasures*, or the *vile profits* of this wicked world. And it is a strange thing to see, how one affecteth *Honour*, another *Beauty*, a third *Authority*, and most of us some *one* kind of *vanity* or other, that either *drowneth* or *driveth* away, and so *lesseneth* much our love to *God*: And above all things, the love of *Riches* choaketh this *divine love* in all worldly men.

Riches what they are like.

For, as *Apolonius Tyaneus* saith, That he hath seen a stone, called *Pantaura*, which is the *Queen* of all other stones, and hath in it *all the vertues* that are to be found in all the other pretious stones; So, to *this stone* do some men compare *riches*; because they suppose *riches* to contain in them the *force* and vertue of *all other things*, and are able to bring *mighty things to pass*; as the fiercest *beasts* are made tame by them, the fairest *Ladies* are won by them, as *Jupiter* prevailed with *Danae*, when as the Poets feign, he came unto her in a *golden showre*; The greatest *Kings* are subdued by them, when as no weapons can overcome the shields of Gold; and *Rome* it self might have been bought, if *Jugurth* had had *wealth* enough to purchase it, as he said when he passed out of *Rome*. And you see the *Fishes* of the Sea, that are overwhelmed with water, and drowned in the Deep, cannot escape the *force of Riches*; and the *Fowls* of the air, though of the swiftest Wings, yet can they not *fly* from *their Empire*; yea, what *Altitudes* have not Riches abated? What *difficulties* have they not vanquished? What *improbabilities*, I will not say impossibilities, have they not facilitated? And *what things* have they desired, that they have not obtained?

What great things wealth and riches have done.

Therefore St. *Augustine*, shewing the *folly* of the Pagans about their *selected* gods, wondreth, that if *wise* men were their Selectors, why *Venus* was preferred before the Lady *Vertue*; or if *Venus* deserveth her enhansement, because *more* do affect her, than those that love *vertue*, then why was not Lady *Money* more famous than *Minerva*, seeing that in all sorts of men there are *more* that love *coyn* better than *knowledge*, and all Trades aime at *Money*, and say with the Poet, *Aug. de Civit. Dei.* l. 7. c. 3.

Quærenda pecunia primum est, virtus post nummos,

Hac

Hæc Janus ſummus ab imo perdocet
Hæc recinunt juvenes dictata ſenesq́;

Which made *Euripides* to preſent one in an *humor*, that neglected *all things* and all reproaches; for *wealth*; becauſe (ſaid he) men ſeld om or never ask, how *good* or how *honeſt* is ſuch a one, but how *rich is he?* and each man is that, which he poſſeſſeth, and is ſo *eſteemed*, according as he is *worth* and no more;

Riches like the waters of Feneo.

And therefore moſt men (I mean *worldly* men) love their gold as their God, and *this God* hath their love; And yet *riches* in their *own* nature, have neither *honour*, nor *knowledge*, nor *power*, nor *valour*, nor any other *good* nor *evil* in themſelves more than *that*, whereunto they that do *poſſeſſe* them do *direct* them, but they are like the *water*, of the lake *Feneo*, whereof the *Arcadians* do report, that whoſoever drinketh of it in the *night*, he falleth ſick, but whoſoever taketh it in the *day time*, he becometh *well*; ſo *riches*, uſed for the works of *darkneſſe*, to oppreſſe the *poor*, to ſubdue our *Prince*, to uphold *pride*, to maintain *Idolatry*, rebellion, and the like, are very *poyſon* unto our Souls; but if we imploy them for the deeds of *light*, to uphold the *right*, to relieve the *poor*, to defend the *innocent*, they are as *antidotes* againſt all evil; for neither is the rich man *condemned*, nor the poor man *ſaved*, becauſe the one is *rich*, and the other *poor*, bur as both may be *ſaved*, ſo beth may be *condemned*, becauſe the *rich* man abuſeth his *wealth*, and the *poor* man his *poverty*.

How riches do evil, and how they may do good.

And, as moſt men hunt after *riches*, ſo I might ſhew you how others affect *authority*, and others are drunk with the deſire of *honours*, but the time would be too ſhort for me to go about to cut off the head of this *monſtrous Hydra* of *miſordered* love; and moſt men do profeſſe to know, that as S. *John* ſaith, 1 *Joh.* 2. 15. *Whoſoever loveth the World, the love of the Father is not in him*; and that this world is full of *ſnares* and thorns, and *vanities and vexation of ſpirit*; and that the *lovers* of this world are none other than the *Servants* of the Devil; and they do likewiſe *confeſſe*, that God hath done and doth all thoſe *great things* for them, which we have ſet down, and therefore that they are no *worldlings*, but do love God with all their hearts, and do think themſelves much *wronged*, if they ſhould be otherwiſe *ſuſpected*.

2 Theſ. 3. 2.

What we muſt do if we love God.

Yet becauſe, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *all men have not faith*, ſo all men *have not love*, eſpecially *ſuch love* as they ought to have; therefore leſt we ſhould *deceive* our ſelves herein, and ſo *deſtroy* our Souls, we muſt know, that God is *truth*; and therefore he that loves God, loves *truth*, and whoſoever loves *lies* and *falſehoods*, loves not God; and God is *Juſtice*; therefore he that loves God, loves that which is *right* and juſt, and he that loves to do *wrong* loves not God; and ſo God is *Wiſdom*, and God is *Mercy*, and therefore he that loves God, loves *Wiſdom* and *ſheweth mercy*; and they that are *fooliſh*, as all the *wicked* are, and do ſhew *cruelty* unto their brethren, as do the *blood thirſty* men that do now ſeaze and kill and ſlay the innocent that never offended them, cannot be ſaid to love God.

But for the *fuller manifeſtation* of our love to God,

Two things to be done.

1. I will ſet down *ſome* of the moſt *infallible* ſigns of this *true love* of God, the beſt of them that are collected;

2. Leſt, upon the *diſcuſſion* of theſe truths, we find our ſelves *deſtitute* of this love I will *briefly* and as the time will give me leave, ſhew the *impediments* and ſet down the *furtherances* of our love to God. And

1. The infallible ſigns of our true love of God.

1. I find amongſt the *Antient* Hieroglyphicks, that the Image of *Love* was painted in the ſhape of a *beautiful woman*, cloathed in a green veſture, wherein was written theſe two words, *prope & procul*, far and nigh, in the breaſt were ingraven *life* and *death*, in the borders of her garment were ſet *Winter* and *Summer*, and in her ſide a *wound*, ſo wide, and ſo largely opened, that all her inward parts were tranſparent.

The Image of of Love how anciently painted: And why.

And thoſe Sages that pourtrayed *Love* thus, did it for theſe reaſons;

1. In

1. In the ſhape of a *woman*, to ſhew the *vehemencie* of this affection, becauſe *women*, by reaſon of their *weakneſſe* to bridle their paſſions, as they are more *violent* in their hate, ſo are they more *fervent* in their love, and more *vehement* in all their deſires than men; therefore *David*, expreſſing the *great* love of *Jonathan* towards him, ſaith, that *his love paſſed the love of women.* The explanation of the hieroglyphick. 2 Sam. 1. 26.

2. Of a *beautiful* woman, to ſhew that Love is an *alluring* ſubject, and is *ſweet* and delectable, even to them that are *troubled with Love.*

3. In a *green* veſture, to ſhew that *true love* ought alwayes to be *freſh* and fair, and never *withered*, nor waxen old, becauſe *it never faileth*, as the Apoſtle teſtifieth. 1 Cor. 13. 8.

4. In the words, *far and nigh*, that were ſet in the *forehead* of that Image, was ſignified that, contrary to the *common* practice of the world to follow that old Proverb,

Qui procul ab oculis procul eſt a limine cordis,

Out of ſight out of mind, *true love* remaineth *firm*, as well in the *abſence* as in the *preſence* of them that we love; when as neither *length of time* nor *diſtance of place* can any wayes *alter* the conſtancie or *leſſen* the affection of a true Lover.

5. In *life and death* that were ingraven on the *breaſt*, was ſhewed, that, as *Solomon* ſaith, *love is as ſtrong as death*, and cannot be extinguiſhed even by *death* it ſelf; but we will love the very *names* and memories of them, whom we loved, as the Son of *Syrach* ſaith of *Joſias*. Cant. 8. 6. Ecl. 49. 1.

6. By the *Winter* and *Summer*, that were ſet in the *borders* of her garment was ſignified, that true love is *permanent* and durable as well in *adverſity* as in proſperity; for though as the Poet ſaith of worldly lovers,

Donec eris felix ——————

While *proſperity* laſteth, and thy table is well *furniſhed*, thou ſhalt want *no friends* nor miſſe of any *gueſts*; but if *adverſity* cometh, thy friends will *fail*, and thy gueſts will be *gone*; ſo the Prophet tells us, there be many men, that will *love* God, and *praiſe* him too, *cum lucrum accidit illis*, when they receive any benefit from him, and when (as *David* ſaith) *their corn and wine and oyl* increaſeth; but if any *great* loſſe, or *ſad* calamity ſhould happen unto them, then what the Devil ſaid *falſely of holy Job*, may be *truely* ſaid of theſe *worldly* men, *they will curſe God to his face*, and therefore God may *juſtly* ſay to them, as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith of the like, you have ſhewed me *love indeed*, and in ſome things, kept my *commandments*, but it was for your *own profits* ſake, *non quia me pure diligebatis, ſed quia a me lucrari volebatis*; not becauſe you did *Sincerely* love me, but becauſe you deſired to be *inriched* and exalted by me, like thoſe Jews that followed Chriſt, not becauſe *they ſaw his miracles*, and were edified *by his heavenly doctrine*, but becauſe *they did eat of the loaves and were filled*, i. e. for his *temporal* bleſſings, and not for the *love* of his *ſpiritual* graces; or like S. *Peter*, that would build *tabernacles* unto Chriſt upon Mount *Tabor*, where he was transfigured in *glory*, but did forſake him on Mount *Calvary*, when he was *oppreſſed* with calamities and *overladed* with injuries, juſt like too many of the ſervants of our now *gracious King*, that could ſerve and *extoll* him in *White-hall*, while he ſate on his *throne* of Majeſtie, and yet now ſerve and *magnifie* his *oppreſſors* and opponents, when he is compaſſed with afflictions, which is to love in *Summer*, and not in the cold of *Winter*; yet I ſay, the *true* lovers of God will as *truely* love him in the *Winter* of adverſity and perſecution, as in the *Summer* of proſperity and exaltation; and will ſay with holy *Job*, *ſhall we receive good at the hands of God, and ſhall we not receive evill*? or ſhall we rejoyce at our *advancement*, and ſhall we not be contented at our *abaſement*? Pſal. 4. 8. Job 1. 11. Aug. de ſpecu lo humanæ mi ſeriæ. John 6. 26. Job 2. 10.

7. And laſtly by the *wound*, that ſhe had opened in her ſide, is ſhewed, that *true love* revealeth the very *ſecrets* of the heart to his beloved; ſo will they that *love God*, confeſſe

confeſſe all their ſins with *Daniel*, and lay open all their *wants* with *David*, unto God; and they need not be aſhamed to confeſſe them, when as *before* their confeſſion, they are all *patent* to his eyes, as the Apoſtle ſheweth; But becauſe all theſe are ſignes of *any true love* to anyobject, therefore I will ſhew you ſome more *proper ſigns* of our *love to God*; and

Acts 7.48. The 1. is to *love Gods houſe*; for though as S. *Steven* ſaith, *God dwelleth not in houſes made wiah hands*, but as the Poet ſaith,

Enter præſenter, Deus eſt ubiq; potenter,

The chiefeſt Signs of our Love to God. 1. To love Gods Houſe. That is, in the Prophets phraſe, *he filleth all places*: yet as he chooſeth a *Seventh* day for his ſervice, when as *all dayes* are his, and challengeth a *tenth part* of our goods for his *ſervants*, when as *all we have* is at his diſpoſing; ſo he requireth a *Church*, and a material houſe to be ſerved in, when as all the houſes, and all the places in the World, cannot comprehend his Majeſty; therefore the Prophet *David* ſaith, *one thing have I required of God, which I will deſire, that I may dwell in the houſe of the Lord all the dayes of my life*; and again, *my Soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the Courts of the Lord*, and the Prophet doth *extreamly* tax them that dwell themſelves in *ſeiled houſes*, and ſuffer the *houſe of God to be waſt*, fit for nothing, but, as I ſee it now in many places, to lodge beaſts and birds; and they may be as much and more blamed, that, neglecting his *conſecrated* houſe, do think their *polluted barns* to be good enough to ſerve our God.

Pſal.27 4. Pſal.84.2. Hag.1.4.

2. To love Gods Word. Pſal.119.79 & 47. & 72. Secondly, *To love Gods Word*, is another ſign of our love *to God*; therefore the Prophet *David* ſaith, *O how do I love thy Law, my delight is in thy Commandements*; and again, *thy teſtimonies are better unto me, than thouſands of gold and ſilver.*

VVhat we underſtand by Gods word. But here you muſt obſerve, that, becauſe *every* one pretendeth to love *Gods Word*, as they do profeſſe to *love God*, by Gods *Word* we underſtand not the bare *Written letter*, but the *truth* of the holy Scripture, for, as the Hereticks in *Tertull.* time, *credebant Scripturis, ut crederent adverſus Scripturas*; believed not the Scripture, but what themſelves *pleaſed* out of the Scriptures; ſo now and oftentimes *alwayes*, the Word of God is perverted and mis-interpreted, (eſpecially by two ſorts of men, as S. *Peter* noteth,

2 Pet. 3.16. Two ſorts of men pervert Gods word. 1. Thoſe that are *unlearned*, and have not *knowledge* enough to undeſtand the truth of theſe high Myſteries.

2. Thoſe that are *unſtable* and unconſtant, and therefore change the ſenſe of Scriptures as they ſee *the times* and occaſions change) As for example.

Mat.20.26,27 1. The words of Chriſt, *whoſoever will be great among you let him be your Miniſter, and whoſoever will be chief among you let him be your Servant*; the *Preſbyterians* allegde them to prove a *parity* of orders and an *equality* amongſt all the Miniſters of Gods Church, and yet the very ſame words are produced by all the *Fathers* and all the moſt *learned* Divines, to ſhew the *diverſity* of our callings, and the *ſuperiority* of ſome of them above the others; which is indeed the *very truth*; becauſe otherwiſe, he would never have ſaid, *whoſoever will be chief*, but he would have told them *plainly* and briefly, they were all *equal*, and none was *chief*, or none was *greater* than the reſt; but, in ſaying, *whoſoever will be chief, let him be your Servant*; he ſheweth the *duty* and humility that ſhould be in him which was to have the *priority*, and doth ſufficiently confirm the *ſuperiority* of ſome above the reſt.

Mat.26. 26. 2. The words of the conſecration of the Euchariſt, *take eate this is my body*; are interpretd by *Bellarm.* and all the Church of *Rome*, that quote the Authors of all ages, to prove the *Tranſubſtantiation* of that holy bread into the *very body* of Chriſt; and yet the very ſame words are expounded by the *Lutherans* to prove their *conſubſtantiation*, and by the *Fathers* rightly underſtood, as they are *amply* quoted by *Pet. Martyr*, and by the moſt *learned* of our Church, do prove, not the *oral*, or corporal eating, but the *ſpiritual* and ſacramental eating of the body of Chriſt, by Faith; which is indeed there, *really*, but *ineffably* eaten, and ſhould be ſo believed to be without any further ſearching into theſe Divine Myſteries, leſt with the

the men of *Bethſhemeſh*, we be *juſtly* ſmitten for peeping too *narrowly* into the Ark of the Lord.

3. The very ſame Scriptures to the number of forty places, were alleged by the *Arians* to prove their *Damnable* Hereſie, that Chriſt was ὁμοιουσιον, of the *like* nature with his Father, as were produced by the Orthodox to prove him to be ὁμοουσιον, of the *ſame* eſſence with God.

4. That Scripture which commandeth us, *to render unto Cæſar what is Cæſars and to God what is Gods*, is *truly alleged* by moſt Divines to exact our full obedience to thoſe our *juſt Soveraigns* that do *lawfully ſit* on their royal thrones; and this is ſo *preſſed* by the true Expoſitors, that it may be obſerved, God requireth this *duty* to be performed, before his own *dues* ſhold be rendred. Matth. 22. 21.

And yet when the *right* Kings are thruſt out by any *Uſurpers*, (as the *Roman Emperours* were oftentime expulſed, and ſince many *lawful Kings* have been unlawfully dethroned) the very ſame Scripture is ſtill alleaged by ſome other falſe Interpreters, to require *obedience* to thoſe *powerful intruders* that ſeem to have the lawful authority.

So when the *Lawful Governours* of Gods People are undecently reviled, the anſwer of St. *Paul*, to them that ſaid unto him, *revileſt thou Gods High-prieſt?* When he replied, *I wiſt not, brethren that he was the High-prieſt, for it is written, thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of the people*, is *juſtly* urged by moſt of the beſt Interpreters, to condemn the upbraiders of *juſt authority*; And yet the ſame example is produced by ſome other ſpurious divines, to require the *like obedience* to intruding and *uſurping Governours*, when they have got the power, and have *attained* unto the authority, though by very *unlawful* wayes.

And in all theſe, and many *more places* of like nature, I may ſay with S. *Aug.* in the like caſe, *alii atq; alii, aliud atque aliud opinati ſunt*, But the truth is, that the miſtaking of the *true ſenſe* of the Scripture, or the *miſapplying* of thoſe holy examples, is nothing elſe, but to make the *ſame* Word of God (as *Card. Hoſius* calleth it) a *noſe of wax*, that may be wrought to ſerve *every turn*; becauſe the ſame *univocal truth* cannot be *rightly* produced, to prove *contraries*, or a direct contrariety of things. And therefore I ſay that, as *hoc eſt corpus meum*, do no wayes confirm the *carnivorant*, or inhumane eating of the *true natural fleſh* of Chriſt that was *born* of the Virgin, and *crucified* for us under *Pontius Pilate* (which the very *Jews* loathed to hear of, otherwiſe then *ſacramentally*, myſtically, and ſpiritually, though *really*, *by Faith*, as I ſhewed unto you before; and the *rhapſody* of the miſalleaged Scripture by the *Arians*, do no wayes prove the wicked Hereſie of the ὁμοουσιανς; ſo the words of Chriſt *to render tribute unto Cæſar*, do *no wayes* require, the yielding of our obedience to any *uſurped power*, or intruding Soveraigns. John 6. 52. Dr. *Hanmer* in his chron. after *Euſeb.* his Hiſtory makes this plain.

Becauſe now, as you may ſee out of *Joſephus*, *Appian*, and other Hiſtories both of the Greeks and Romans, and out of the Books of the *Machabees*, the *Jews* ever ſince *Pompey*'s time were become *Tributaries*, and were tied by many *other Obligations*, for their defence againſt *Antiochus* and other enemies, unto the *Romans*, to become Tributaries unto them; and the *Scepter* was now quite departed from *Judah*, when *Herod* that was an *Idumæan*, had quite extirpated all the *Royal* Line, and they had not then any *other* more *Lawful* viſible Soveraign, then *Cæſar*, as themſelves confeſs, *We have no King but Cæſar*, whoſe *Image* was upon their Coyn, which thing is one of the chiefeſt things *inter jura regalia*; and therefore they did acknowledge *Judas Galilæus* for a *Rebel*, and to have his Blood *moſt juſtly* mingled with his Sacrifice by *Pilate*, becauſe he denied *Tribute* to be given, and *Prayers* to be made, for the life of the *Emperor*. John 19. 15.

And the example of S. *Paul* is more clear, that as he give no *Reverence*, ſo he deemed *no obedience* to be due to the *uſurped* power of *Ananias*, when he ſaid *God ſhall ſmite thee, thou whited Wall*, that is, thou *Hypocrite*, for *ſittest thou to judge me after the Law, and commandeſt me to be ſmitten contrary to the Law?* And if you ſay, that he *recalled* himſelf, and recanted his Errour, by acknowledging his *Fault* (as ſome Expoſitors, that is, *Eraſmus* and *Cyprian*, *qui videntur hanc Interpretationem*

approbare, would have it ſo) when he ſaith, *I wiſt not, Brethren, that he was the High Prieſt*; I anſwer, *Ang. Epiſt.* 5. *ad Marcel.* quits him from all fault; and ſaith, *Irridenter Circumſtantes admonet. Hieron. ad Nepot.* excuſeth him alſo, and alledgeth *Craſſus in Cicer. de Orat.* l. 3. for the like Anſw. *A Lapide & Lorinus in Loc.* do clear him likewiſe. *Baron. to* 1. *Anno* 58. *&c.* 150, *diſtinguit inter Summum Sacerdotem & Principem Sacerdotum*; and thereby makes good the Apoſtles Anſwer, becauſe in that Confuſion he could not well diſcern the one from the other. And *Beza* in his *Larg. annotat. in Loc.* quits the Apoſtle from all fault becauſe this *Anan.* was an *Uſurper*, as *Joſephus* teſtifieth. And therefore we ſay, that this Anſwer of S. *Paul* acknowledgeth *no Fault*, but rather confirmeth my Saying, that he deemed *no Obedience* to be due to *his uſurped* and unjuſt Authority; becauſe you muſt not think S. *Paul* to be ſo *ignorant*, as not to know him to be the *reputed* High Prieſt, elſe he had not ſaid, *Sitteſt thou to judge me after the Law?* and he had been 9 or 10 Dayes in *Jeruſalem*, before he was brought to the Counſel; and think you, that in all that time, he underſtood not who was *High Prieſt*, the greateſt Governour in Town? but S. *Paul* did not know, that is, did not *acknowledge*; which ἐν ἠδεῖν, *uſually* ſignifieth, or he did not take him to be the *True* and *Lawful* High Prieſt; for if he had taken him to be ſuch an one, he would never have *reviled* him; becauſe the Law forbiddeth us to ſpeak evil of the *Ruler of the People*; but becauſe he knew him to be an *Intruder* and Uſurper, as *Joſephus* teſtifieth, and ſuch an one as had *no juſt Power* nor authority over him, therefore he ſaith, *God ſhall ſmite thee, thou whited wall*: and yet being reproved for this Reproof, he makes uſe of the wiſdom of the *Serpent*, to which our Saviour adviſeth us, and as he eſcaped the violence of his Enemies, when he perceived the one half of them to be Phariſees, and other Sadduces, by making ſuch a Speech as divided them, ſo here he *evadeth* the like Fury, by this fair Anſwer, *I wiſt not Brethren that he was the High Prieſt.*

Therefore though his *Reply* might be ſome excuſe for his *Maleloquy*, which *Michael* would not uſe againſt Satan, yet this *Example* gives no *countenance* to the yielding of *Obedience* to *Uſurped* Authority, unleſs you will conclude S. *Paul* to be either *very ignorant*, or a *very great Diſſembler*, which is very *injurious* to think of ſo *holy* an Apoſtle.

But the Caſe of *Athaliah* puts this out of all doubt, becauſe ſhe had the *Power* and the Government, and the *Authority* ſetled upon her, about the ſpace of ſeven years,
2 Reg. 11. 4. yet becauſe ſhe had no *Right*, but did *uſurp* the Crown, the good High Prieſt *Jehojada* was ſo far from *obeying* her, that aſſoon as ever he found *ability*, and a fit opportunity, he deviſed the way to *depoſe* her, and to ſet the Crown upon the *right* Heirs Head, whoſe *example* we ought all to follow, when *opportunity* ſerveth.

Or were it not ſo; that we muſt renounce *uſurped* power, how ſhall we protect
2 Sam. 15, 16. and maintain the *juſt* and lawful authority? ſurely the people that followed *Abſolon*, when he had the *power* to trample Juſtice under foot, to *poſſeſſe* the royal City, and to *drive* the lawful King to *flie* from place to place; and the followers of thoſe perfideous Rebels of *Killkenney*, that ſo *barbarouſly* maſſacred the poor Proteſtants, and ſo foully, ſo falſely deluded both the good King and all the Kings friends, and have now, as themſelves pretend, the *great power* in this Kingdom, may well be *juſtified* not to have offended, if this *doctrine* may be defended, that *uſurped* authority is not to be *reſiſted*, but to be *obeyed*, when its power is moſt *prevalent*.

Rom. 14. 2. But the Apoſtle tells us *plainly*, *that whatſoever is not of faith is ſin*; and with what faith, I pray you, can I obey *that power* and ſubmit my ſelf to that *authority*, which my conſcience tells me to be againſt *truth* and without *Juſtice*.

But *Tertull. ad Scapulam* makes this moſt clear; where he ſheweth how tender the *Chriſtians* were to preſerve the right to the lawful Emperours, and therefore though *Albinus* was moſt powerful in the Weſt, and *Piſen Niger* in the Eaſt, yet the *Chriſtians* would be *nec Albiniani, nec Caſſiani, nec Nigriani.*

Yet this much I muſt tell you, that where the *right heir* is not *apparent*, as it was

not

not amongſt many of the Primitive Emperours, who were often lifted up to that royal dignity by none other right than the *Sword* of the tumultuous Souldiers, and unconſtant cohorts, and were therefore obeyed by the good Chriſtians, becauſe they knew not of any *other* that had any *better* right unto the Empire, the ſame as yet being *unſetled* to continue in any hereditary line.; or when the *juſt* Title to the Crown is not *cleered*, as perhaps it was not to all the Subjects in the time of *Hen.*4. *Edw.*4. and *Rich.*3. and the like *doubtful* claimes, then it is not for every *private mechanick* or ignorant Ruſtick to determine the *right* to the Crown, and decide the *equity* or the *iniquity* of ſuch powers; but as the Apoſtle ſaith, and as it was moſt *learnedly* handled by a moſt Reverend and a moſt *learned Prelate* of our Church, not long ſince in this place, *they ought to ſtudy to be quiet*, to follow their own Trades, and *to do their own buſineſs*, and not to *polupragmatize* in matters ſo tranſcendent and ſo metaphyſical to their Mechanick and Ruſtick capacities. 1 Theſ.4 11.

And in this *qualified* ſence you muſt underſtand and not *miſtake* the meaning of the ſame moſt *Reverend Prelate* in this place upon our laſt Kings day, that when it is *doubtful* to *whom* the right of the *Soveraign Power* ſhould belong, or *who* hath right unto the *Soveraignty*, then all *ignorant* and private men are excuſed though they *reſiſt not* the Government that hath the *preſent power* over them, but do obey the ſame, eſpecially by their *paſſive obedience*, and likewiſe by their *active obedience* in all honeſt and *lawful* demands.

All which, with all that I ſaid before, I ſay to clear the *integrity* of the ſaid Reverend Prelates *intention*, from any *ſiniſter* apprehenſion of *miſunderſtanding hearers*.

But where the right is *indubitable*, and the ſoveraignty not to be *queſtioned* whoſe it is, as it is with our moſt *gracious King*, whom all the *Iriſh* Rebels of *Kilkenny*, and all the *other* Rebels of theſe three Kingdoms, deny not to be their *lawful Soveraign*: I ſay, that what Power ſoever exalteth it ſelf *above* him, or *againſt* him, (which the Parliament of *England* doth not, when it challengeth only a kind of *co-ordination* with him) we are not to yield any obedience unto the ſame, eſpecially if the ſame *command*, or require any thing *contrary* to his commands; becauſe, as the Son of *Syrach* ſaith, *We are to ſtand with the right*, and in the *truth*, and as our Saviour ſaith, *To continue faithful therein unto death*, if we deſire to enjoy *the Crown of life*. Rev.2.10.

And therefore, though the *dumb devil* may hold my tongue, ſo that I ſhall be able to ſay nothing of what truth ſhould be delivered, yet all *the power of hell* ſhall never open my mouth, and cauſe me to ſay that *untruth* which my *conſcience* telleth me cannot be *juſtified*; becauſe this love to the truth of Scripture is a ſingular Teſtimony of our love to God.

3. The next *ſign* of the love of God is to love the *honour* of God, without which we cannot be ſaid to *love God*. 2. To love Gods honour.

4. The next ſign is to love Gods *Image*, that is *Man*.

5. To obſerve Gods *Precepts*.

6. To hate *Sin*.

7. A longing deſire to *be with God*; to have an Union and Communion with him; for it is an impregnable property of a perſon *loving*, to deſire to be united to the perſon *loved*; and therefore *Pyramus* loving *Thisbe*, cries out to the wall, that hindered them to meet together;

Invide, dicebat, paries quid amantibus obſtas?

Many other ſigns of Gods love I ſhould *ſhew* unto you, and the *impediments* that hinders us to love God; ſuch as are,

1. The *ignorance* of the incomprehenſible *ſweetneſs*, and unſpeakable *goodneſs* of God.

2. The *too much* love of our ſelves, and of our carnal deſires.

3. The *bewitching allurements* of the pleaſures, profits, and other vanities of this

this preſent world, and the like, that do *hinder*, blind, and ſuffocate our love to God.

And then *laſt* of all, I ſhould ſhew unto you the *helps* and furtherances *to beget* and to *nouriſh* the love of God in us, ſuch as are,

1. The continual *meditation* of Gods goodneſs towards us, and his *excellencies* in himſelf.

2. The daily *reading* and hearing of *Gods Word*, and the reading of other *godly Books*, that do incite and invite us *to love the Lord* above all the things of this World.

3. Continual *Prayers* to God for Grace, and the aſſiſtance of his *Holy Spirit to encline* our hearts to love him.

4. Often diſcourſe and *conference* with good and *holy men* about the *goodneſs* of God and *heavenly things*, and the like.

All which I ſhould more *fully* and amply inlarge unto you, but that the time binds me to defer the ſame to a *fitter opportunity*, and in the interim to pray to God for grace to *abandon* the love of this World, and to *love God*, and to encreaſe in our love to him more and more, through *Jeſus Chriſt our Lord*; *To whom be Glory, and Honour, and Thanks now and for evermore.* Amen.

Jehovæ Liberatori.

The

THE DECLARATION OF THE Juſt Judgments of GOD.

THE Man, that was *according to God's own heart*, the beſt Subject, that ever we read of, and the greateſt *King* that ever *Iſrael* ſaw, *David*, the Son of *Jeſſe* ſaith, that *the* LORD *is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works:* and the Prophet *Daniel* teſtifieth as much; and ſo do all the Saints and Servants of God; yea, and the very wicked Reprobates do confeſs the ſame: for *Adoni-bezek*, the Tyrant, that had Seventy Kings, having their Thumbs, and great Toes cut off, to gather their meat under his Table, doth *acknowledge*, that God did moſt juſtly deal with him, as he had dealt with others; and ſo we finde, that the *Law* of God is moſt *juſt*, and requireth *Juſtice* to be done at *all times*, in *all places*, and to all perſons; as *an eye for an eye*, tooth for tooth, and he *that ſheddeth man's blood*, by *man ſhould his blood be ſhed:* yet ſuch is the *corruption* of man's Nature, that we do often judge amiſs of the juſt Judgments of God; and therefore Chriſt adviſeth us *not to judge*, that is, amiſs; or, if we judge, not to do it according to the Superficies, and outward appearance of things, but to *judge righteous Judgments*, and eſpecially of all the *Judgments of God*, that he ſheweth either in *this world*, or in the world *to come*. And becauſe God of late hath poured out *much* of his *wrath*, and indignation, and ſhewed *many Judgments* upon theſe Kingdoms, I will endeavour, by the help, and aſſiſtance of the ſame God, to make, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *a Declaration of the juſt Judgments of God*, to ſtop the mouths of all diſcontented *Murmurers*, and to ſhew the juſt deſerts of us all, that either have been, or ſtill are moſt juſtly puniſhed; and I ſhall further ſhew, how that in the *midſt* of God's anger againſt theſe Nations, he was pleaſed to *continue* his mercies, and loving kindneſſes to his *dear*, and faithful Servant, and our late moſt *gracious* King, of ever *bleſſed* Memory, *Charles* the Firſt.

Pſal. 145. 17.

Rom. 2. 3.

And firſt, as the Poet ſaith, *A* Jove *principium Muſæ*; ſo I ſhall begin with him, that was *Jehovah's* Vice-gerent, the *Anointed of the Lord*, and our *moſt gracious* King.

CHAP. I.

Vera quidem res eſt. patrem ſequitur ſua proles; Et ſequitur leviter filia matris iter.

FIrſt then for King *Charles*, *I* knew him before he was *crowned* King, a moſt *virtuous*, and *Religious* Prince, religiouſly following the *pious* ſteps of his good and *godly* Father, and well-beloved, and well ſpoken of by *all* his Fathers Court; *& pietas ſpectata per ignes*, and his Travels through *France*, and Return from *Spain*, have ſufficiently teſtified his ſincerity, and conſtancy in the true Religion: ſo that I may truly ſay of him; *Firma valent per ſe, nullúmque* Machaona *quærunt* And after he was crowned King, all in *white*, in token of that purity, and innocency, which he deſired always to retain, according to the counſel of *Solomon*, that ſaith, *Let thy Garments be always white*: I living in His Court, in no *mean* place, had a very great deſire to note, and obſerve the lives, actions, and contrivements, both of the *King*, and of moſt other men, that were of any note in the *King's* houſe; and throughout all the ſpace of ſeventeen, or eighteen years, that I was reſident in His Court, whereof I waited in my turn ſix or ſeven years, upon His *Majeſty*, my *Witneſs* is in Heaven, that I could obſerve *none*, nor find out *any* man, either of the Lords, Knights, or other Gentlemen of his Houſe, that was of ſo mild a Diſpoſition, ſo courteous in his Converſation, and ſo pious in all the actions, and circumſtances of Religion as King *Charles* was: a man, that I never heard to take the Name of God in *vain* at any time; nor ever ſaw him *paſſionately* angry with any man: neither do I believe, that the mouth of the Father of Lies could juſtly tax him of any open crime, or inexcuſable defect, either of Charity, Equity, or Piety, before the Birth of the Long Parliament, or after throughout all his life; for he knew that, *Qui ſceptra duro ſævus imperio reget, Timet timentes, metus in autorem cedit*: and I am ſure, *I* am able to ariſe in the laſt day to teſtifie againſt many of his enemies, and accuſers, that *I* have often heard them juſtifying him in thoſe things, for which afterwards they accuſed him, and condemned him; yea, they were his *Counſellours* to have them done, and then his Proſecutours, and Perſecutours of him unto the death for doing them.

Seneca *in* Oedipo, *Act.* 3.

Much more could *I* ſpeak, and ſpeak it moſt truly, in the juſt praiſe and commendation of this good and godly King; and when all that *I* could ſpeak were ſet down, *I* muſt confeſs mine *offence*, that plenty it ſelf, and the abundance of his virtues, and merits, hath made me *poor* in mine expreſsions thereof.

——— *Talem vix reperit unum*
Millibus è multis hominum conſultus Apollo.
Auſonius.

Proh dolor, infœlix ſors noſtra amittere talem,
Ter fœlix talem, qua tenet or a viorum.

And is it not therefore ſtrange, that the juſt and good God ſhould ſuffer the wicked Sons of men ſo ſtrictly to proſecute, and ſo unexemplarily to handle, and to deal with ſo juſt, ſo good, and ſo Religious a Prince, as the Long Parliament hath done with King *Charles*, and ſo to confute that Poet, which ſaith, *Nullum carnit exemplo nefas*: when as no Hiſtorie of any Times, of any Kingdom, can parallel the proceedings againſt King *Charles*.

I anſwer no, not at all; but in the death of this good and godly King may be ſeen, the great *mercy* of God, and I dare not ſay the *Revelation of the juſt Judgment of God*; but the *gentle chaſtiſement of a moſt loving Father*, to a moſt dear and dutiful Son, that all men, that ſee the ſame, might praiſe God for the *one*, and fear him for the *other*; for, as the death of the Son of God, *Jeſus Chriſt*, was moſt *unjuſtly* done by the wicked *Jews*, that condemned him for *Blaſphemy* againſt God, and *Treaſon* againſt *Cæſar*, whereof he was moſt innocent, and guilty of neither; yet was it moſt juſtly ſuffered to be done by the determinate Counſel of God, as Saint *Peter* ſheweth, becauſe that out of his great love, and mercy to ſave ſinful man, he became his *Surety*, to pay his Debts, and to ſatisfie God's Wrath, by ſuffering that death for our ſins, that, as the Prophet ſaith, *We by his ſtripes might be healed*; therefore did God moſt *juſtly* execute upon him, what he had moſt *mercifully* undertaken

dertaken for us all: ſo, though King *Charles* was a very *good* man, and a moſt religious Prince, and as his friends knew, moſt innocent, and free from all thoſe crimes, that were layd to his charge by the long Parliament; yet could he not be juſtified from all *offences* againſt his God; but, as *Moſes* that was faithful in *all Gods Houſe*, yet failed he a little at the waters of *Meriba*; and as *David* that was a man *according to Gods own heart*; yet offended he alſo in *numbering the people*; and as *Ezechias* and *Joſias* that were two of the three beſt Princes of all the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*; yet both of them tranſgreſſed: the one in ſhewing his Treaſures to the Embaſſadors of the King of *Babylon*, and the other in his confederacy with a wicked *King*; and God juſtly puniſhed every one of them; *Moſes*, that he ſhould not ſo much as enter into the Land of *Canaan*; *David*, with the loſs of threeſcore and ten thouſand of his people; *Ezechias* to have all that he ſhewed tranſported into *Babylon*, and *Joſias* even with death in the Valley of *Megiado*: ſo King *Charles*, though a very good man, and a moſt juſt and pious Prince, and a faithful Servant of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and a ſtrenuous defender of the true Faith; yet, becauſe that, when God for his tryal tempted him, as he tempted *Abraham*, *Job*, and many others, *temptatione probationis, non deceptionis*, to ſee how far he would ſtand unmoveable in the right way, he either through fear and frailty, or rather as I conceive, by the deceitful perſwaſions of ſome, whom he ſuppoſed to be his faithful Counſellors, but were indeed ſeducing friends, yielded, and perhaps with ſome reluctancy againſt his own minde, conſented to the deſires of ſome evill men, to do thoſe things that offended God; therefore as he did, though deceived, what he ſhould not do, (like the man of God in 1 *King.*) ſo his good God that did moſt truly love him, did notwithſtanding moſt juſtly ſuffer his Counſellors to become his enemies to warr againſt him, and to puniſh him, for what himſelf and his friends knew, and moſt others conceived, and do believe he never did; for it is juſt with God to puniſh our ſins and offences, when and where, and how, and by whom he pleaſeth, as I ſhall declare unto you by this plain Story, which may illuſtrate this point unto you.

A certain poor man had a *Pick-axe* wherewith he got his living; and there was a certain *rich man*, his Neighbour, that coveted the ſame, and finding it, on a time, left where the poor man wrought, ſtole it from him, ſo that the poor Labourer was fain to provide another, and after many years, and the memory of the *Pick-axe* quite forgotten, the rich man driving ſome of his Cattel to the Market, a luſty fellow, that had ſtollen a couple of *Oxen*, drove them among the rich mans Beaſts, and after a while, fearing to be apprehended, by the ſearch and cry, that he perceived to come after him, he prayed the rich man to drive his *Oxen* a little way, while he went a Furlong or two, to deliver a Letter to ſuch a Gentleman, and the rich man, ſuſpecting no evil, did ſo; but not long after, the ſearchers for the *Oxen* found them with the rich man, driven towards the Fair amongſt his own Beaſts, and apprehending him, proſecuted him ſo eagerly, and the rather, becauſe he was a rich man, that he was condemned to die for ſtealing of thoſe *Oxen*; and being upon the Ladder, complaining of this injuſtice, and profeſſing his innocency herein, he ſpieth a *Kite* flying up and down over his head, and crying, as he conceived, for the *Pick-axe*, for the *Pick-axe*; whereupon, his Conſcience accuſing him, he cryed out, that God was juſt, and his judgement right; for though he was innocent from the *Oxen*; yet he long agone, had ſtolen a poor mans *Pick-axe*, for which God now brought him to this end; ſo no doubt, many a *Thief* and *murtherer*, may eſcape for the *robbery* and *murders* committed by them; and yet may ſuffer for that which they never knew, which is moſt juſt with God, though unjuſtly done by men.

And ſo God might juſtly, though moſt mercifully too, ſuffer the enemies of this good King to condemn him for what he never did, becauſe he might offend God in ſome other things, for which he was never blamed by his enemies, nor accuſed by the Parliament.

And let no man wonder, nor blame me for ſaying, that the King, though never ſo good a King, and ſo pious a man, ſhould notwithſtanding fail, and offend God in ſome things, when the Apoſtle tells us plainly, that in *many things we offend all.* For as there is no condition of life, be it never ſo happy, but it hath his croſs, to ſhew unto us, that perfect felicity is to be expected elſewhere: ſo there is no Prince, nor any man living, be he never ſo wiſe, but he ſometimes erreth, and be he never ſo virtuous, but he will ſometimes offend, elſe ſhould he prove himſelf to be more then man, becauſe, as *Plutarch* ſaith, τὸ μὲν ἁμαρτῆν μὴδὲν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπόν ἐσιν, It is more then is in the power of man to offend nothing in great matters, ſuch as are the Affairs of *Kings*, and *Princes.*

But what were thoſe things, wherein this good King hath failed, and offended God, and for which he might juſtly ſuffer his enemies to warr, and to prevail againſt him? can any man tell what they be?

I anſwer, that the wiſeſt of the Kings friends conceive them to be not thoſe things, for which his enemies warred againſt him, and condemned him moſt unjuſtly; but might be thoſe things, wherein, contrary to his own free deſires, he yielded to the deſires of his enemies: and thoſe you may finde in the Biſhop of *Oſſory* his *Diſcovery of Myſteries*, to be thoſe three principal miſtakes, and not denied to be ſo by the King himſelf, when Secretary *Falkland* would for thoſe things, have ſuppreſſed that Book; but the good King told him, they were true, and ſo ſuffered the Book to be publiſhed.

The threefold errours of the King.

1. To yield his *aſsent* to put the Earl of *Strafford* to death.
2. To paſs the Act, that excluded the Biſhops from the Houſe of Peers, and the other Clergy from Civil Affairs.
3. To make the Parliament perpetual, and ſo by himſelf, indiſſoluble, till they conſented to diſſolve it.

Theſe things pleaſed the Parliament, but might diſpleaſe God, and might without doubt moſt juſtly move God to be offended with his Majeſty, and to ſuffer his enemies moſt unjuſtly, and cauſeleſly to rage againſt him; for that Firſt, Touching the Earl of *Strafford*, the King, we all know, loved his perſon, and admired his worth, and took indefatigable pains at his Trial, to be fully certified, and informed of thoſe things, whereof the Earl was accuſed, and as the Poet ſaith,

Regia, crede mihi, res eſt { *ſuccurrere lapſis,* / *inquirere verum.*

And this the *King* confeſſed at his death, ſaying, *God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a* Chriſtian, *as not to ſay, that God's Judgements are juſt upon me, when many times he doth inflict* Juſtice *by an* unjuſt *Sentence: this is ordinary: I will onely ſay, that an* unjuſt *Sentence, that I* ſuffered *to take effect, is puniſhed now by an* unjuſt *Sentence upon my ſelf*

This was a moſt royal part in him, and which *Moſes* commanded to be obſerved, before any Idolater ſhould be condemned; but after he had ſo religiouſly, and diligently ſearched into the depth of their malice, that accuſed the Earl, and found out the truth of his cauſe, and his Conſcience informing him, that he was no ways worthy of death, for the King then to be perſwaded, for what pretenſe of good ſoever, and by whomſoever, were it an Angel out of Heaven, to conſent unto his death, is to become guilty of a great fault, and to ſay, that he was perſwaded thereunto by the Biſhops, (whoſe fault was therefore greater then his Majeſtie's) can no more excuſe him, then for the man of God to ſay, that he was ſeduced by the *old Prophet.*

And therefore this might be a juſt cauſe with God, to ſuffer him, that, to ſatisfie ſinful men, would offend his good God, by giving way to them, to take away the life of an innocent man, to have his own life taken from him, even by thoſe men, to whom he had yielded to take away the life of another man; which is, ταυτοπάθεια, a conformity of our puniſhment to our offence; and is nothing elſe but *lex talionis*, an eye for an eye, a tooth for tooth, and death for death, which was the firſt Law, that God publiſhed after the Deluge, ſaying, *Whoſoever ſheddeth man's blood*, that is, either *per ſe*, as *Cain* did *Abel*, or *per alium*, as *David* did *Uriah's*, and *Ahab Naboth*, by *Act*, or, it may be, by *conſent*, by *man ſhall his blood be ſhed.*

Secondly,

Secondly, touching the *Biſhops*, my ſelf knoweth, that he *loved* them all, and *honoured* their *Calling* very much, being fully ſatisfied of the truth of their Divine, and Apoſtolical Inſtitution, as appeareth by that learned, and exquiſite defence, that *himſelf* moſt graciouſly made againſt the *Presbyterians*, of the *Epiſcopal* Order; and he was indeed a right *Conſtantine* to all the Biſhops, rather hiding their infirmities, if he ſpyed any fault in them, with the Lap of his Garment, then any ways multiplying, or publiſhing the ſame unto the People. And this was a moſt Chriſtian courſe in him; for I may juſtly ſay,

Victima ſacra Deo res eſt ſuccurrere Cleris:

And as our Saviour ſaith of them, *He that receiveth you, receiveth me:* And the *Biſhops*, of all other his Subjects, were his moſt loyal Servants, and moſt faithful Oratours, never thwarting their King, nor croſſing any of his juſt Deſigns, but ever cleaving unto his Cauſe, and *voting* on his ſide, ſo far as *truth*, and *right*, and a *good Conſcience*, would give them leave: contrary to which, his Majeſty never deſired any thing. And therefore, when the King ſaw the malice of moſt wicked men, *qui oderunt eos grâtis*, and did bear an inteſtine hatred againſt theſe true Servants of God, and did ſtrive *manibus, pedibúsque*, with all their might, againſt all *juſtice*, to thruſt them out of their *undoubted* Right (by the favour, we confeſs, of our moſt pious Princes) for him, as we conceive, againſt his *own mind*, and to his own *prejudice*, to pleaſe, and ſatisfie the *implacable* hatred of his, and their enemies; to paſs an *Act* to exclude the *Biſhops* out of his *Great Council*, the Parliament, when above thirty Acts of Parliament had confirmed their right *Intereſt* therein, ſince the confirmation of *Magna Charta*, was an errour, as I conceive, not ſalvable, and a fault, that cannot be juſtly excuſed by his beſt Friends; and therefore God might juſtly ſuffer all his Counſels to fail, and his Counſellours to become *perfidi familiares*, his familiar Traytours, ſuch as the Poet ſpeaks of,

Sæpe ſub agnina latet hirtus pelle Lycaon,
Subque Catone *pio perfidus ille* Nero.

And though I do not, nor dare not, ſay it was ſo, yet I may ſay, that for this, God might ſo give way to his Enemies, to prevail againſt him, and to thruſt him out of his *Kingdom*, when he gave way to thruſt his Embaſſadours out of his houſe; which is but ἰσοσταθεια, and even as *Solomon* divided God's Service, betwixt God, and the Idols of *Zidon*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, ſo God divided his *Kingdom* betwixt his Son *Rehoboam*, and his Servant *Jeroboam*; ſo might he deal with King *Charles*, when he yielded to expel the Biſhops, that were his true Friends, and God's Servants, out of his Council, to ſuffer his Enemies to exclude him out of his Kingdom: and not unjuſtly, or without cauſe neither, as the ſame proceeds from God, whoſe ways are always juſt; for who could better declare the *right*, and *truth* of things unto the King, then the Expounders of the Book of Truth? Who could adviſe, and direct him, to make *better*, and juſter Laws, then the Teachers of the Law of God? and who *fitter* to judge of right, and to require Juſtice to be enjoyned, and practiſed by all People, then they, whoſe *Calling* is continually to call upon all men, to live *godly*, and *ſoberly*, and *juſtly*, in this preſent World? Why then ſhould they be excluded from the Seat of Juſtice, either in the making of Laws, or to ſee thoſe Laws executed, unleſs it were, that the Lay-Juſtices might do what they would without ſhame, and what they pleaſed without controul, when as heretofore the reverend Preſence of the Biſhops, and grave Divines, and their ſage Counſel, did oftentimes ſtop the Current of *Injuſtice*, and made ſome aſhamed of ſome groſs dealings, that, in their abſence, they were not aſhamed to have effected: and therefore, I ſuppoſe I may juſtly ſay, that, as it

1 *Reg.* 11. & c. 12.

was

was ſaid of the Emperour *Juſtinian*, when he cauſed *Ætius*, his brave General, to be cut off, he had cut off his right Arm with his left Hand; ſo did King *Charles*, when he paſſed that Act, that prejudiced *himſelf* more then the *Biſhops*.

Thirdly, touching the *Parliament*, we muſt underſtand, that *Parliaments* were firſt inſtituted by the Kings of this Nation, to inform them of the Abuſes, Dangers, and Defects, which the Lords and Peers, and the wiſer ſort of their Subjects, which each Countrey had elected, and the chief Cities had choſen for that purpoſe, had obſerved; and to adviſe, and conſult with their King *de arduis rebus Regni*, of theſe, and all other difficult, and great Affairs of the Kingdom; as the Writs, that call them together, do declare; and then, to conſider, by what *good* means the Dangers of the Kingdom might be prevented; by what Laws the abuſes might be redreſſed, and which ways the peace of the People might be preſerved, and the happineſs of all his Subjects continued, and enlarged; and if they underſtood of any forreign dangers, invaſions, or injuries, to conſult how the ſame might be prevented, and rectified. And when the *King* underſtood, what his Lords and Commons conceived *fitting* to be done, He, with the Advice of His Council, ratified what he approved, and rejected what he diſliked, with the uſual phraſe in that kind.

But in proceſs of time, the Parliament-men (as I heard wiſe men ſay) began to incroach more and more upon the Rights of Majeſty, upon the Power, and Authority of the King, eſpecially of thoſe Kings that either had no Right, or, at the beſt, but doubtful Titles unto the Crown, or thoſe that were of leſs Abilities, or of an eaſie, and facile diſpoſition, and would ſoon be perſwaded, by the importunity of their People, to yield to many things that they deſired. And what Favours, and Priviledges they thus obtained from theſe Kings, they challenged as their Right and Due from the ſucceeding Princes; and the more Favours, and Priviledges they obtained, the more ſtill they deſired, and at laſt in ſome Parliaments, from *Adviſers*, the Members thereof would fain become *Directours*, and inſtead of being *Counſellours*, they aymed to be *Commanders* of their *Kings*, and to perſwade them, that they ought and muſt enact what Laws, and do what things, as they concluded ſhould be done: But, ſeeing as the Poet ſaith, *Flumina magna vides parvis de fontibus orta*, ſmall Springs do often make great Rivers; therefore, to prevent the increaſe of this growing Miſchief, to allay the Diſeaſe, before the Sore grew to be incurable, and to quench the Flame, before the Fire burnt the Houſe, the wiſe and prudent Kings retained always, in their own hands, the power to diſſolve the Parliament whenſoever they pleaſed; that, as they called them together, when they thought *good*, ſo they might diſmiſs them, when they liſted, either when all things were reaſonably concluded, or when they conceived the Parliament men to become unreaſonable in their Demands; which was the firſt Signal Evidence of the Ambitious Deſire of *Kingly Majeſty* in the Lord *Protectour*, when he diſſolved the Long Parliament; which made me to believe, he aymed to be a *King*.

Qui ſemel verecundiæ fines tranſgreſſus fuerit, eum oportet gnaviter eſſe impudentem. Cicero.

Therefore when the *King* perceived, not the importunity, but as ſome of the *King*'s Friends ſaid, the impudency of this Long Parliament, beyond all the Parliaments that preceded it, and ſaw them ſo inſolent, and their proceedings ſo violent, in all their courſes, for him then to paſs away that Supreameſt Power, or at leaſt one Branch of the Higheſt Power which was in him, and which never any other *King* paſſed before; and ſo to give that *Sword*, which God had put into his hands, into the hands of any *mad* men, or to the uſage of his *Enemies*, was ſuch a fault, in my apprehenſion, as paſſed all the errours that this good King ever committed; or, as I believe, any other; for this was none other, then to give the *Sword* to his enemies, to enable them to deſtroy him. So that this good King might well cry out with the Poet,

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis:

Indeed

Indeed, *Golias*'s Head was cut off with his *own* Sword; but *David* took it from him *perforce*, and *Golias* gave it not, neither could he hold it, when he lay at *David*'s feet: when as the King was not ſo, when he paſſed this Act, but he might have eaſily denied to paſs this Bill of an *indiſſoluble* Parliament; which had never been an Act, had he not given his *conſent* unto the ſame, which in a ſhort time after made his Enemies *Kings*, and unkinged him; and the Lord Protectour was hereby put in mind of his Grammar Leſſon, *Fœlix, quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum:* and therefore he never gave to his Parliaments ſuch advantage againſt him.

But you will ſay, that the Parliament deceived the good King, who was therefore the ſooner deceived, becauſe he was good; for as the Oratour ſaith, *Ut quisque eſt vir optimus, ità difficilimè eſſe alios improbos ſuſpicatur*; and *Cicero* ſaith moſt truly, that *Credulitas error magis eſt, quàm culpa, & quidem in optimi cujusque mentem irrepit facillimè.* So the credulous, and well-minded King believed the deceitful Proteſtations of the ſubtle Parliament, who pretended onely, they deſired him to paſs this Act, that they might the ſooner be truſted to raiſe up Moneys, to ſatisfie their Brethren the *Scots*, that were their Brethren indeed, but intended hereby to change the Government, to root out the King, and to exſtirpate the Royal Race, and ſo to ſettle themſelves, and their Succeſſours in the Throne of Supremacy for ever, as it is more amply expreſſed in the *Diſcovery of Myſteries*, and as afterwards they ſhewed their intentions unto all.

Cicero, *Epiſt. l.* 10.

I anſwer, that it is moſt true; they deceived the good King: ſo did the Serpent deceive our Progenitours, and the old Prophet deceived the Man of God; yet this excuſed neither of them. And the Lord *Coke* ſaith, *Tantum abeſt, ut ignorantia excuſet, aut extennet ejus errorem, qui veritatem invenire poterat, quam neceſſariò agnoſcere debeat, & tantùm inveſtigare noluit, ut in cauſa ſit, cur gravius plectatur*, And it cannot be denyed, but that the King ſhould have ſearched and ſifted into their *Plots*, and not to have been ignorant of their *Wiles*, as we are not to be ignorant of the Wiles of Satan, as the Apoſtle teſtifieth. And I muſt confeſs, that as it was wickedneſs in them to deceive the King, ſo it was want of good Counſel in him to be deceived, and ſuffer himſelf to be circumvented by them: for had he conſulted with God, and by God's Miniſters, that were now to be all tumbled down, I believe theſe *Foxes* of Satan ſhould not have enſnared his Majeſty; becauſe they could have ſufficiently informed him, how the *Old Serpent* hath Emiſſaries enough to deceive, if it were poſſible, the *very Elect*. And therefore, as he was as innocent as the Dove, ſo he ſhould have been as wiſe as the Serpent, to avoid the Stings, and to finde out the Windings of the Infernal Serpent; and one man's head, though the wiſeſt among many, is ſcarce ſufficient to pierce into the Plots and Subtilties of many heads. And if you ſay, he had his Counſellours; true, and I could name them; and they were great ones too, and wiſe men too: but, as I ſaid before, they were not the Ambaſſadours of Chriſt, the Counſellours that are ſent for God; for their Advice was not ſuffered at this time to be deſired, their preſence was to be excluded, and themſelves ſhortly to be impriſoned. And therefore, as *Lucan* ſaith,

Cokus *De Jure Regis Eccleſiaſtico.*

Hoc placet, ô Superi, cùm vobis vertere cuncta
Propoſitum, noſtris erroribus addere crimen.

Therefore, as the King, though unwillingly gave way to theſe Foxes to ſuppreſs, and to exclude God's Miniſters from his Counſels; ſo God might juſtly give way for his Counſellours, to betray him to his enemies, by yielding to their Deſires, to have an *everlaſting Parliament*, thereby to end him, and to remain as Kings themſelves without end.

Some other Miſpriſions, it may be, the good King might commit, of leſs moment,

ment, and not ſo eaſily to be obſerved, though eaſily paſs, as *Plutarch* ſaith, in great affairs.

But howſoever, for all that this good King did, and in all the things, that he ſuffered or have happened unto him, you may ſee that God is juſt in all his ways and holy in all his Works, and how the Judgments of the great God, as they proceed from him, may eaſily be juſtified by the weakeſt of men.

And yet, as in the ſufferings, and Death of the King we do ſee, and muſt acknowledg the juſt Judgment of God, and that he ſpareth not his deareſt Children, if they do offend, but, though *Coniah* were as the Signet upon his right-hand, when he tranſgreſſeth, God will cut him off; ſo, in this very Judgment of God, we may plainly ſee, *Mercie and Truth met together, Righteouſneſs and Peace kiſſing each other*; yea we may clearly ſee the great love, and mercie of God towards this good and godly King, both in his Death, and in the conſequents of his Death, as ſpecially

The great goodneſs of God towards King *Charles* ſeen.

1. In his Friends
2. In his Honour
3. In his Poſterity
4. In his Felicity: for

1. In his death.

Firſt, touching his Death, it is a true ſaying, *Qui non vult in vita prævidere mortem, non poteſt in morte videre vitam*; and as another ſaith *Turpe eſt eo ſtatu vivere, in quo non ſtatuas mori*: therefore did King *Charles* live ſo Juſtly, ſo innocently, ſo Religiouſly, and ſo Chriſtianlike, that he might well ſay, *nec pudet vivere, nec timeo mori*, I am neither aſhamed to live, nor afraid to die: for he lived like a Saint, and died a Martyr, like a good Chriſtian; yea, ſo Chriſtianlike, that, although I would not wiſh it for a World, to be, where I fear many of his Enemies are, yet, next to my being with Chriſt, I would wiſh nothing of God ſooner or rather then to be where I aſſure my ſelf King *Charles* is.

Nec dubito, qui ſic vixit, ſic mortuus idem eſt
Qui n ſit apud Superos nobilis umbra Deos.

2. In the Conſequents of his death.

Secondly, For the Conſequents of his death, and

1. In his Friends.

Firſt, For his Friends, as *Claudian* ſaith,

Claud. 2. *Stilicon.*

Hæc & amicitias longo poſt tempore firmat,
Manſuróque adamante ligat, nec mobile mutat
Ingenium, parvæ ſtrepitu nec vincula noxæ
Diſſolvi patitur, nec faſtidire priorem
Allicitur veniente novo. —— Or, as *Solomon*, ſaith, *fortis eſt ut mors dilectio*, Love is as ſtrong as death. So they verified all this, in teſtifying to the World, that although his Enemies took him out of the World, and his Picture, (which, with all reverent reſpect to Chriſt, be it ſpoken, was in my judgment, the likeſt that ever I ſaw, to that Picture, and Deſcription of our Saviour, that *Publius Lentulus* ſent to the Senate of *Rome*) out of our houſes; yet they never were, nor ever ſhall be able to take him, or our loves to him out of our Hearts, the hearts of all us that truly knew him, *quia igneti nulla cupido*; and therefore loved him, and ſo loved him, that neither Life nor Death, nor all the malice of his Foes could, or can leſſen our love, and honour that we bare to him, or blot out the goodneſs of this King, and the Sweetneſs of his diſpoſition from our thoughts, and memories: but as the Son of *Sirach* ſaith of good *Joſias*, ſo we ſay of good King *Charles*; "The remembrance of King *Charles* is like the compoſition of perfume "that is made by the art of the Apothecarie, the more you ſtir it, the Sweeter it ſmelleth; and therefore

2. In Honour, and good name.

Ovid *in* Ibin: *Aut ut* Anaxarchus *ſub minuaris in alta.*

Secondly, He is happie in his honour, and good name; that ſhall continue Famous and Bleſſed among all Poſterities for evermore: for though *Anaxarchus*-like, that for his Detracting tongue was peſtled to death in a Braſen Morter, his Enemies ſay, with malicious *Juno*, *Non ſic abibunt odia, vivaces aget violentus iras animus, ſævúsque dolor æterna bella, pace ſublatâ, geret.* Their hatred

to

to him ſhall never die, yet, as *Solomon* ſaith, *Memoria juſti erit in benedictionibus*, the remembrance of this juſt man, and good King, ſhall be bleſſed for ever. Indeed the malice of his enemies hath been, and ſtill is ſuch, and ſo great, as that to falſifie the Saying of the Poet,

Paſcitur in vivis livor, poſt fata quieſcit,

that tells us, we hate the living onely, and our hatred dieth with death: they never ceaſe to ſtain his good name, and obſcure his honour with apparent lies, and ſcandalous aſperſions: for their hate to him is immortal, and unexplicable, ſeeking to burie his honour with himſelf; yea, and before himſelf was buried, even while he was alive, they dealt with him, as the *Jews* did with his Maſter *Chriſt*, ſaying, that he was a *Blaſphemer*, a *Glutton*, a *Drunkard*, a *Sabbath-breaker*, a *Traytor* unto *Cæſar*, and a *Seducer of the people*, that had a Devil, and did caſt out Devils through *Beelzebub* the chief of the Devils; and what not? ſo do theſe, like thoſe *Jews*, ſay, that King *Charles* was an Hypocrite, making onely an outward profeſſion of honeſty and piety; that he was a Tyrant, and a Traytor, which both are ἀσύλλα, moſt inconſiſtible, when as a Tyrant, as *Claudian* deſcribes him,

Inſtat terribilis vivis, morientibus hæres,
Virginibus raptor, thalamis obſcœnus adulter:
Quisquis vel locuples, pulchra vel conjuge notus,
Crimine pulſatur falſo, ſi crimina deſunt.

Claudian. De bello Gildico.

For which I think the Devil could not have the face to tax King *Charles* with any of all theſe things: for we all know, that he was ſo merciſull a Prince, as ſeldom, if ever, he took the advantage of the rigor of any Law, but leſſened, and ſweetened that ſame many times, and in many things: neither do I believe, that *Juno* her ſelf, had ſhe been his Queen, could have ſuſpected him for any falſe Play; ſo Chaſt a Prince was King *Charles*, beyond the fair carriage of *Alexander* towards the Wife, and Daughters of *Darius*. And that he ſhould be a Traytor is a thing, that the like was never heard of; becauſe Treaſon is, as you know, *crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*, an offence againſt the Supreme Majeſtie, which was ſolely, and fully reſident in himſelf; and would he, think you, be a Traytor to himſelf? Indeed he was; when too confidently he truſted himſelf into the hands of thoſe perfidious Gentlemen, the *Scots*, that, worſe then *Judas*, ſold him, and delivered him to be *crucified* by his grand enemies of the Parliament; and other treaſon, I am confident, can no ways be fixed on him. But, *quid miror? quid opus eſt verbis?* what need we ſay any more? When men laid to *Chriſt* his charge the *things, that he never knew*, and taxed him with what he never did, nor ſaid; what wonder is it, if they ſlander the *Foot-ſteps of his Anointed?* Yet all they do is to no purpoſe; for, as *Plutarch* ſaith, *Omnes bonos juſtosque viros major poſt mortem ſequitur laus; invidia non multum poſt illos temporis ſupervivente non nunquam etiam ante exitum eorum moriente*; the greateſt praiſe, and honour, will follow good, and juſt men after they are dead, envy and malice not living long after them, but ſometimes dying before them: even as *Juſtin* ſaith, it did in *Semiramis*; or if not, yet as *Cicero* ſaith, *Cùm mors extinxit invidiam res geſtæ ſempiternæ nominis gloria nituntur*: when death ſlayeth *envy*, the *virtuous* Acts of good men will ſhine to the eternal praiſe, and glory of their good name; for as the *Rain*, or *Dew* will not ſtick upon a *Sea-gulls* back, ſo the reproaches, and imputations of the malicious, cannot prejudice the honour, and good name of the godly; *quia ut malam conſcientiam laudantis præconium non ſanat, ita bonam non vulnerat convitium*, becauſe that as no praiſe, nor flattery can heal a bad Conſcience, nor make a wicked man good, ſo no ſlander, nor diſpraiſe, can wound a good Conſcience,

Plutarch. in Numa.

Cicero pro Cor.

ence, or make a good man wicked, nor diminiſh any of his deſerved honour; but, as Chriſt *Laudatur ab his, ut culpatur ab illis*, though he be blaſphemed of the *Jews*, yet is he truly honoured of all *Chriſtians*, and all *Saints* in all Nations, that do him ſervice, and ſing with St. *Ambroſe*, *Thou art the King of glory, O Chriſt, thou art the everlaſting Son of the Father*, that ſitteth on the right hand of God in the glory of the Father; ſo our late good King *Charles*, notwithſtanding that falſe, and infamous Inſcription ſet up, where his *Picture*, and Statue ſtood, and notwithſtanding all that the venomous mouths of malice can vomit out againſt him, which ſhall vaniſh like the Summer's Snow, or the graſs upon the Houſe-top, that withereth before it be plucked up, ſhall have his virtues, his goodneſs, and his godlineſs Chronicled, *& fama perennis erit*, and ſo long, as we ſhall be able to ſpeak, or write, we ſhall leave it recorded, as in Marble, to the eternal honour of this good King, and the everlaſting ſhame of his malicious enemies: both which

In the Royal Exchange.

Nec ira, nec ignis
Nec poterit abolere vetuſtas.

3. In his Poſterity.

Thirdly, For his Poſterity, God ſaid not of him, as he did of *Coniah*; *Write this man childleſs*: but he gave him a numerous, and a glorious off-ſpring, and as *Moſes* ſaith of the firſt Fathers, and repleniſhers of the World, *He begat Sons, and Daughters*; and he needed not to ſay of them, as *Clytemneſtra* ſaid of her Children,

Iſta Clytemneſtra *digna querela foret.*

Certè ego, ſi nunquam peperiſſem, tutior eſſem; Nor with the Nut-tree;
In felix fructus in mea damna fero;

For when my Nuts are ripe, and brown, My leaves, & boughs are beaten down.

But the world ſeeth he was moſt happy in them all, in whom he ſtill liveth, and ſhall live, though his enemies ſtudied their death, *manibus pedibusque laborârunt*, and have uſed all machinations, and all plots, and devices, that either ſubtlety, or cruelty could invent, to cut them off; but God preſerved them, and his Providence watched over them, and eſpecially his eldeſt Son, after a ſtrange and almoſt miraculous manner, from the laſt Fight at *Worceſter*, where, through the cowardize of ſome, the over-ſight of others, and (as they ſay) the treachery of ſome chief Commanders in his own Army, and by the prudent Carriage of a brave and valiant General, to give the Devil his right, as the Proverb goeth, ſuch as this Age will ſcarce equal, he had been taken, or ſwallowed, had not he, that dwelleth in the *Heavens*, moſt graciouſly preſerved him, in a manner, as he preſerved *Daniel* from the Lions mouths, and ſent his *Angel*, as he did to *Tobias*, to direct him in his Journey, and to carry him ſafe through Sea, and Land, which is wonderful in our eyes, and doth ſufficiently preſage, that God hath kept him for ſome great work, that in his divine wiſdom he intendeth to effect by him, as now we ſee the ſame begun to his great honour, and our unſpeakable comfort.

And as God hath thus mercifully preſerved his Eldeſt Son, ſo he hath made his ſecond, and his third Son, the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, famous for their excellent parts, and Heroical Exploits, like their Brother, and *Aſcanius*-like, followers of their Father's Vertues, *paſſibus æquis*. Neither may I here omit that Virtuous, and Heroick Lady, the Princeſs of *Orange*, that, with her Brothers, and as her Brothers, will perpetuate the bleſſed memory of that bleſſed King for ever, who is herein, not like King *Henry* the 8th, that notwithſtanding his ſix Wives, beſides all his Concubines, hath not a branch of his Body, that we know of, remaining under the Cope of Heaven: nor like *Ahab*, and other Tyrants, and wicked men, whoſe ſeed, for their ſins, God rooteth out: but as God hath promiſed, and ſince performed unto *Abraham*, that his Seed ſhould be as the Stars of Heaven for number, that is, innumerable, and hath likewiſe promiſed to all the faithful Children of *Abraham*, that their Generation ſhould be bleſſed;

ſo

So he hath done it, and no doubt but he will perform it to this good King, to multiply his ſeed, and to bleſs them for ever, even as the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith of all God's people, *Their ſeed ſhall be known among the* Gentiles, *and their offſpring among the People, all that ſee them ſhall acknowledg them, that they are the ſeed, which the Lord hath bleſſed.*

Eſay lxi 9. *So* ſhall the ſeed of King *Charles* be.

Fourthly, The Prophet ſaith, the age of man is but ſeventy years, and *Pindarus* ſaith σκιᾶς ὄνειρ☉ ἄνθρωπ☉, *umbræ ſomnium homo, man is but the ſhadow of a man, a thing of nothing*;

Sicque in non hominem vertitur omnis homo:

4. In his eternal felicity.

Man's life is but a ſhadow, that ſoon vaniſheth; and *Job* ſaith, he hath but a ſhort time to live, and that ſhort time is full of miſery, *interminabilis labor*, even an endleſs toyl, like the tumbling of a *Syſiphus* ſtone, or the filling of the fatal Tunn by King *Danaus* daughters, where the water run out, as faſt as they poured it in: or, as the Poet ſaith moſt truly,

Paſſibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat,
Et manet in nullo certa tenáxque loco.
Sed modò læta manet, vultus modò ſumit acerbos:
Et tantum conſtans in levitate ſua eſt.

And when the affairs of this world are beſt, and our happineſs at the higheſt, then, as the very Heathens have obſerved, they preſently decline, and begin to turn like the Cart wheel,

Res humanæ in ſummo declinant.

Which warneth all, on Fortune's wheel that clime,
To bear in minde, that they have but a time.

And *ſuch* was the time of King *Charles*, of whom I cannot ſay with him, that wrote A *ſhort* view of the *long* life, and reign of *Henry* the third; but I muſt ſay the *ſhort life*, and *reign*, and *long troubles* of *Charles* the Firſt; for as the Prophet ſaith of Chriſt, *non dimidiavit dies ſuos*, he hath not lived out half his daies, being cut off *è terra viventium*, from the land of the living at a few moneths more then thirty three years olde; by his *malitious* enemies; ſo the like enimies have *ſhortened* the life of this good King, and cut him off at the eight and fourtieth year of his age; yet, as *Eſay* ſaith of Chriſt, *Generationem ejus quis enarrabit?* who ſhall be able to declare his *Generation?* for he ſhall ſee his *ſeed* and ſhall prolong his days, and as the *new heavens* and the *new earth*, which I will make, ſhall remain before me ſaith the Lord, ſo ſhall his *ſeed* and his *name* remain; that is, for ever and ever: ſo I doubt not to ſay of King *Charles*, that *howſoever*, and for what *cauſe* ſoever, the wiſdom of God hath been pleaſed to permit his enemies to *ſhorten* that life, which at the *beſt*, and to the *beſt* is accompanied with *abundance* of infelicities, yet, inſtead of that *Crown* which was repleniſhed with *cares*, and circumvironed with *thorns*, and which his perſecutors have *ſnatched* from him, God hath now crowned him with *eternal felicity*, and hath ſet a *crown of pure gold upon his head*, that is, as himſelf ſaid, the *crown of Martyrdom*, which is the crown of the *greateſt glory*, becauſe none can go *higher*, or do *more* for Chriſt, then to *dy* for Chriſt, for the defence of the *ſervice*, and *ſervants* of God, and the *laws* of this Kingdom, as he teſtified upon the Scaffold.

A dainty piece of ſtory preſented to King *James*. *Eſ.* liii. 8.

And ſo the Lord hath dealt with him, *juſt* as he ſaith of his choſen people, *for a ſmall moment have I forſaken thee*, that is, while I ſuffered thine enemies ſo *furiouſly* to rage againſt thee, and ſo *maliciouſly* to behead thee; but *with great mercies will I gather thee*; *In a little wrath I hid my face from thee, for a moment*, when in juſtice I puniſhed thee for thine errors, thoſe ſmall things, wherein thou

haſt failed; but *with everlaſting kindneſs will I have mercy on thee*, when as now I make thee *to be numbred with my Saints, in glory everlaſting.*

Therefore, as *Balaam* wiſhed that *he might dy the death of the righteous, and that his laſt end might be like his*, ſo from my *ſoul* I wiſh that my ſoul may *reſt*, as I hope it ſhall, when it leaves my *body*, with this *righteous* King that doth now reſt in *Abraham*'s boſome.

Numb. 23 10

CHAP. II.

SEcondly, touching the King's *ſubjects*, that honoured, loved, and ſerved him, and were of his party, and have been, and ſtill were perſecuted, baniſhed, killed, and afflicted, ſo long as the Tyrants ruled, they are either,

For of his other ſubjects that were againſt him, I ſhall ſpeak in an other place

{ 1. *Clergy*, or 2. *Laity*. } And

Firſt, as for the *Clergy*, that are the other *ſecond witneſs* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, they are either,

{ 1. the *Biſhops* 2. the *Prieſts* }

And whatſoever hath befallen to theſe, or to either of theſe, I may truly, and juſtly ſay with *Ezra*, that all this, *which is come upon us, is for our evil deeds*, and for our *great treſpaſs*, and God hath puniſhed us leſs, then our iniquities deſerved.

Ezra ix. 13.

Firſt, Touching the *Biſhops*, that are the prime part of the ſpiritual Witneſs of Chriſt, I do cordially love all their perſons, and honour their calling, being all of them very learned, and moſt reverend men, and therefore not to diſcover the nakedneſs of ſuch worthy Fathers, whoſe imperfections, and imbecillities, like neves in a fair face, I had rather, with the good *King*, like the moſt Chriſtian *Conſtantine*, cover with the lap of my garment, then expoſe them to the view of the Vulgar; but yet, to juſtify the doings of our juſt God, whoſe Judgments alwaies are according to truth, I muſt ſay, as Chriſt ſaith to the *Angel*, that is, the *Biſhop* of the Church of *Epheſus*, and to the *Angel* of the Church of *Pergamus*, that God had ſomewhat againſt them, and I fear more then he had againſt thoſe Angels, for which he might moſt juſtly remove their *candleſticks*, and remove them, as he did, out of their places. For there be two things conſiderable in the calling of all God's Miniſters, as well thoſe of the *higheſt*, as the other of the *loweſt* order.

Two things conſiderable in all Clergymen.

{ 1. Their *introduction*, or *coming* into their places; 2. The *Execution* of their office, after they are entred into it. }

For firſt, Whoſoever ſhall not be called by the ſpirit of God to the great office, as *Aaron* was, or ſhall not enter through the gate, that is Chriſt, or the Ordinance of Chriſt ſet down by his holy *Apoſtles*, is a *thief, and a robber*; and not the *Vicar* of Chriſt, but of *Judas Iſcariot*, and of *Simon* the *Samaritan*; but whether all our *Biſhops* came rightly in I cannot judg, we cannot ſearch into the teſtimony of any man's conſcience; yet, for the inveſtigation of the truth, and the outward election and approbation of them, which *Dionyſius* calleth the *Sacrament of Order*, I am ſure, the King was ſo careful, that none ſhould be admitted to that *high*, and *holy office*, but ſuch as ſhould be thought worthy, (both for uprightneſs of life, and ſoundneſs of learning,) of thoſe places, whereof moſt of them, if not all of them, he knew to be ſuch himſelf.

1. Their entrance into that holy calling. So the Articles of our Church, and of our religion teſtify.

2. For the *execution* of their office, they were to do it

2. The execution of their office.

{ 1. by the *example* of a good life 2. by the *diſcharging* of their *Epiſcopal* duties. }

2. By

Firſt, By a good example of a juſt, and holy converſation; becauſe, as the Poët ſaith, 1. By a good example.

Exemplar vitæ populis eſt vita regentis.

The common people look rather after our example, then after our Precept; therefore the Expoſitours do apply the thrice repetition of the ſame thing to Saint *Peter*, *Feed my Sheep*, to a *threefold manner* of feeding, that is, 1. *Paſce verbo.* 2. *Paſce cibo.* 3. *Paſce exemplo.* Chriſt's flock to be fed three ways.

Firſt, Feed them with the *word* of God, and with good inſtruction, *how* they ought to *behave* themſelves, as becometh *Saints*, and *What* to believe, like good Chriſtians. 1. With the word of God.

Secondly, Feed the *poorer* ſort with *food*, and *alms*-deeds, ſo far as thy means, and ability will give thee leave. 2 With Alms-deeds.

Thirdly, Feed *all* of them with the *good examples*; of humility, meekneſs, gentleneſs, patience, piety, contentedneſs, and *contempt* of theſe worldly vanities. 3. With good examples.

And here I muſt confeſs, that, inſtead of giving *good Example* unto the People, many of the *Biſhops*, that were our Predeceſſours, gave the *worſt* example that could be, both to their *ſucceeding Biſhops*, and to all *other* people whatſoever, if the example of *covetouſneſs*, injuſtice, and neglect of God's Service be *evil* examples; for what *pious* men, and good Chriſtians had formerly beſtowed upon the *Church*, and Church-men for the honour of God, and the promoting of the *Chriſtian* Faith, they, either through *covetouſneſs*, for ſome Fine, or affection to their Children, Friends, or Servants, have alienated the ſame from their Succeſſours in *Fee-Farmes*, or long Leaſes, ſome for a 1000. ſome for an 100. years, and ſome for other longer time, reſerving onely ſome ſmall rent for the *ſucceeding* Biſhops, as in my Dioceſs, theat Lordſhip was ſet for 10. *l.* yearly, that is well-nigh worth a 200. *l.* and that was ſet for 4. *l.* that is worth a 100. *l* and the like. The evil Example of our Predeceſſors. Whereby we are not able to feed the poor, nor ſcarce our ſelves.

And therefore ſeeing the *Biſhops* themſelves did ſo unjuſtly deſtroy their *ſucceeding* Biſhops; what wonder is it, that the *juſt* God ſhould ſuffer the *haters* of the Biſhops, and the *Enemies* of all goodneſs, to deſtroy them?

And therefore, not to do my ſelf, what I blame in others, leſt God ſhould *juſtly* condem me out of mine own mouth, I have reſolved, and do pray to God continually, to give me the grace to perform it, and do hope, that God will grant it me; That I will take *no Fine* for any Lands, or Lordſhips belonging to my *Biſhoprick* while I live, that I may not wrong any of my *ſucceeding* Biſhops, nor leſſen the Revenue of the Church of *Chriſt*, but to take heed, and *beware of covetouſneſs*, which is the cauſe of much, and many evils, eſpecially in all *Church-men*, as you ſee it was the *root*, that ſprang to the *deſtruction* of *Judas*, and to cauſe *Demas* to *apoſtatize* from the Miniſtery of Chriſt.

Secondly, For the diſcharging of the *Epiſcopal* duties, which is a very great charge, *& onus Angelicis humeris formidandum*, as a Father calls it, if, with the Church of *Epheſus*, we have not *forſaken our firſt love*, and grown cold in our care to promote the goſpel of *Chriſt*; yet I fear the *Biſhops* had amongſt them, thoſe that held the Doctrine of *Balaam*, who taught *Balac* to ſet a *ſtumbling*-block before the Children of *Iſrael*, that is, as the Apoſtle expoundeth it, to love *the wages of unrighteouſneſs*: and for the love of *worldly* honour, *wealth*, and other *ſiniſter* reſpects, to grow *cold* in the love of truth, which made a *Preacher* at *Paul's* croſs to pray, that God would be pleaſed to make the Lords *Temporal* more ſpiritual, and the Lords *Spiritual* leſs temporal; and it grieves me much to ſet down, how the Biſhops Courts were generally complained of (how *juſtly*, or how *unjuſtly*, I cannot tell) as the greateſt Oprreſſours of the People, and the *publique* grievance of the Kingdom; their delays *unſufferable*, their excommu- *Revelat.* ii. 14.

nications

Com. Agrippa *De vanitate Scientiarum*, cap. 61.

nications *unreasonable*, their Fees *intolerable*, and often times their *injustice* no ways to be excused; which made the *Lay* people to exclaim against the *Bishops*, and their Courts, as much, and in like manner as *Cornelius Agrippa*, and our *Presbyterians* do against the *Romish Bishops*. And if they say, as they do, the *Courts* belonged to their *Chancellours*, that were learned men, Doctours of the *Civil*, and *Canon* Laws, and of honourable repute among all Nations; and what they did, should not be imputed to the *Bishop*'s fault:

It may be answered, *Qui facit per alium, idem est, quasi faceret per seipsum*; he that offends by his *Proctor*, shall suffer by *himself*. And we must confess the *Courts* were the *Bishops* Courts, and the *Chancellours* were but their *Deputies*, and they should have rectified the Abuses of their own Courts, unless the *Chancellour* might say to the *Bishop*, as it was said to the *Pope* of the like Officer,

Yet I must ingenuously confess, that I can accuse none of the Bishops for this fault, but that this is the complaint of the People, how truly I know not.

Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.

He had paid him dear for his place, therefore he must take great Fees, and sell justice, or he shall lose much by the Bargain; for indeed, he cannot sell cheap, that buyeth dear, and be a saver thereby; nor can he prove, but very seldom, an upright Judge, that hath bought his office, and by corruption obtained his place: and therefore this selling of the *Chancellour*'s office, and other places in the Bishops Courts was the root of all the corruption that were of those Courts; and so the *Bishops* that did this, even for these faults, besides the neglect to redress their other abuses, can not, in my judgement, be any ways excused.

To ordain unworthy persons to be Priests, a great fault.

But I will shew you yet, to the shame of some, greater Abomination, which I have often bemoaned, when I considered how some of the Bishops, not following Saint *Paul*'s counsel in the ordination of Priests, and Deacons, *to lay hands on no man rashly*; but to see the Persons to be admitted to Holy Orders, should be no Novices, and no ways unworthy of that high Calling, but every way qualified, both for life, and doctrine, so, as the word of God doth require, have notwithstanding, either by the solicitation of friends, or for some other respects, and perhaps worser corruption, many times made young Novices, illiterate men, and, which is worse, men of corrupt minds, and bad life, the *Priests* of the most *high Gods* to wait at his *Altar*, that were not worthy to wait on our *Tables*; and therefore, as the Bishops, that did this, did herein falsifie their faith to God, and betrayed his Service to these unworthy men; so the just God hath most rightly suffered these perfidious men to betray their Makers, to spit in their Father's faces, and to combine with the Enemies of God, to destroy the *Bishops* of *Christ*; and so, as the Poet saith in another kind,

Vide Englands Reprover, *pag.* 67.

Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent.

Neither was this all the Bishops fault, to ordain these, to drive away themselves: but, as it was said of old,

Rector eris præstò, de sanguine Præsulis esto:

Men obtained their livings four manner of ways.

or, as another saith,

Quattuor Ecclesias portis intratur in omnes:
Prima patet magnis, nummatis altera, tertia charis;
Quarta sed paucis solet patere Dei.

So, to put weapons into their hands, to enable them to war with their Bishops: it was the practice of some of the Bishops (if we may believe the common report of the Country *Mercury*) to bestow Livings, Rectories, Prebends, and other preferments

ſerments, not on ſuch worthy Scholars, and Academicks, as beſt deſerved them, but either upon their own Friends, Children, Kinsmen, or Servants, or on ſuch, as, according to the old *riddle*, could tell them, who was *Melchiſedec*'s Father, and his Mother too; and could ſay Saint *Peter*'s Leſſon, *Aurum, & argentum non eſt mihi*, the clean contrary way.

And this very practice of thoſe Biſhops, that did ſo, bred ill blood, and many corrupt humours againſt the *Epiſcopal* function; as eſpecially,

Firſt, A diſdain of them amongſt thoſe worthy men, that were ſo careleſsly neglected.

Secondly, A neglect of God's People, and leaving them untaught, and unguided by thoſe unworthy men, that were thus promoted.

Thirdly, A general diſtaſt of the people againſt all the *Biſhops*, when they reſented theſe diſtempers, that were onely cauſed by very few.

And all theſe things cryed to God for redreſs, and for judgement againſt the *Biſhops*, that were the Authours of theſe evils; and ſo, as all the Mariners were toſſed for *Jonas* his ſin, ſo all the *Biſhops* muſt ſuffer for the offence of few.

And though, as *Euſebius* ſaith, all the malice of the world, and all the perſecution of Tyrants, and all the Stratagems of that old Serpent could not darken the glory of *Chriſt* his Church, while the *Biſhops*, and the reſt of the *Prieſts*, and *Preachers* of God's word held together, and kept the Unity of Faith, *in the Bond of Peace*: yet when the *Biſhops* fell together by the ears, and diſſented in their opinions, the one from the other, the ὁμόσιοι from the ὁμοιόσιοι, they that held the faith of *one Subſtance* (which is the right *Catholick faith*) from them, that maintained the faith of the *like Subſtance*, which was, and is the *Arrian* Hereſy; and when the *Prieſts* banded againſt the *Biſhops*, and the *Biſhops* did therefore ſeek to ſuppreſs thoſe *Prieſts*, then the Lord darkened the glory of the *daughter of Sion*, and the Church that formerly *triumphed*, ſate then as a *Sparrow*, that is alone, mourning upon the Houſe-top; even ſo now in our days, when they that ought, and had promiſed, and vowed moſt ſolemnly, when they were admitted to Holy Orders, to reverence their *Biſhops*, and to be adviſed by them, and obedient to them, began to ſpurn with their heels, to ſpit in their faces, and to bark againſt them in their Pulpits: our Saviour's words muſt hold true, that *A Kingdom divided againſt it ſelf cannot ſtand*: and much leſs the *Hierarchy*, when the *Prieſts*, and *Biſhops* are at ſuch ods, and ſo contrary to themſelves.

And this diviſion of *Reuben*, with the aforeſaid diſtempers, was a great preſage of their preſent fall; yet I believe not all the cauſe, that moved God to permit the Devil to ſtir up Enemies to throw them down, but the true cauſe was greater ſins, if I judge right, then either of theſe: for the former might be the aſperſions of Enemies, and but onely the allegation of ill-willers without any ſound ground for their Juſtification; or, if true, but the Acts of ſome few of the inferiour *Biſhops*; and the Diviſions of the Clergy might leſſen our repute, and weaken our Authority, but not utterly to overthrow our *Hierarchy*, as all the contentions of the Primitive Church never did.

And therefore the true cauſes of our ruine muſt needs be of an higher nature, and they might be, beſides the forenamed, and ſome others, that we know not of, theſe three main faults, that can neither be denied, nor excuſed.

The three great faults of the *Biſhops*.

1. The *misguiding* of the *good King* before the Long Parliament.
2. The *neglecting* of him in the Parliament.
3. The *evil Counſel* they gave him with the Parliament.

1. Fault.

Firſt, The King, having a reverend opinion of the *Biſhops*, was perſwaded to ſecond, and to ſet forward the Deſigns of the *Biſhop* of *Canterbury* in many things, that brought him the ill opinion, and ſo diminiſhed the love of the people; as in the matter of Saint *Gregory*'s by Saint *Paul*'s, and eſpecially in ſending the newly amended Liturgy unto the *Scotiſh* Church, and the *Proſecution* of that buſineſs

buſineſs ſo eagerly, to the great prejudice of the King; which was, to ſpeak what I conceive to be truth without flattery, ſuch an Epiſcopal offence, as cannot be expiated with words, nor could be defended with the power of the King, as the *Scots* alleadged, and which I conceive to be the Original, and the Seed of all the King's troubles, and misfortunes, and the Biſhop's overthrow, *mittere falcem in alienam meſſem*, to buſie themſelves out of their own Dioceſs, eſpecially among the *Scots*, that were bewitched with the love of the Presbytery, and hated all forms of Liturgies, but ſuch as was without form, or beauty: like Chriſt at his Paſsion, that was then, as the Prophet ſaith, *without form, or beauty*; for had they reſted quiet, without raiſing up thoſe Northern blaſts, and thoſe Spirits, that they could not lay down, they might, no doubt, in my Judgement, have remained quiet to this very day; but they, throwing theſe ſtones into the Air, they fell into their own fore-heads, and they verified the old Proverb, *Qui ſtruit inſidias aliis, ſibi damna dat ipſe*, he that diggeth a pit for another, ſhall fall into it himſelf; for, by troubling the *Scots* with the new ſervice, they pull'd an old houſe upon their own heads, and an unſpeakable trouble upon the King, and this Kingdom, as they ſoon felt it afterwards, and all the people ſmarted for it.

Non omnibus unum eſt, Quod placet; hic ſpinas colligit, ille roſas.

2. Great fault of the Biſhops.

Secondly, When they had troubled theſe unſavory waters, and raiſed up theſe foul Spirits, that they could not binde, and had engaged the good King in this bad cauſe, they neither juſtified the King with their pens, nor aſsiſted him with their purſes, near ſo much, as ſo good a Patron, both of them, and of their Churches had deſerved; but, as men ſtupified with that ſtorm, that the Parliament had raiſed, they were tongue-tied in his Cauſe, and hand-bound for any great help, or aſsiſtance they afforded him, againſt his, and their own enemies. And what a neglect was this of ſo good a King by wiſe men? to ſave their Wealth, and to loſe both their King, and themſelves. I would they had remembred *Auſonius* his *Epigram* 55.

Auſonius Epigr. 55.

Eſſigiem, Rex Croeſe, *tuam, ditiſsime regum,*
Vidit apud manes Diogenes Cynicus;
Conſtitit, utque procul ſtetit, majore cachinno
Concuſſus, dixit: Quid tibi divitiæ
Nunc proſunt, regum Rex O ditiſsime, cum ſis
Sicut ego ſolus, me quoque pauperior?
Nam quæcunque habui mecum fero, cum nihil ipſe
Ex tantis tecum, Croeſe, *feras opibus.*

I could name the men that had, and let abundance of Wealth, and ready Coin behind them; and yet did nothing to relieve the King.

But they skulked to eſcape the ſtorm, and ſuffered their King to ſuffer Ship-wrack, a fault, not unworthy to be puniſhed by the Judges; and an unthankfulneſs, yea, and ſuch unthankfulneſs, as exceeded all their former defects, and faults: to do ſo little for him, that did ſo much for them; and was contented to loſe his life, as he did, rather then he would conſent, that they ſhould loſe their honour, and be degraded of that Calling, to which Chriſt had called them; I am ſure it is our duty, and we ow it unto our King, as I have fully ſhewed in my Book, Of the Right of Kings, to hazard our lives for our King, and to ſpend all, that we have, in the defence of our King; and I think this King well deſerved, if ever any King deſerved at the Biſhops hands, that they ſhould hazard their lives, and expoſe all that they had in the juſt defence of ſo juſt a King; and therefore God dealt moſt juſtly with us, to ſuffer all our Biſhops to fall, that would not help him to ſtand, which agonized, ſtrived, and ſweated to keep them up. And yet I will ſhew you greater abomination: for

3. The greateſt fault of the Biſhops.

Thirdly, When the Parliament thirſted after the blood, and ſo eagerly ſought to take away the life of that good, and wiſe Earl of *Strafford*, and the King, like a juſt, and

and a Chriſtian King, would not, againſt his Conſcience, conſent unto his death, to ſhed the blood of him, whom he conceived, if not innocent, yet not worthy of death, nor guilty of the crimes, laid to his charge, they choſe ſome Biſhops to perſwade the King, and to rectifie his Conſcience, as they pretended, wherein he erred; and they were the heads of the people, the heads of the Clergy, and the chiefeſt amongſt the Biſhops, two Arch-Biſhops, and two of the prime Biſhops, that I can name; and theſe, all but one,* which I am ſure herein was the honeſter, the wiſer, and the more Chriſtian, adviſed the King;-- and, I pray God the Earl's blood be not laid to their charge: howſoever, after they had been with the King, the King was induced to ſubſcribe unto his death, though ſtill with ſome reluctancy of his own Conſcience, as himſelf confeſſed, which makes me to conceive, it was for none other cauſe, then as *Pilate* delivered Chriſt to be crucified, for fear of ſome evil, if he denied it; or as *Herod* committed St. *Peter* unto the Goal, to pleaſe the people, that would needs have it ſo: ſo did the Biſhops, ſo did the King, though unwillingly, commit this great evil, to ſatisfie the deſire of the long Parliament; but, O Lord, I hope, and am ſure, thy mercy is ſuch, that thou haſt not laid this to the charge of him, that was deceived by thoſe guides, that, with *Balaam*, had their eyes open, and yet did ſet a ſtumbling-block before the blinde; and therefore are the more inexcuſable, who knowing the judgement of God, that they, which commit ſuch things, are worthy of death, not onely joyn with the Parliament themſelves, though not in that ſentence, yet in approving, by not diſproving, the ſentence of his death, but alſo be the means, at leaſt wiſe, *ut cauſa ſine qua non*, to draw the King, to deliver him, into the hands of his Executioners.

* The Biſhop of *London*.

Numbers 24. 15.

Who then, but ſuch as with the *Sodomites* do grope for the wall in the clear day, can not ſee the judgment of God to be moſt juſt againſt us, and far leſs then we deſerve, to ſuffer the Parliament, to thruſt us out of their Society, when we would be companions with them in this Iniquity? and to put all the Biſhops out of their Honourable calling, when the chiefeſt of them would have any Finger with the Parliament, to put ſuch an honourable perſon out of his life? a perſon, that I dare ſay it, upon my knowledg, did more favour, and more good to the Church, and Church-men then any man, except the King, in theſe three Kingdomes: for as men, that ſaile in a Ship, when a Storme cometh, muſt all both good, and bad, endure the ſame loſs: ſo the Biſhops, ſayling with the ſame winde, muſt all periſh, with their heads in the ſame Boat.

The juſt commendation of the Earl of *Strafford* for a true Friend of the Church.

And, as their ſufferings, and the judgment of God was moſt juſtly inflicted upon them all in general, as we may conceive, for theſe maſter-faults, and the general corruption that was amongſt them, not much inferior, if true, to thoſe wherewith *Corn. Agrippa* taxeth the *Roman* Prelates: ſo I could deſcend to everie particular man, and ſhew you how the violent death of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the ſudden death of the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and the Childiſhneſs of the Arch-Biſhop of *Armath*; and whatſoever diſaſter befell to any other of them, they have for ſome offence or other more then moſt juſtly deſerved the ſame. But I love not to rake in the dunghil of their ſhame, and diſhonour, wherein I have no other pleaſure, but to amplifie the Declaration of the juſt Judgments of God, even upon theſe otherwiſe moſt worthy men, and the faithfull witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, and upon the ſight hereof, to teach every one of them, and every like of them, to ſay with *Job*, *I do abhor my ſelf, and repent in duſt and aſhes*, and to proclaim it with Saint *Paule* to all the World, *Let God be true, and juſt, and every man a lyar*; and every one of them to have more cauſe to rejoyce, and to praiſe God, that he hath ſo favourably ſpared them, then either to complain, and murmur, or to grieve, that he hath too ſeverely dealt with them; and to warn all men to conſider, that if theſe things be done in the green trees what ſhall be done in the drie? and if judgment thus begins in the houſe of God, and upon his own faithfull Witneſſes, for their delinquences, what ſhall be end of them, that obey not the Goſpel of Chriſt?

1 *Petir* 4. 17.

2 The Inferior Clergy.

Secondly, For the other Clergy the Priests, that have suffered and felt the rod of Gods anger within these few years, wherein the Wars raged amongst us, I may distribute them into these two Ranks, that is either { 1. Presbyterians / 2. Episcopalls } or

Revel. xiii. 11.

First, The Presbyterians, are the false Prophets and the Beast that rose out of the Earth: and they were *duces omnium malorum*, the Fountaine from whence sprang all the mischief, they hated both the King, and the Bishops; and therefore contrary to their oathes taken many times, both of their Faith and allegiance to the King, and of their submission, and canonical obedience, to their Diocessans, have rebelled against their King, and railed against their Bishops, and became the incendiaries, and the bellows to blow and to inflame that fierie zeal, of some of our blinde zelots, and the infernal malice of some others, both of the Parliament, Cities and Countries, to dethrone the King, and to degrade the Bishops.

The causes of the differences and distast betwixt the Bishops and presbyterians.

And truly, though I have deligently searched into the cause of this mischief, yet I could never fide it to be any other, then.

1 On the Bishops part.

First, too much austerity, supercilliousnes, and neglect, if not contempt, of these men, in some of the Bishops, for which they cannot be excused, when of all others, they should be curteous and affable, like *Pompey*, of whom it is Recorded, that no Petitioner departed from him discontented; because he either granted his request, or he gave such reasons with that curtesie and affability, that the Petitioner could not be offended; and as *Titus*, the Son of *Vespatian* was wont to say, *non oportet quemquam a* Cæsaris *colloquio tristem discedere*, so should a Bishop especially endeavour, to let none of his coat and calling, to depart from him in discontent, if reasons and faire speeches could do the same; *Multum quippe placent admixtis dulcia acerbis*, and a *soft answer appeaseth wrath*, saith *Solomon*; and a faire speech gaineth love; and

Sueton. in vita Titi.

Secondly { 1. *Pride* / 2. *Ignorance* / 3. *Envy* } { 4. *Ambition* / 5. *Coveteousnes* / 6. *Hatred.* } in the *Presbyters*, are the causes of all the discontent betwixt them and the Bishops.

Sceondly on the Presbyterian part.

1 Pride.

First, Their Pride and Arrogancy was such, that they thought too well of themselves, and preferring themselves before others, they thought themselves worthy to be set above others; but ἀλαζονείας ὁ τὶς ἐκφεύγει δίκην, saith *Menander*, none shall escape the punishment of Pride; because as *Cicero* saith, *Nullum est officium tam sanctum tamque solenne, quod non superbia & abitio comminuere, ac violare solet*; and as St. *Augustine* saith, *Destruit superbia quicquid justitia ædificat*, Pride destroyeth whatsoever Virtue or Righteousnes buildeth; and the Poet saith as much; *Inquinat egregios adjuncta superbia mores*: our Pride soileth, and spoileth the best and fairest things; and so the Pride of these men destroyed whatsoever their good parts deserved; and deserve much they could not: For,

Superbos Jequiter ultor a tergo deus.

2 Ignorance.

Secondly, *Ignorance* is many times the Mother of *Pride*, when as none is so bold as blinde Bayard; for though sometimes, *multum facit ad ingenium superbia*, Pride spurreth on some to get Learning, and their Learning makes them the prouder: yet true knowledge, and especially the Divine Learning, teacheth Humility, and not Pride; for when they have attained to all Arts, and do know as much as *Berengarius*, that was said to know as much as was knowable; or as *Solomon*, that wrote of all Natures, from the *Isop* that groweth upon the Wall, to the *Cedar* of *Lebanon*: Yet may they cry out with the Poet, *O quantum mortalia pectora cecæ noctis habet*: Alas! alas! how much Blindnes lodgeth in all mortal men? and they may most truly say with *Job*, that they are *but of yesterday, and know nothing*: But their ignorance of the truth of the Holy Scriptures, the Writings of the ancient Fathers, and the Eccleasiastical Stories of all Times, made them to neglect their Duties, and to spurn against both their King, and their Bishops;

Ovid. Met. l. 6.

for

for, had they been well vers'd in theſe things, and had underſtood them well, I ſhould have thought it not poſſible for the Devil to have filled them with ſo much poyſon, as they have ſhewed, both againſt their King, and againſt their Biſhops; and that, juſt like the Coy-Duck,

Officioſa aliis, exitioſa ſuis,

to deſtroy their Brethren, to pleaſure their Enemies, and the Enemies of God's Church. For,

Thirdly, Seeing the Biſhops, whom they deemed no more, then their Equals, to be preferred before them; and conceiving themſelves thereby to be neglected, they both hated the King for his choice, and envied the Biſhops for their places; and becauſe they were not capable to work any other revenge, their *Tongues were their own*, and they let fly their Arrows, even *bitter words*, both againſt our obedience to the King, though cunningly, and obliquely; and moſt directly againſt the Calling of the Biſhops, making that nothing, wherein themſelves had nothing to do. But, till their *envie* had gotten power to work their ends, it onely wrought the greateſt miſchief unto themſelves: for, as it is ſaid of Mount *Ætna*,

Nil aliud niſi ſe valet ardens Ætna cremare,

that it burns nothing but it ſelf,

Sic ſe non alios invidus ipſe cremat;

ſo the envious man *comburitur intus & extra*, doth burn, and pine away himſelf through envie; and this envie deſtroyed the whole Nation of the *Jews*: becauſe, as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Maluerunt invidere, quàm credere*, they rather choſe to envie Chriſt for his honour, that he had for his Miracles, and good Deeds, then believe in him for their own Salvation; and the Biſhops thought with *Pindarus*, Κρείσσων γὰρ ὀικτρῶν φθόνος, *Melior eſt invidentia commiſeratione*, that a Caſe hateful was better then woful, and that it was better for them to be envied by theſe, then to be pitied by all. But,

Fourthly, The next thing, that made them to ſtart aſide, like a broken Bow, was not ſo much their envy againſt the Biſhops, as their ambition to obtain their places; and their ambition, which, as the Scholeman ſaith, is one of the Daughters of Pride, failing to lay hold of what it went about, or that preferment, which they ſought, made them to flie out againſt the Biſhops; and, as *Arius*, miſſing the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*, became the Father of the *Arian* Hereſie, and *Aerius*, as *Epiphanius* writeth, being denied the Biſhoprick, that he required, did firſt broach that Hereſie, that there was no difference betwixt a *Presbyter* and a *Biſhop*: ſo the *Presbyterians* haughty ſpirit breaketh forth to diſcontent, to murmure, to traduce, to maligne, and to abundance of other evils, not eaſily to be diſcovered; for, as *Cicero* ſaith, *Facillimè ad res injuſtas impellitur, quisquis eſt altiſſimo animo, & gloriæ cupido*; He is moſt eaſily induced, to do very unjuſt things, that is of an high minde, and ambitious of glory, and great places; 4. Ambition.

Nam dulce venenum
Eſt mundi lethalis honos:

becauſe this deadly deſire of honour is like ſweet poyſon, that enticeth us to ſuck it up. And

Fifthly, As covetouſneſs, and the love of this preſent World, made *Demas* to forſake St. *Paul*, ſo the like worldly love, and the love of the things of this World, hath 5. Covetouſneſs.

hath made theſe falſe Brethren, to forſake their leaders; for this is that root of bitterneſs, which choaketh every pleaſant flower, and deſtroyeth every virtue; for, as *Juvenal* ſaith, *quæ reverentia legum? Quis metus, aut pudor eſt unquam properantis avari?* what reſpect of Laws, what fear of puniſhment, or what ſhame of the World is at any time in a covetous man, that maketh haſt to be rich?

Juvenal. Satyr. 14.

Nam ſævior ignibus Ætnæ
Fervens amor ardet habendi.

Yet we may, and ought to covet that, which is good; for he, that coveteth the Office of a Biſhop, to feed the Flock of Chriſt, to preach the Goſpel, and to promote the Glory of God, deſires a good work, ſaith the Apoſtle; but he, that deſires a Biſhoprick, to Lord it over God's Inheritance, and to enrich himſelf, and his Poſterity, to purchaſe Lands, and to leave Lordſhips for his Children, this is an evil ſickneſs, that produceth death. And this covetouſneſs is ſaid to be the *Epidemical* Diſeaſe of the *Presbyterians*, that are generally ſeen to be more covetous, then any other kinde of men, as it is expreſſed in particular by the Authour of the laſt Will and Teſtament of Sir *John Presbyter*.

6. Covetouſneſs.

Sixthly, Their covetous deſire and ambition, to get Wealth, and Preferment, and their unworthineſs to obtain it, cauſing them to miſs of it, have bred in them, not onely envy againſt the Biſhops, but alſo diſcontent, and hatred againſt the King, for preferring the other, and neglecting them; though the King did to them herein, but as God uſeth to do in the like caſe.

Homer ſaith *Iliad.* π.

τῷ δὲ ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατὴρ. ἕτερον δὲ ἀνήνατο, *Annuit hoc illi Divum pater, abnuit illud*, that is, to give them, what he thought fit for them, and to deny them, what he conceived them unworthy of. Yet, becauſe that was not ſatisfactory to their expectation, when they beheld, as *Ovid* ſaith,

Fertilior ſeges alienis ſemper in agris,

better Corn, and a more plentiful Harveſt in the Biſhops Fields, then in their own, they taught their Proſelytes to invent new Oaths, and Covenants, to call new Synods, and they made Seditious, and Schiſmatical Sermons, and defended Perjuries, Forgeries, Treacheries, Equivocations, Rebellions, and the like; and they altered the whole frame of the Government of the Church, and of the Service of our God. And ſo, as *Solomon* aſcended to the Throne of Majeſty, *per ſex graaus*, by ſix ſteps, ſo theſe men deſcended to the depth of their Iniquity, by theſe ſix ugly ſins.

And though, as *Reuſner* ſaith,

Formicæ grato eſt formica, cicada cicadæ,
Et doctus doctis gaudet Apollo *choris*;

Diſcidia inter æquales, ut fratres, peſſima.

one Ant, and one Graſhopper loves another; and as *Plinie* ſaith, *Serpens Serpentem non lædit*, one Serpent will not bite, nor hurt another; and as our Saviour ſaith, *If Satan caſt out Satan, his kingdom cannot ſtand*: yet theſe men, worſe then Serpents, and fooliſher then Flies, do that, which Satan will not do, deſtroy them of their own Profeſſion, their fellow-Servants, and thoſe worthy men, that made them the Miniſters of Chriſt.

Proud envy ſo their virtues doth deface,
And makes theſe foes to them, they ſhould embrace.

And therefore, as their Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Ambition, either through ignorance, or elſe, which is worſe, againſt their Conſciences, if they were not ignorant,

norant, have made them to envy the Biſhops, and to hate the King, and thereupon *omnem movere lapidem*, to uſe all their beſt wit, and to imploy their whole ſtrength, like the brood of Vipers, to gnaw out the bowels of their Mother-Church, and like curſed *Cham*, to diſcover, and to deride their Fathers ſuppoſed nakedneſs, and to ſpur on the Parliament, never to give over to proſecute their deſign, to degrade the Biſhops, to put down the Hierarchy, Root and Branch: ſo the juſt God, whoſe Judgements are true, and righteous altogether, to recompenſe this their wickedneſs to their boſom, ſuffered the Devil, to ſtir up as ſpiteful, and as malicious a generation of Vipers, as themſelves, a brood of *Independents*, that ſprang from among themſelves, and that became as outragious againſt them, as they had been injurious againſt the Biſhops; and theſe were not afraid to jear *Jack Presbyter*, as they termed him, to his face, to ſet out his laſt Will, and Teſtament, and to proclaim it to the World, that theſe *Presbyterians* were far more inſolent, more intolerable, more inconſiſtent with Monarchy, and their Government every way, more unjuſtifiable, and further from the Apoſtolical Rule, then the Government of the *Prelates*; and if the *Presbytery* ſhould be eſtabliſhed, whereas before we had but twenty ſix Biſhops in all *England*, we ſhould then have not a Biſhop, but a Pope in every Pariſh throughout this Kingdom; and a Pope more arrogant and preſumptuous, and more tyrannical, and injurious to the people of God, then ever any Biſhop, or Pope attempted to be: for whereas neither Pope, nor Biſhop excommunicated any Chriſtian, but either for contempt of his Court, or upon ſufficient proof upon the Oath of good Witneſſes, to make good the Allegation alledged againſt him, every *Presbyter*, upon his own diſlike, and his own ſuppoſal, that ſuch an one is unworthy, and a ſcandalous liver, will preſently excommunicate the ſame perſon, and cut him off from the Body of Chriſt: *heu ſcelus nefandum!* an offence beyond expreſſion.

Pſal. 19. 9.

So many Popes in *England*, as there be Pariſhes.

And ſo by theſe, and the like bold attempts, and conſtant Allegations of the Independents, the diſſembling and Hypocritical Aſſembly of Presbyterians were diſliked, divers of them impriſonned, ſome of them executed, others fled, and all of them diſcarded, and diſcharged from their new deviſed Presbyterial Tyranny: and one that beſt knew them, makes this *Epitaph* of them.

Presbyter hic jacet, jam dedecus urbis, & orbis,
Qui noſtræ ætatis magna ruina fuit;
Hic eſt, ſi neſcis, qui nobis certe paravit
Excidium, peſtem, funera, bella famem,
Contemptor ſacrum, blaſphemus, publicus hoſtis,
Perfidus, ingratus, raptor iniquus, atrox;
Ex iſta tandem migravit urbe Tyrannus,
Quo pejor peſtis nullus in orbe fuit.

And another ſaith, *Hic jacet in cineres, quem deflent hæ mulieres*, Presbyter Andreas, *qui vitiavit eas: Cujus luxuriæ meretrix non ſufficit omnis, Cujus avaritiæ totus non ſufficit orbis.*

And, as there were, under the Law, four great Prophets, *Eſay*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezechiel*, and *Daniel*; and in the time of the Goſpel, four Evangeliſts, St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, St. *Luke*, and St. *John*; and in the Primitive Church, four famous Greek Fathers, St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Baſil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzene*, & St. *Chryſoſtome*; and the like four in the *Latine* Church, St. *Hierome*, St. *Ambroſe*, St. *Auguſtine*, and St. *Gregory*; and in the Popiſh Church, four great Schole-Doctors, *Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Antoninus*, and *Bonaventur*: So theſe Independents have nominated four Arch-Presbyters, *Marſhall*, *Caſe*, *Calamy*, and *Edwards*, to be the four Bearers of the Presbyterial Aſſembly to his Grave, and appointed *Sibbalds* to teach their Funeral-Sermon upon that Text in *Pſal.* 89. 44. *The days of my youth haſt thou ſhortned, and covered me with diſhonour*: and *Burges*, and *Sedgewick*, were to be the

the close Mourners: then *Gouge* to throw it, like an Ass, into the pit, with these few words,

Ashes to ashes, dust to dust,
And rise thou, when others must.

The whole Tryal of Mr. *Love*, pag. 68.

And thus their own Proselytes have jeared the Presbytery out of his life. And, that, which is more worthy your observation, Mr. *Christopher Love*, who confesseth, that he was the first Scholar, that he knew of, or ever heard of, in *Oxford*, that did publickly refuse, in the Congregation-House, to subscribe unto those Impositions, or Canons, imposed by the Arch-Bishop, touching the Prelates, and Common-Prayer, for which, he was expelled the Congregation-House, never to sit amongst his Brethren; so he was the first of the Presbyters, that suffered death for the defence of the Covenant, and the Presbyterian Cause.

And this was, as I conceive, some part of the inchoative Judgement of God upon them, in this life; what more shall be imposed on them, either here, or hereafter, it is not for me to imagine, but leave it to him, that is the Judge of all the World.

How justly God hath dealt, and dealeth with the *Presbyterians*.

But hereby we may all see, how just is God in all this, to throw them down, that sought to raise themselves by throwing their Fathers down. And who then, considering these just Judgements of Almighty God, and his unsearchable ways, to pull down the pride of men, and to cross the ambition of aspiring spirits, should not rather fear to deal unjustly, and be contented with his own unblameable station, then seek to raise himself, by unwarrantable courses, and especially such, as are by the downfall of others? When, as *Pliny* writeth of the Hart-wolf, *Quamvis in fame mandens, si respexerit aliud, oblivionem cibi subrepere aiunt, digressumq; quærere illud*, &c. that, be he never so hungry, and eating; yet, if he seeth another prey, he forsakes his meat, and followeth after the same, and thereby doth oftentimes, like *Æsops* Dog, lose the morsel in his mouth, by snatching at the shadow in the water: so the ambitious covetous wretches, making no account of what they have, but greedily, and unjustly hunting after more, do, by the just judgement of God, *amittere certa, dum incerta petunt*, as *Plautus* saith, lose what they justly had, by their unjust seeking of what they should not look after.

Venator sequitur fugientia, capta relinquit, Semper & inventis ulteriora petit. Ovid. Amor. *lib.* 2.

2. The *Episcopal* Clergy.

Secondly, For those Clergy-men, that were not the Members of the false Prophet, but were Royalists, and the approvers of the Episcopal Function, and yet have not escaped the fierie tryal, but have been driven through fire, and water, and have suffered many heavy things, to be plundered of their Goods, deprived of their Livings, and often times detained in Bonds, or driven to flie from their house, and home; I say, that, besides other causes, best known to God, into whose secrets we dare not dive, we know good reasons, that they were not thus handled without good cause, nor any ways unjustly dealt withall by the just God: as specially, if there were nothing else, but because they were not

1. Either right Royalists, or
2. Right Episcopals;

but, as the Poet saith of the Maremaid, *Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superné*, or, like those half-Christians, that begin in the spirit, but end in the flesh; or those Apostles, that would build Tabernacles, to remain with Christ on Mount *Tabor*, where he was transfigured in glory, but will flinch away, and forsake him, on Mount *Calvary*, when his face was filled with ignominy: so they like the *Jews* in *Elias* his time, halted betwixt God, and *Baal*; were staggering betwixt the King, and the Parliament; and tottered betwixt the Bishops, and the Presbyters: as doubtful what would be the event, and issue of this debate. For

1. Divers indeed loved the King, and approved his Cause, as most just, and right, and their Consciences told them how far they were obliged, even by God's word,

word, to honour and obey him in all his juſt Commands; and to aſſiſt him againſt his unjuſt enemies; but they like *Ephraim*, that was as a Cake baked on the one ſide, or like the Church of *Laodicea*, that, of Λαὸς & δίκαιος, were termed a righteous people, and yet were neither hot nor could, but luke-warm in their Profeſſion; ſo were theſe men, as they pretended, for the King, but did nothing againſt the Parliament, nor any thing to any purpoſe, for the King; for had they all, with their tongues, and with their pens, *hi ſcriptis illi verbis*, publiſhed, and thundered it out, like Trumpets, unto their ſeveral Congregations, and to all the World, how unjuſtly, and how unchriſtian-like it is for any Subjects to rebel, and to warr againſt their King, and how far they, and all other true Subjects, and good Chriſtians, are bound in Conſcience, and obliged by God's Word, to defend him, whom they know without queſtion, is their undoubted King; and had they themſelves (to give good examples unto their people) opened their purſes, and extended their bounty to the uttermoſt of their power, and ſent their Servants and their Children to aſſiſt his Majeſty, I doubt not, but am ſure of it, that they had herein pleaſed God, and in all probability defended the King, and freed themſelves from that yoak of Tyranny, and all thoſe burthens and afflictions, that ſince the Parliament prevailed, were impoſed upon them, and they were neceſſitated to undergo them: but they were ſuch, as *Pliny* ſpeaks of, ἄφωνοι mouthleſs men, that could not, or would not ſpeak a word in the King's cauſe, and they were ἄχειροι men without hands, able to do nothing, or at leaſt willing to do nothing for him, that underwent all his trouble for the Church, and Church-men.

And therefore, when they neglected their duty, to do what in their Conſciences they were perſwaded they ſhould do, it was moſt juſt that they ſhould ſuffer what they would not ſuffer, becauſe the ſins of omiſſion are as puniſhable, as the ſins of commiſſion, and he that is not with me, ſaith our Saviour, is againſt me, and he that gathereth not, ſcattereth abroad, and ſo (the Angel curſed *Meroz*, and curſed bitterly the inhabitants thereof, becauſe they came not forth to help *Iſrael* againſt *Jabin* King of *Canaan*;) and ſo they are juſtly puniſhed, that, being in their hearts for the King, they did not with their tongues, hands and purſes, do the uttermoſt of their endeavours to aid, and aſſiſt the King; for as the Poet ſaith,

Fœderis hæc ſpecies, id habet concordia ſignum,
Ut quos jungit amor, jungat & ipſa manus.

Our hands ſhould ever go with our hearts: and I am confident, had all we, that in our hearts were for the King, given to his Majeſty in time, the fifth part of that which the Parliament hath ſince plundered, and wreſted from us, we might by the aſſiſtance of God, have preſerved both our King, and our ſelves, from all the miſeries, and loſſes that the Parliament hath ſince brought upon us; and what fools were we, to ſave our wealth, and ſhut our purſes to enrich our enemies, and to impower them to deſtroy our ſelves! O let us never do ſo again.

Secondly, For thoſe that approved of *Epiſcopacy*, and had ſubſcribed to the *Articles*, and allowed the *Liturgy* of our Church, and were in their Conſciences perſwaded of the purity, and excellency thereof, the ſame being compoſed by thoſe godly Martyrs, that weeded all ſuperſtition, and ſuperfluities from it, and then ſealed the reſt, that was inoffenſive, and pious with their blood; and the ſame alſo, being juſtified by all the convocations of all the Biſhops, and Clergy ever ſince and accordingly confirmed by acts of *Parliament* throughout the reign of four moſt pious Princes; for the ſpace of well near one hundred years; for them, I ſay, through hope to ſave, and to retain their livings, and ſo for the love of the World, to comply with the *Parliament*, and to embrace their directory, ſo indirectly to ſerve God, every *Preſbiter* after his own fancy, and to omit the whole ſet form of God's Worſhip, injoyned to be obſerved in all Churches,

ſave

ſave onely the reading of a Pſalm, and two Chapters (which notwithſtanding they did not according to the Rubrick) and to prophane all Holy-daies, even thoſe, that are ſet apart for the Commemoration of the bleſſed Birth, Circumciſion, and Aſcenſion of our only Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: and all other days, that the former Saints and the whole Church of Chriſt had appointed for the children of God, to meet, to give thanks to God, for the great bleſſings, that all we had received from him; I demand of any man, even themſelves being Judges, if it be not very juſt, that they ſhould be plundred, and preſſed, and even loſe their livings, which have ſo unjuſtly, and ſo perfidiouſly done thoſe things in hope to retain their livings; for

Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶν δὲ ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν,

Non te latuerit, O ſupreme Jupiter, *horum malorum quisquis autor extitit.* The Heathen man can tell us God will not be mocked, neither can we blinde the all-ſeeing eyes of God, nor hide our ſelves out of his ſight, when we do commit ſuch evils; and Chriſt tells us plainly, *he that ſaveth his life ſhall loſe it*: and he that *loſeth his life for* his ſake *ſhall finde it.* And were the Martyrs ſo ready to loſe their lives for his ſake, and ſhall we be ſo unwilling to forgo a little worldly pelf, and ſome ſmall living for his ſake, that tells us plainly, whatſoever we give, or loſe for his ſake, we ſhall be requited an hundred-fold, and ſhall receive eternal life.

Let them therefore that will, if not out of faction, or ignorance, but for the love of their livings, reject our inoffenſive, and divine *Liturgy*, that is ſo conducing to peace, and good order, ſo little obnoxious to any juſt exception, and ſo exceeding profitable for the inſtruction of the people: for mine own part, I know it to be the true ſervice, of the true God, and the beſt way that I know to ſerve God; and therefore, by God's help, I will never omit it, nor be guided by their directory for all the livings, that they could, or can heap upon me; and, I pray God, it be not layd to their charge, that to comply with the factious oppoſers of it, or to retain their livings have done it, to betray the ſervice of God, and to lay aſide thoſe heavenly prayers, that were made by holy Saints, and approved by all the beſt Doctours of the Church, and appointed by authority, to be uſed to help the devotion of God's people, and in the ſtead thereof to authoriſe, or at leaſt by their example to encourage every Ignoramus to prate nonſence, and ſometimes to belch out blaſphemies in his prayers to God, and in the face of the Church, without ſhame; God forgive them.

2. The lay-ſubjects.

Secondly, For the lay-ſubjects of the King, that have had their part, in the miſeries of theſe latter days, I ſpeak onely of thoſe, that in their Conſciences approved of their King's cauſe: for his enemies, their portion, perhaps, is yet unpaid I may divide them into two ranks, juſt as were the followers of *Gideon.*

Judges vii. 7.

1. Some were *faint hearted*, and they were the greateſt part and that by much.
2. Others were very *faithful*, and couragious, but they were by far, the ſmaleſt number, not above 300. of 32000. ſo were the following ſubjects of King *Charles.*

1. The faint-hearted Royaliſt.

Firſt, the *faint-hearted* ſubjects, that loved the King, and wiſhed that he might proſper, and prevail againſt his Adverſaries, but feared the powerful, numerous multitude of the Parliament abettors, that were very many, and were juſt like the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, that hated the *Cananites*, but did nothing for the *Iſraelites*: ſo did theſe nothing, or ſo little as nothing, for the King, and for their fellow-ſubjects, that were with him.

And yet the Scholes tell us, and ſo do the Heathens alſo, that *Qui poteſt liberare alium, & non liberat, occidit*; he that can deliver another, that is, from an undeſerved death, as in his Conſcience he believeth is innocent, and delivereth him not,

killeth

killeth him, and is thereby guilty of his blood; and the *Canoniſts* do ſay, *qui non repellit injuriam à Socio, cùm poteſt, tam eſt in vitio, quam qui facit*; he that hindereth not an injury, or a wrong that is done his fellow, when it lyeth in his power to do it, is as much in fault, as he that doth the injury: and *Solomon* ſaith, *If thou faint in the day of Adverſity, thy ſtrength is ſmal, and if thou forbear to deliver them, that are drawn unto death, and thoſe that are ready to be ſlain, and ſayeſt, behold, we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart conſider it? and he that keepeth thy Soul, doth not he know it? and ſhall not he render to every man according to his works*; and the Prophet *David* biddeth us to *defend the Fatherleſs, and the Widdows*, and to ſee, *that ſuch as be oppreſſed, have right*, which was the practice of *Job*, as himſelf confeſſeth; and of *Moſes* alſo, when he killed the *Ægyptian*, to deliver the oppreſſed *Iſraelite* out of his hands: and the Poet that knew no more, then what the dim *Light* of Nature ſhewed him; ſaith,

Scotus in ſent. diſt. 15. decret. ſecunda parte cauſa 23. q. 3. Et Seneca *paſſim: qui ſuccurrere perituro poteſt, cum non ſuccurrit occidit.*

And *Cicero* ſaith, *Nil habet fortuna majus quam ut poſſit, nec natura melius quã ut velit ſervare* Pro. xxiv. 11, 12.

Turpe erit in miſeris veteri tibi rebus amico
Auxilium nulla parte tuliſſe tuum:

Ovid. lib. 2. *De Ponto.*

It is a foul ſhame for any man to leave an old friend in diſtreſs, and not to further him with his aid, and aſſiſtance.

A ſhameful thing to neglect our Friends in Adverſity.

And if men are thus obliged to aſſiſt their Neighbours, and their Friends, when they are wronged, how much more are they bound to aid, and to defend their *King*, when they ſee him wronged, and ſought to be murdered, or dethroned? for theſe men had ſworn Allegiance, and fidelity to their King at divers times, and many of them, if not moſt of them, had their places and offices, at leaſt their Protection formerly from him; and, paſſing over thoſe that were furtheſt from my knowledge, and, to ſpeak of them, *quorum pars magna fui*, mine own Country men and Kinsmen, with ſome great, (*I* know not how good) men, had like *Æneas* and *Ucalegon*, invited the wily *Grecks* to enter *Troy*, and to come into our Coaſts; the chiefeſt Gentry were all moved, and perſwaded to ſwear, and to take an Oath, ſo well deviced and penned, as the beſt, and moſt learned Divines in all thoſe parts could do it; to be *true and faithful unto their King*, and to the uttermoſt of their power, with the hazard of their lives, and the expence of their goods, and fortunes, to oppoſe all thoſe Adverſaries, that then oppoſed him, and the chiefeſt of them by name.

The inconſtancy of many men.

And yet behold the Conſtancy, and the Faithfulneſs of theſe good Subjects, how good Chriſtians I know not, before one drop of their blood was ſpilt, or any part of their goods ſpent, they ſubmitted themſelves to the Parliament, and left the Kings friends to ſink or ſwim, and the King himſelf to do as he could; and I believe they were neither the firſt, nor the laſt that did the like in many parts of this Kingdom; neither do *I* conceive theſe men to be the worſt of the *King*'s Subjects, becauſe, that indeed, there was ſomething now, that might induce faint-hearted men, and ſemi-Subjects to yield unto the Parliament (though not to break their Oath, which is indiſpenſable, and ſhould be inviolably kept in any Caſe) for that the *King* was worſted, and the Parliament had very much prevailed againſt him; though this alſo is no ſuch great Inducement, either with wiſe men, or faithful Subjects, to make them, ſo ſuddenly to lay down their Bucklers; becauſe, as the Poet ſaith,

The doubtful events of war.

Victores, victique cadunt, victique reſurgunt.

And as another ſaith,

Communis Mars eſt, & interfectorem interficit.

2. *Sam.* xi. 25.

That is, in *King David*'s Phraſe, *The Sword devoureth one as well as another, as*

well the *Conquerour* as the *conquered*; and therefore *Menevenſis* ſaith of King *Alfred*,

Si modo victor erat ad craſtina bella pavebat,
Si modo victus erat ad craſtina bella parabat.

He feared his Enemies when he overcame them, and he prepared againſt them, when they overcame him; and, as *Demoſthenes* anſwered, when he was charged for running away from his Enemies, *Vir fugiens, denuò pugnabit*, he that runs away to day, may cauſe his enemies to fly away to morrow: and ſo we finde it verefied many times, as the Hiſtories of the greateſt Warriours teſtifie unto us.

But, if fear of the Prevalency of the Parliament was now ſo powerful with them, as to binde their hands, and to ſhut their Purſes from the King, what was the reaſon they were ſo ſlow, and did ſo little aid him, either with men or mony, when, in all probability, the King had the better, or at leſt ſtood at even terms with his enemies, and then might with a little help, and a ſmall weight added, turn the Scales, and ſo ſubdue his Adverſaries, and prevent all the miſeries, and diſaſters that have happened ever ſince? Surely, here can be made none other anſwer, nor any excuſe alledged, but the ſame reaſon that the *Merozites* had to ſhut their mouths, ſtop their feet, and hold their hands, till they did ſee who ſhould prevail, and under whoſe wings they thought to ſhelter themſelves, when all the brunt was paſt, without danger; or, at leaſt to come off upon very reaſonable termes. And this was the cauſe of the neutrality of the moſt men, eſpecially the greateſt men of this Kingdom.

The true cauſe of the neutrality of moſt men in this Kingdom.

And is it not therefore moſt juſt, that this pannick fear, and punick faith ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment that ſuch perfidiousneſs deſerved? that he which refuſeth the ſweet, juſt, and *eaſie Yoke of Chriſt*, ſhould undergo the bitter, hard, and *cruel Yoke* of *Satan*? or that they, which undutifully neglected, and refuſed to do a little help, which their Conſcience told them, they ſhould do for their King, that expoſed himſelf to the hazard of his life, and loſs of his Kingdom, for to maintain the Service of God, and to defend their Laws, and Liberties; ſhould bear the full Meaſure, and Weight of that puniſhment, which they deſerved? Yes certainly, *me judice*, theſe, of all others merited to be ſcourged with Scorpions and not laſhed with twigs, and I pray God, their deſerts do not light upon their heads, when as, neither plundering, nor compoſition, nor taxes can Paralel that greatneſs of their offence, that deſtroyed both the King and his partie by their deſerting of them.

How juſtly theſe men were puniſhed by ſuffering all that fell upon them.

Therefore, whatſoever miſeries, taxes or ſervice, or any, other Trouble, of the like nature hath fallen on any perſon of this claſſes, let him ſay, and he ſhall ſay but the truth, that God hath, not onely moſt juſtly dealt with him, that had ſo unjuſtly neglected his King, but hath been more merciſull unto him, then either his offence deſerved, or with any reaſon could be expected.

The greatneſs of their offence.

Secondly, For thoſe Subjects of the King, that were like *Gedeons* faithfull Souldiers, and ſpent their Wealth, and Strength to the uttermoſt of their power, to aſſiſt his Majeſtie, and did, according to their Conſciences, and as they conceived the Word of God, Expounded by the true Prophets and ſervants of Chriſt, directed them, and yet felt the rod of God, and the miſeries of thoſe times in full meaſure and far heavier then moſt others, as though they had been the worſt of men, and the greateſt of all Sinners, ſuch as divers of the *Jews* conceited thoſe eihteen *Galilæans*, upon whom the Tower of *Siloah* fell, and thoſe whoſe Blood *Pilate* mingled with their Sacrafice, were; I ſay that if God ſhould be extreme to marke, what they had don amiſs, or ſhould with the Eye of juſtice look upon the beſt of all his Saints, were he as faithfull as *Moſes*, that was faithfull in all Gods houſe, as religious as *David*, that was a man according to Gods own heart, as conſtant as Saint *Peter*, that was contented to be Crucified for the Faith of Chriſt,

a The faith-

and

and as induſtrious as Saint *Paul*, that laboured more then any of all the Apoſtles, yet were he not able to anſwer God one of a thouſand, but he muſt lay his Hand upon his Mouth, and opening the ſame, he muſt ſay with Holy *Job*, *If I waſh my ſelf in Snow water, and make my hands never ſo clean; yet ſhalt thou plunge me in the ditch, and mine owne Cloaths ſhall abhorr me*, and with the Prophet *Daniel*, *O Lord, righteouſneſs belongeth unto the, but unto us ſhame and confuſion of Faces.* And therefore how faithfull, and how conſtant ſoever theſe ſeemed to be, both in the ſervice of God, and diſcharging their duties unto the King, yet muſt they confeſs, they failed in many things of that degree of perfection, which God requireth at their hands in both reſpects, they neither ſerveing God as they ought, nor being ſuch Subjects unto thir King, as the ſtrictneſs of God's Law requireth. And therefore I ſay, First, that in all our ſufferings, whatſoever calamities we have endured, and what preſſure ſoever lyeth upon us, we muſt all confeſs, that, either for our delinquences, and miſcariages in theſe times, or ſome other offences, committed by us, at ſome other times, we are moſt juſtly, and farr leſs then we deſerve, afflicted, and puniſhed by God, whoſe judgments on us, as upon all others, are always moſt righteous, and juſt.

Job. ix. 30.

Dan. ix. 7.

When we do never ſo well God may juſtly puniſh us, though not for that our well-doing, but for ſome other evil-doings, that we had done at ſome other time before, or for ſome defect in our well-doing.

Why God puniſheth the loyal Subject, and his owne moſt faithfull ſervants.

1 Reaſon.
2 Reaſon.
3 Reaſon.

Secondly, I ſay, that there is *crudelitas parcens, & miſericordia puniens*, a ſparing, which is cruelty, and a puniſhment, that is a great mercie; and ſuch are the troubles, preſſures and puniſhments of God's Children, mercies rather then judgments; becauſe they proceed not from God's Wrath, but as the chaſtiſements of a Father to his Children, ſo do theſe come from the love of God towards his ſervants, for their good, whom he afflicteth here for a moment, that they ſhould be bettered, and not be condemned with the Wicked hereafter for ever.

Thirdly, I ſay, that the Miſeries, Croſſes, and Calamities, that the Faithfull ſuffer in this World, are not always ſo much a puniſhment for their Sins, though their Sins deſerve much more, and Sin is the root from whence all miſeries do ſpring, as trials, and probations of their Faith, and Conſtancie in God's love, and ſervice; for ſo the Scripture ſaith, that God tempted *Abraham*, not *temptatione deceptionis*, to deceive him, as Satan tempteth us, but *temptatione probationis*, to try him, whether he would obey the Commandment of God, or not, when he commanded him, to offer his Son, his onely Son *Iſaac* for a Sacrifice, unto God: and ſo he tried the *Iſraelites*, at the waters of Striſe; and, as *Moſes* ſaith, in their Fourty years wandring through the Wilderneſs, to ſee, whether they would love the Lord their God and cleave unto him, and continue faithfull in his ſervice; and ſo he doth plainly tell the Church of *Smyrna*, that the Devil ſhould caſt ſome of them into Priſon, that they might be tryed, and they ſhould have Tribulation ten dayes: and that is, either ten years, as *Junius* expounds it, or elſe, ſeveral times, as others think; yet all to this end, that they might be tryed, whether they would continue faithfull unto death, or not; and ſuch were the afflictions of *Job*, and of many other of the Saints of God: they were juſtly deſerved by their Sins, and God in mercie ſent them for their trial.

What the former Doctrine teaching the us.

And therefore whatſoever, and how great ſoever a meaſure of Miſeries, Croſſes, and Troubles, we have or ſhall ſuffer; yet let us not faint, nor be affraid of them: and let not the Children of God be like the Children of *Ephraim*, that being Harneſſed and carrying Bows, and ſo well prepared for the fight, yet turned themſelves back in the day of Battaile, when there was moſt need of their aſſiſtance; but as we have loved our King, and have ſuffered all the calamities and burthens, that are layd upon us, for our faithfulneſs to him, and the preſervance of a good conſcience, ſo let us continue unto the end, and never comply with any of the King's Enemies, in the abatement of the leaſt jot of our love, and good opinion of the deceaſed King, or with the Factious *Non-conformiſts*, in the diſ-ſervice of God, and the new invented Religion of our upſtart Schiſmaticks; let neither weight of trouble, nor length of time change our minds: becauſe perſeverance in Faith, and Virtue is that, which crowneth all the other Virtues;

and if at any time, even at the laſt, we forſake our firſt love, and change our Faith we loſe all the reward of all the former good, that we have done, and do, by our revolt, teſtifie, that we were not good, for the love of goodneſs, nor adhered to the truth, for righteouſneſs ſake; but for ſome other by-reſpects, for our own ends, that never brings any to a good end: and therefore the primitive Chriſtians could never, by any means, be drawn, to alter the leaſt point of their Faith, and the right ſervice of God; but, as *Prudentius* ſaith,

Prudent De Vincentio.

Tormenta, carcer, ungulæ,
Stridénsque flammis lamina,
Atque ipſa, pœnarum ultima,
Mors, Chriſtianis *ludus eſt.*

All the Torments, and Terrours of the World could never move them, to change their mindes.

Objection.

Victrix cauſa Diis placuit.

But ſome man may ſay, Providence hath decided the Controverſy, the *King* is dead, and the Parliament hath prevailed againſt him, and all his Friends; and therefore what ſhould I do now, but comply with the ſtronger ſide, and uſe that religion, which they profeſs, and that form of worſhip, which they preſcribe, and ſo redeem the time, that I have loſt, and repair ſome loſſes, that I have ſuſtained.

Solution.

I anſwer, that our Saviour Chriſt, to prevent this very Objection, that the *Jews* might make to terrifie the Chriſtians, and to with-hold them from the faith of *Chriſt*, becauſe they had killed him, and he was dead, and therefore to what purpoſe ſhould they adhere to a dead Saviour, and hazard their lives, and their fortunes, to maintain the honour of a dead man, that could not preſerve his own life, becauſe a *Living Dog is better then a dead Lion,* ſaith unto his Servant *John*, *I am he, that liveth, and was dead, and behold,* (or, mark it well,) *I am alive for evermore, Amen*; and therefore let not my death deterr any man from following me, or believing in me: ſo *I* ſay, that faith, and truth are ſtill alive, and though oftentimes ſuppreſſed, and afflicted, yet not killed; and therefore the Poet ſaith,

Diſpaire not yet, though truth be hidden oft;
Becauſe at laſt ſhe ſhall be ſet aloft.

And as another ſaith,

Terra fremat, regna alta crepent, ruet ortus & orcus;
Si modo firma fides, nulla ruina nocet.

These things were written, and preached, by the Author in the time of *Oliver.*

And for *King Charles*, I ſay, though he is dead, yet he is ſtill alive many ways; and that his blood, like *Abel*'s blood, being dead, yet ſpeaketh, and ſpeaks aloud, not onely to God, but alſo to every one of them, that loved him, that they ſhould not ſo ſoon forget their faith, and love to him, that loſt his life for their defence, and the defence of the true *Catholick* Faith; and though he be dead, he is ſtill alive, alive with Chriſt in Heaven for evermore, and alive with us on earth, in the good, that he did bring to us, in the love, that he ſhewed towards us, and in the good, that he left amongſt us; and ſhall we leave him, and leave our love to him, and our remembrance of him, and forſake our faith, and prove perfidious both to God, and to the honour, and to the memory of our deceaſed *King*; and cleave to them, to ſay and do, as they ſay and do, that have bereſt us of him, and would have deſtroyed us with him? No, no; let us abhor them, and their evil doings, deteſt their falſe Faith, and hate their Wickedneſs with a perfect

perfect hatred. And though we have ſuffered much, and may ſuffer much more, at the hands of theſe Tyrants, that are our new Maſters, yet let us ſubmit our ſelves unto them, but as *Daniel*, and the reſt of God's people did unto the *Chaldeans* full ſore againſt their wills; and let us yield none otherwiſe to this preſent Government, then the Children of *Iſrael* did unto *Pharaoh*, that is, till they ſaw an Opportunity to be delivered from it. And, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *You have heard of the patience of* Job, *and have ſeen the end of the Lord, how the Lord bleſſed the latter end of* Job *more then his beginning*: ſo may the Lord do with us; for as the Lord ſaith unto *Cain*, *Sin lyeth at the door*, and is ready like a *Serjeant* to attach every cruel, blood-thirſty, and wicked Sinner, and ſo the Lord knoweth beſt both how and when, to deliver his Servants out of all their troubles, and his will be done: let us ſtill wait on him; and ſtay his time, and we ſhall not miſcarry. Amen.

Iames v 11. *Job* lxii. 12.

CHAP. III.

THirdly touching the *Iriſh* Rebels, that are now either killed, baniſhed, or enſlaved; I ſay the world may ſee in them, as in the cleareſt Criſtal glaſs, the juſt Judgement of God, and ſhould learn by their example, to fear to offend his great Majeſty; for, as the Prophet *Obadiah* ſaith concerning the *Edomites*, who came of *Eſau*, *Jacob's* brother, and ſo were brethren unto the *Iſraelites*, *As thou haſt done, it ſhall be done unto thee; the reward ſhall return upon thine own head:* and as *Jeremiah* ſaith the like of *Babylon*, *Take Vengeance upon her, and, as ſhe hath done, do unto her*: ſo we finde the Lord dealeth with the *Iriſh*, meaſuring unto them the ſame meaſure, that they meaſured unto their brethren the *Engliſh*, and thoſe brethren, whom they pretended to be dearer unto them, the *Britains*. And how, I pray you, have they dealt with theſe their dear brethren? ſurely, the heynouſneſs of their cruel, and moſt wicked doings, can hardly be expreſt, though by a far better Oratour then I am, that never had any other ſtile, but plain; yet, ſo near as I can, according to my plain manner, *I* will ſet it forth in theſe four reſpects; that is,

Obadiah verſ. 15. *Jer.* l. 15.

{ 1. The *Suddenneſs* 2. The *Subtlety* } { 3. The *Cruelty* 4. The *Generality* } of it, for

1. The Suddenneſs, and unexpectedneſs of the *Iriſh* Rebellion.

Firſt, When a dark Cloud appears, and when the Windes do blow, and the Waves of the Sea do roar, before a mighty tempeſt of Lightning, and Thunder, and a ſtorm of Hail-ſtones doth fall upon us; men, foreſeeing thereby, what is like to enſue, may either wiſely prevent the danger, or reſolvedly prepare themſelves with Patience to ſuſtain all their enſuing miſeries, which will not be ſo terrible unto them, when they are expected, before they fall upon them; *quia tela prævisa minùs nocent*, becauſe foreſeen evils do leaſt hurt us: and, as *Horace* ſaith,

Levius fit patientiâ, quicquid corrigere eſt nefas;

becauſe *Patience* lightens the *maladies*, that we cannot mend: but when the *Sun doth ſhine upon the ground*, and the Lord ſuddenly raineth *Fire*, and *Brimſtone* from the Lord out of Heaven, as he did upon *Sodom*, and *Gomorrah*, there is no evaſion of ſuch a ſudden Deſtruction; and yet, the *Iriſh* Inſurrection was not much unlike the *Sicilian* Veſpers, or the *French* Maſſacre, that came like a *Thief in the night*, and ruſhed upon the poor *Proteſtants*, like an armed man, againſt whom there is no reſiſtance: and as *Joab* ſhed the blood of War in Peace, ſo did the *Iriſh* Rebels ſhed the blood of their harmleſs Neighbours, that behaved

Gen. xix. 24.

1. *Reg.* ii. 18.

haved themſelves moſt peaceably amongſt them; and as the *Iſraelites* by the command of God borrowed Jewels of Silver, and Jewels of Gold of the *Ægyptians* to depart from them, ſo did the *Iriſh*, contrary to the commandment of God, borrow Gold, and Silver, and all the Arms, and Weapons, not of thoſe that oppreſſed them, as the *Ægyptians* did the *Iſraelites*, but of many that had often times relieved, and protected them; and this they did not with *Iſrael* to go out of *Ægypt*, but, as *Mithridates* ſlew all the *Romanes* that were in *Pontus*, ſo did they intend moſt ſuddenly to deſtroy all the *Engliſh*, and *Britains* that were in *Ireland*, and that, while they ſeemed to be moſt friendly with them.

And this very Circumſtance, the *Suddenneſs* of their iniquity is ſo far from the Poſſibility to be excuſed, or extenuated, that it muſt needs be acknowledged to be a moſt horrible Impiety.

2. The ſubtle Carriage of their Rebellion.

Secondly, The palpable Forgery, and inexcuſable Perjury of the firſt Rebels, and Murderers of our men, ſheweth their Subtlety, and the height of their Iniquity; for they moſt falſely pretended, that whatſoever they did to unarm the Proteſtants, and to expel the *Engliſh*, they did it for the *King*, and by the *King's* ſpecial Command, and Commiſſion under his Great Seal; and therefore they termed themſelves the *King's* Souldiers, and the *Queen's* Army, that were thus authorized by his *Majeſty*, to rob, expell, and deſtroy all the *Engliſh* and *Britiſh* Proteſtants out of *Ireland*; and hereby they ſeduced many thouſands of the ſimpler *Iriſh*, that otherwiſe meant no evil unto their Neigbours, to joyn with them in their Rebellion, and they ſtopped the mouths, and weakened the hands of thoſe loyal Proteſtants, that, otherwiſe, would have laboured more ſtrongly to have reſiſted their un-Chriſtian Violence; and ſo, in thus carrying on their deſign, they moſt impudently ſlandered God's Anointed, and with faces no leſs ſhameleſs then the Devils, they belyed the good *King*, that was further from thoſe thoughts, then the worſt of them were from all goodneſs; yet they did hereby give colour to the ill-affected, and the Enemies to the King in Parliament, to lay thoſe things often in the King's diſh, and to tax him openly with theſe forged lyes of thoſe falſe Rebels; as you may obviouſly finde it (as I believe) in their Remonſtrances, and Declarations.

How impudently the firſt *Iriſh* Rebels belyed our moſt gracious *King*.

Pſal. l. 21.

And, as that is moſt abominable with God, when a Thief, Murderer, or Adulterer, thinketh wickedly, *that God is ſuch an one as himſelf*, or regardeth not thoſe things; ſo was this groſs traducing of his *Majeſty*, a moſt horrible impiety, to perſwade the world, that ſo juſt, and ſo gracious a King, was ſo unjuſt, ſo cruel, and ſo bloody as theſe butcherly Rebels were.

But *Menander* can tell them, Θεὸν ἐπόρκων μὴ δοκεῖ λελησθέναι· they ſhould not think, that a lying Perjurer can hide himſelf from the All-ſeeing God; and the very Heathens knew, that God would be juſt, though for a while his Juſtice were oftentimes deferred; for upon the *Trojans* Lies, and perfidious Perjuries, *Agamemnon* could ſay, as *Homer* teſtifieth,

Homer. Iliad. 4.

Εἰπερ γάρ τε, καὶ αὐτὸκ Ὀλύμπιος ὐκ ἐτέλεσσεν,
Ἐκ τε καὶ ὀψὲ τελεῖ ———

Though the God of Heaven avengeth not the ſame preſently, yet ſurely he will puniſh it at laſt,

Εὖ γάρ ἐγὼ τὸ κῆρ ὄιδα, ———

For I am ſure of this, and do know it very well,

To pay for all theſe lies, and Perjuries.

Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος Ἱρή;

There will be a day, when ſtately *Troy* ſhall be overthrown.

Nec

Nam licet hand ſontes præſenti puniat ira,
Sera tamen punit Deus, & graviora malorum
Supplicia, ——

For though God cometh, to puniſh lies and perjuries, and ſuch like horrid crimes, ſlowly, and as it were, on leaden feet; yet when he cometh, he layeth on ſoundly, and ſmites them home, as it were with Iron hands; and as the Poet *Claudian* ſaith,

In prolem dilatarunt perjuria patris,
Et quas fallaceis collegit lingua parentis
Has eadem nati lingua refudit opes.

Claud. in cureti um.

O that all Parents would always remember this, even this ſaying of *Claudian.*

The puniſhment of the Fathers perjuries, will reach unto his Children, even as *Moſes* told us long agoe, from the mouth of God himſelf, that God is jealous of his honour, and will viſit the ſins of the Fathers, eſpecially ſuch horrid ſins, as perjuries, and high ſlanders, *upon the Children, unto the third, and fourth Generation,* and as the Wives, and Children of theſe *Iriſh* Rebels, can now teſtifie, the truth of theſe things, and I ſhall more fully declare the ſame anon unto you.

Thirdly, The bloody, barbarous, and inhumane murders of the wilde *Northern, Iriſh,* and the reſt of the uncivillized Rebels, do add a great deal of more weight unto their impiety; for though the murthers, and ſlaughters don here in *England,* be moſt bloody, and cruel, yea, moſt unnatural, and unchriſtian, when, as the Poet ſaith,

3. Their bloody and inhumane dealings.

Nec hoſpes, ab hoſpite tutus.

but the Brother fought againſt his Brother, and ſometimes killed one another, as we read they did in the Warrs of *Sertorius,* and the Fathers often fought againſt their Children, and the Children againſt their Parents, juſt as our Saviour ſaith, it ſhould be in the time of the great Antichriſt; yet if we compare them with the Savage Butchering of the Women with Child, young Infants, aged Matrons, old Fathers, and all others, of what age, Sex or Condition ſoever they were, that were done, eſpecially by the *Northern Iriſh,* and the other Rebels, that are expreſſed in the *Remonſtrance,* publiſhed by a learned and Reverend man, Dr. *Jones,* the now Biſhop of *Cloghar,* and the other Commiſsioners, authorized for the Examination of thoſe out-rages, then we ſhall finde, that as the Poet ſaith,

Sævior eſt triſti buſiride, Sævior illo
Qui falſum lento torruit igne bovem,
Quique bovem ſiculo fertur donaſſe tyranno
Et diris artes conciliaſſe ſuas:

the barbarous inhumanity of theſe Rebels to have exceeded all the cruelties, of *Phalaris, Buſiris, Dyoniſius,* and the reſt of the Savage Tyrants of the Heathens, or the bloody perſecutors of the Primitive Chriſtians, and the Engliſh cruelties, to be very merciful, and their bloody ſlaughters to be but gentle puniſhments, in reſpect of theſe Tragick Acts, that λημνία χειρὶ, in the *lemnian* hands, they laid upon the poor Proteſtants, ſo far, that they, which felt them not, can hardly believe ſuch infernal deſtruction ſhould be invented, and executed by any humane Creature here on Earth; for as the Poet ſaith,

Vix ulla fides tam ſævi criminis unum
Tot pœnas cepiſſe caput; quis prodere tanta
Funera, quis cædes poſſit deflere nefandas?
Quid tale immanes unquam geſſiſſe feruntur?

It

It was ſo great, and ſo horrible an impiety, that ſcarce faith can be given to it, ſcarce tears can be found ſufficient to bewail it, and ſcarce torments enough deviſed, to puniſh it, being ſo inhumane, that if I were an Infidel or Pagan, I would refuſe all the happineſs, that their Prieſts could perſwade me to accept of, for imbracing of their faith, rather then I would be of their Religion, that would incite their people to the unjuſt effuſion of ſo much innocent blood, and the ſavage butchering of ſo many guiltleſs perſons; when as ſuch cruelties would be a ſufficient Argument unto me, to prove, that they could not be the Prieſts of any good God, but rather the Children of *Apollyon*, and the firſt-born of that deſtroyer, which laboureth with all his might, to bring all men unto perdition; for that we may juſtly ſay, that, as the Sun darkneth all the light of the Stars, ſo the *Iriſh* cruelty, if the Relation of their inhumanity be true, blotteth out all the ſtrangeneſs of moſt other former cruelties; eſpecially if we add,

4. The generality of their intended wickedneſs.

Pſal. 137. 7.

Obadiah. v. 5.

Jerem. 49. 9.

Fourthly, the generality of their intended reſolution, which was, as the Children of *Edom* cried in the day of *Hieruſalem*, ſaying, *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground*, that the *name of Iſrael might be no more in remembrance*: ſo they thought to root out all the *Engliſh* and *Britiſh* blood out of *Ireland*; but the Prophet *Jeremiah*, and *Obediah*, demand the ſame queſtion of the *Edomites*, ſaying, *If theeves come to thee, if Robbers by night, would they not have ſtollen till they had enough?* that is, no more, then what they thought enough; or as *Jeremiah* ſaith, *They will deſtroy till they have enough*, as if he ſaid, they will onely deſtroy ſo much, but no more; and if *Grape-gatherers* come to thee, would they not leave ſome *gleaning-Grapes?* And yet theſe Rebels, worſe then Theeves, or then robbers by night, were not ſatisfied with enough, nor could they tell, when they had enough; but they would cut off *head and tayl, root and branch*, and leave not any *gleanings*, nor any remnant, for their Children to deſtroy afterwards.

And ſo you ſee the wickedneſs of the *Iriſh*; and yet, not all, for after they had done all this, and after that, with the Inhabitants of *Theſſalonica*, and of *Antioch*, when they threw down the *Statues* of their Emperous, they had provoked their King by their out-rages, and they conſidered, that they had done fooliſhly, by imagining ſuch a device, as they were not able to bring to paſs, and found their King more merciful, then the *Theſſalonians* found *Theodoſius*, or the *Antiochians* found *Julian*, when, upon their ſubmiſsion, and reducement to their former obedience, he would have been contented with ſome reaſonable ſatisfaction, to be made to himſelf, and his abuſed Subjects, far leſs then their iniquity deſerved, and the yielding up of the prime Rebels, and the bloody murderers to anſwer the Laws for their offences, and it may be, the decimating of them, to ſuffer death for their doings; and to that end, had appointed a moſt honourable, wiſe, and ſweet natur'd Noble-man, that might more rightly be termed *delicia generis humani*, then the Son of *Veſpaſian*, to be a Commiſsioner, on the King, and the Proteſtants behalf, to treat with ſome, that were choſen to do the like, on the *Iriſh* ſide, how things might be well pacified, and a firm peace ſetled on all ſides, betwixt the *Proteſtants* and the *Papiſts*, the *Engliſh* and the *Natives*; and theſe Commiſsioners, after much time ſpent, and a great deal of pains taken, had brought things, as they conceived, to a reaſonable good paſs, and a far fairer concluſion on the *Iriſh* ſide, then either their wickedneſs deſerved, or any reaſon could give them any hope to expect; and the Noble Marqueſs of *Ormond*, had reſolved to travel in his own perſon (as he did to *Kilkenny* and *Clonmel*) to cauſe the concluded Articles of peace, to be proclaimed, in the chiefeſt Cities of that Kingdom; theſe wretched men, bewitched with the poyſon of Rebellion, in the pride of their heart, which as the *Prophet* ſaith of the *Edomites*, hath deceived them, inſtead of a thankful acceptance of ſo merciful a favour, and abundance of graces concluded for them, did moſt deſperately reject their own happineſs; and as not forgetting their uſual Treacheries, they laid ſnares, and plotted how they might

might take the noble Marqueſs, and render evil, what or how much I know not, to him, that had, with much coſt, and more paines, procured ſo much good for them.

To ſhew unto us, that, as the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Malta*, unjuſtly ſaid of Saint *Paul*, ſo we might juſtly ſay of them, though the merciſull King deſired not their Blood, to their ruine; yet vengeance would not ſuffer them to eſcape; but, as the Lord ſaid of *Edom*, behold, *they whoſe judgment was not to drink of the Cup, have aſſuredly drunken; and art thou he, that ſhall altogether go unpuniſhed? thou ſhalt not go unpuniſhed; but thou ſhalt ſurely drink of it*, for I *have ſworne by my ſelf, ſaith the Lord, that* Bozra *ſhall become a deſolation, a reproach, a waſte, and a curſe, and all the cities thereof ſhall be perpetual waſtes*; and, as the Lord ſaid of *Elam, I will cauſe it to be diſmaid before their enimies, and before them that ſeek their life, and I will bring evill upon them, even my fierce anger*, ſaith the Lord, and *I will ſend the Sword after them, till I have conſumed them*; ſo the very like judgment doth now fall upon the *Iriſh*, for the Sword is ſent after them, and they are diſmaide before their Enemies, and they are become a Deſolation, a reproach, a waſte, and a curſe, and their cities, as they were theirs, perpetual waſtes; and that, even in the judgment of man, moſt juſtly too; becauſe as I ſhewed to you before, they have rebelled againſt the Lord, and againſt a good King, and were ſo cruel againſt their brethren, and have committed ſuch horrible wickedneſs againſt innocent perſons; and yet, as blinded in their own malice, they have refuſed their own happineſs; for now the Lord God, that miniſtreth true judgment unto the people, maketh inquiſition, by his Magiſtrates, for all the Blood, that they have ſpilt; and if the Blood of *Abell*, that was but one man, cried ſo loud to God from off the Earth, for vengeance againſt *Caine*, that was likewiſe but one ſingle murtherer; then how much more loud, do the Bloods of ſo many hundreds of men, ſo many women, and ſo many infants, as ſo many thouſands of theſe *Iriſh* Rebells, have moſt cruelly ſpilt, crie to God, for Vengeance againſt thoſe wicked murtherers.

Act. 28. 4.

Jerem. xlix. 12.

Jerem. xlix. v. 37.

And yet the laſt *v.* of this *C.* may be a great comfort unto the *Iriſh*, for it ſhall come to paſs in the lattet dayes, that I will bring againe the captivity of *Elam*, ſaith the Lord, and ſo the *Iriſh* repenting and reduced to their obedience may be received again into a ſociable communion and become a great and a good nation.

Jerem xlviii. 31.

And therefore, whatſoever hath befallen them, or ſhall happen unto them, God muſt needs be juſtified in all the judgments of theſe rebells; and themſelves cannot deny, but that he, which ſits in the Throne that judgeth right, hath done them right, in all that is done unto them. And I fear that before God makes an end of their puniſhment, as the Prophet ſaith, *I will houle for* Moab *and I will crie out for all* Moab, *mine heart ſhall mourne for the men of* Kir-heres, *O vine of* Sibmah, *I will weep for thee with the weeping of Jazer*; ſo we may weep and lament for the deſolation of *Ireland*, and the ſad condition of the poor *Iriſh* people, when they ſhall find and feel, the mighty diſtance and difference, betwixt a merciſull King that they had, and merciles enemies and a cruel Tyrant, whoſe little fingers, ſhall be found heavier then the King's loynes, and who, in ſtead of thoſe twigs wherewith the King would have moſt gently whipped them, will moſt ſeverely Scourge them with *Scorpions*.

For theſe things we e written in the time of the Uſurper.

Fourthly, touching the *Scots*, I ſhall, as brief as I can ſpeak.

1. Of *Charles Stuart*, whom they Crowned to be their King, and is both their and our lawfull King.
2. Of thoſe perfideous, and diſtreſſed Subjects, that have Crowned him.

Firſt, their Crowned King *Charles Stuart*, as the Son of a good Father, and no leſs Virtuous a mother, is in the judgment of all, that now know him, a verie wiſe, diſcreet, and Prudent Prince; and, they ſay, as Valiant and Couragious, as any Gentleman whatſoever; I need not ſay much of his worth, it is ſo well known to all that know him, and his Enemies cannot deny it, neither doth the Relation of his worth any ways leſſen theirs, that have any worth in them; but were he as wiſe as *Solomon*, the myſteries of States, and the requiſites to govern many people, will require many heads, and thoſe likewiſe not of the meaneſt ſort, but of the wiſeſt, and greateſt capacities to aſſiſt him; for, as *Xenophon* ſaith, *Panca aliqua unus videat, unus audiat*, one man can neither ſee much, nor hear much;

Xenophon. Cyr. lib. 8.

and therefore *Tacitus* none of the meaneſt States-men ſaith, *Non eſt unius mens tantæ molis capax*; but great affairs, ſuch as fall out within the Spheres of Kings and Princes, do require many Heads to adviſe, and many hands to effect, and manage them; when as one arm is altogether unſufficient to bear up ſo unſupportable a Burthen, as is the Government of many people, and one brain is not capable of ſuch a charge, as to be alone ſufficient to adviſe how to diſcharge ſo great a buſineſs; but as *Velleius* ſaith, *Magna negotia magnis adjutoribus egent*, great buſineſſes do require great aſſiſtants; and therefore, a Princes, or King's affairs being great, eſpecially to regain ſuch a loſs, as this Prince received, he muſt not follow his own opinion, though grounded upon very probable ſuppoſitions, but he muſt yield to his faithful Counſellours, when they produce more forcible reaſons: becauſe, he that needeth no Counſel, eſpecially in great matters, muſt be more then a man, and he that refuſeth all Counſel, is not much better then a Beaſt. And it was moſt wiſely ſaid of *Mar. Antoninus*, the Philoſopher, It was fitter, that he ſhould follow the Counſel of ſuch, and ſo many Friends, then that ſuch, and ſo many men ſhould follow the mind and will of himſelf alone; for he like a wiſe man judged that man which doth all things out of his own head, *ſuperbum magis quàm ſapientem eſſe*; rather a proud man then a wiſe man, as *Titus Livius* ſaith.

How requiſite it is for all Kings and Princes to have wiſe Counſellours to adviſe them and to be conſulted with.

Æquius eſt ut ego tot taliumque amicorum conſilia ſequar, quam tot talesque amici mei unius voluntatem. *Tit. Liv.* lib. 44.

Charles Stuart our now moſt gracious *King*, therefore, I make no queſtion had his Counſellours then; and, as we finde it by the Transactions of buſineſs in *Jerſy*, and *Breda*, he was in his greateſt affairs guided by them; the more fault theirs, if they misguided him, though the more dammage his; neither yet can he be excuſed from all fault, if he was misguided by them; the great God that governs all things, and crowns events according to their deſerts, hath made it manifeſt to the world, that his Counſellours have not fully followed the old rule in *Laertius*, Συμβούλευε μὴ τὰ ἡδέα ἀλλὰ τὰ κάλλιστα; *Conſule non quæ ſuaviſſima, ſed quæ optima*, Counſel not thoſe things, that ſeem moſt ſweet, and pleaſant, but thoſe things which are beſt, and moſt honeſt; for theſe *Ductores Principis*, Counſellours of this young *Prince*, conſulting with fleſh and blood, and conſidering what was likeſt to advance his deſign, and not conſidering what was moſt agreeable to God's Will, have in the Judgment of ſome, not ſo well adviſed their good Maſter; and had he not been, as it ſeemeth, another *Jedidia*, beloved of God, by following their Counſel in the Courſe, that he took, he might have been taken in a ſnare to his utter ruine.

Laertius in Solon.

That is in *Worceſter* Fight.

But, what was the Counſel that they gave him? it appeareth by the tryal of Maſter *Love*, and by the event of thoſe treatiſes, betwixt the *Scots* Commiſſioners, and the *Presbyterian* Agents out of *England*, Captain *Titus*, *Drake*, and the reſt, and the Prince; that they perſwaded him to comply with the *Scots*; for that by this means, he ſhould peaceably gain the Crown of *Scotland*, and with the Strength of *Scotland*, joined with the *Presbyterian* Party of *England*, which were very conſiderable, he might eaſily gain the *Kingdom* of *England*, and then *Ireland* muſt needs yield. An unqueſtionable uncontroulable way in the judgement of man; but it ſeemed not ſo with God, as the event did make it clear; and therefore, as when the Counſellours of *Rheoboam* differed in their advice, the one ſort, ſaying, *Si loquaris verba lenia* —— ſpeak to this people fair, and they will be thy Servants; and the other ſort bidding him to tell them, that *His Father whipped them with rods*, but *he would ſcourge them with Scorpions*; *Rheoboam* ſhould have had the Diſcretion to know, which was the beſt to follow; for herein conſiſteth the greateſt wiſdom of any Prince, in the Election of his Counſel; becauſe it is moſt likely, that among many wiſe men, both the beſt, and the worſt Counſel will be propounded.

And it is a point of great wiſdom to be able to follow the beſt, to chooſe the good, and to refuſe the evil; and the wiſeſt man in the world may eaſily fail herein; eſpecially in great matters, whoſe future, and contingent events are ſo doubtful.

And

And therefore it is no wonder, nor any fault unexcuſeable, for the beſt traveller to miſtake his way in the dark, or in a wilderneſs among the thickets:

But could any wiſe man, that remembered the former paſſages betwixt the *Scots*, and the late pious *King*, think, or any good Chriſtian believe, that God (whoſe ways are always right, as the Prophet ſpeaketh, *and the juſt ſhall walk in them*; but *the tranſgreſſors ſhall fall therein*) would proſper the counſel that leadeth to any erroneous courſe? no, no; this cannot be. And therefore, as I conceive; the Counſellors of this good Prince failed, though, not in their love and faithfulneſs to their Maſter, but in their advice in directing him the beſt way; and he, not knowing which way was beſt,

Incidit in Scyllam *cupiens vitare* Charibdim:

By ſeeking to eſcape the Lions (it may be the *Iriſh* Catholicks) he fell among Bears, if I may ſo call the *Scottiſh* Presbytery, whoſe feet, the holy Scripture tells us, *are as the feet of a Bear.* Rev. xiii. 2.

But his Counſellors may anſwer, as a very learned *Scotchman*, diſcourſing hereof anſwered me; that their purpoſe was right, and their intention exceeding good, aiming at the ſame end, as is now, bleſſed be God for it, come to paſs.

But I ſay, the juſt God will not approve of our intentions to do good, if we go about to effect that good by an evil way: for, as the Scholes tell us, *ſi bonum feceris malâ intentione, non imputabitur tibi pro bono*, if thou doeſt good, with an ill intent, it ſhall not be imputed to thee for good; ſo in like manner, *ſi malum feceris bonâ intentione, non imputabitur tibi pro bono*, if thou doeſt evil, though thou meaneſt never ſo well, and thine intention be never ſo good; yet ſhall it not be imputed to thee for good; becauſe the God that is moſt perfect in all his ways, and in every thing, doth require that the good which we do, ſhould be perfectly good, *ex omni parte*, on all ſides, and in every reſpect: for as the Prophet ſpeaketh, *He requireth truth in the inward parts*, and will have heart, and hand, minde, and tongue to go together; and therefore we may not do evil, that good may come thereof, or to enable us to do good, *neither may we ſpeak wickedly for God*, nor talk deceitfully for him, as *Job ſpeaketh*: much leſs may we do the ſame, for the greateſt preferment in the World. Job xiii. 7.

And therefore if this good Prince had been well informed, and throughly given to underſtand all the former paſſages, and proceedings of thoſe *Scots*, that ſo undutifully, ſo unkindly, and ſo treacherouſly dealt with his good Father, and for what ends they did it, I believe he would have never wandred thoſe ways that he travelled unto them; but he having thus miſtaken his way, he miſſed of his end, and the *Presbyterians*, that had made a Covenant with death, as the Prophet ſpeaks of the *Jews*, and an agreement with Hell it ſelf, did not ſtand any ways to further his deſign: but, when the overflowing Scourge did paſs through, then were they troden down by it; and he had been likewiſe troden down himſelf, or taken, which had been worſt, had not the eye of Heaven, which ſaw the innocency of his heart, not wittingly offending in any way, watched over him, and as he did, when he led *Jacob* to *Padan-Aram*, that he might eſcape his Brother's wrath, ſo it guided him, moſt miraculouſly, in man's judgment, to the haven where he would be, that ſo, he might eſcape the treachery of ſome profeſſed friends, and be delivered from the malice of his cruel enemies: for I fear we may ſay, with *Obadiah, All the men of thy confedracy have brought thee even to the border, the men that were at peace with thee, have deceived thee, and they that eat thy bread, have layd a wound under thee*; that is, his own counſellours, by perſwading him to take the Presbyterian way: I am confident, and ſure, that God never approveth of their courſes, nor for a man to accept of his own right, by an indirect way: and therefore I finde not, that he bleſſed any of the *Scots* deſigns, but as *Nahum* ſaith of Obadiah v. 7.

Nahum 3. 13. *Niniveh*, ſo we may ſay of them, *thy people in the mideſt of thee are Women, the gates of thy land ſhall be ſet wide open unto thine enemies, and the fire ſhall devour thy barrs*; and I think, they have found it true themſelves, through their Kingdom when the Lion, and his Bears, the Tyrant, and his Whelps came amongſt them.

And therefore, this deliverance of the Prince, being of the like nature as thoſe wonderful deliverances, that God wrought for other good Princes, which are ſet down by *Camerar: libro ſecundo capite decimo*: being ſuch a ſpecial act of God's favour, and ſo wonderful in our eyes, and as I believe with theſe former *præcedentia*, fore-paſſed things, will be a warning to him, and to all others, to amend future things, aud to deteſt, and abandon this Presbyterian way, which I am confident the Lord hateth, and do aſſure my ſelf, will never bleſs it, nor them that cordially follow it, if they do rightly underſtand it: howſoever he may in his ſecret Counſel, ſuffer them, as he doth many other Sinners, and great offendours, for a time to tyranniſe over his children, and to proſper in this World, which is, but as the Prophet ſaith, a *ſlippery* ſtation, when as *Claudian* ſpeaking of *Ruffinus*, and his confederates, ſaith,

----tolluntur in altum
Ut lapſu graviori ruant,

God lifteth them up, to throw them down, which makes their overthrow the greater, by how much their exaltation is the higher; for,

Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat,

He that walketh upon the ground, can have no great fall, but as *Horace* ſaith,

Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
pinus, & celſæ graviori caſu
decidunt turres, feriuntque ſummos
fulgura montes.

And ſo I believe their fall will be ere long, which now ride on other men's palfreys, and jet it up and down in pride, in their Brethren's garments; becauſe, as Job. 20. 5, & 27. *Job* ſaith, *The triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of the Hypocrite is but for a moment*, when as the heavens ſhall reveile his iniquity, and the earth ſhall riſe up againſt him.

Secondly, for the reſt of the *Scottiſh* nation Mr. *Hall* a Counſellour for the Common-Wealth of *England*, in the triall of Mr. *Love*, ſaieth, that Maſter *Love* held *Intelligence* with the *Scottiſh*-Nation, which truely, ſaith he, I do conceive hardly an *Engliſh* man, that had the blood of an *Engliſh* man running in his Veins, would joyn in confederacy with that Nation, of all the Nations in the World, againſt the Common-Wealth: a Nation, that hath been known, to have been a conſtant enemy to this nation in all ages through the memory of all Hiſtories; whereby * you may gueſs, how worthy they are to have an union with this Nation, and how wiſely we do, to ſubmit our ſelves, by an indiſſoluble Covenant to their *Scottiſh*-diſcipline; and therefore touching the now diſtreſſed, and ſubdued ſubjects of *Scotland*, eſpecially thoſe that Covenanted with the Parliament of *England*, to overthrow the eſtabliſhed Government of our Church, and to ſet up the beggerly Presbytery, I may moſt truely ſay,

The trial of Mr. *Love*, pag 76.
How the Scots have been always avers and great enemies to the *Engliſh*-Nation.
* If this be true.

lex non juſtior ulla;
Quam Artifices tales arte perire ſuâ;

Never

Never Nation was more juſtly dealt withall, then they be by what *Crummell* brought upon them: for though according to the *Apoſtles* warrant, ſaying, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, the *Cretians are always lyars*, I might juſtly ſay, there are national ſins, as well as perſonal; and you know that *punica fides*, grew to be a Proverb among the *Romans*, to note out a perfidious perſon! ſo I might truely tell you, that from *Ferguſius* the renowned King of the *Scots*, that firſt entred *Ireland*, and afterwards was drowned at *Carreg-fergus*, now corruptly called *Knocfargus*, in that Kingdom, their own Chronicles do teſtify, how this Nation have been always, ſuch as Saint *Stephen* ſaith, the *Jews* were, *a ſtiff-necked, and uncircumciſed in heart, and ears*; that have allways reſiſted the Holy Ghoſt, even as their Fathers did, ſo did they; ſo were the *Scots*, a ſtiff-necked, ſtubborn, and rebellious people, that have always reſiſted their own lawful Princes, by depoſing ſome, and killing others, whom they diſliked, and whom I could eaſily name (if it were not for fear to be too tedious, unto you) out of their own Chronicles: And though they had many brave Commanders, and gallant Soldiers amongſt them, and ſome great Schollars, as furious *Knox*, Antimonarchical *Buchanan*, in his *Junius Brutus*, and *De Jure regni apud* Scotos; and the like not a few, yet as a little *colloquintida* ſpoileth all the whole pot of pottage; ſo their treachery, and Rebellion againſt their Kings, obſcureth all the good parts that can be in them; It is a rare commendation, that *Quintus Curtius* gives unto the *Perſians* for their love, and faithfullneſs unto *Darius* their King, in his dejected Fortunes, when they would rather loſe their own lives, then betray their King; and *Damianus a Goes* tells us that many *Infidels* among the *Indians*, were not inferiours to the beſt nations in their Obedience, and Loyalty to their Kings; and yet the *Scots*, of all other Nations, are as (they ſay) clean contrary; for, to go no further then our times, it is not unknown to both Kingdoms, how many ſignal favours were conferred upon men of all ſorts, both the nobles, Gentles, and Plebeyans of *Scotland*, by King *James*, that made himſelf poor, to make them rich, and many times, emptied his own Exchequer to fill their purſes, and how King *Charles*, never impoſed any heavy burthen upon them, but was no ſmall benefactour to them, preferring them in his own houſe to places of the greateſt honour, and beſt profit, and thoſe that came with their ſtaff like *Jacob*, over the *Tweed*, and in their blew Bonnets into *England*, they were in a ſhort ſpace, enriched, Knighted, and ennobled in the King's Court.

Titus 1. 12.

That the *Scots*, have been ever a moſt rebellious Nation.

How liberal, and bountiful King *James* hath been unto the *Scots*.

But leaſt that this Commemoration of benefits ſhould be taken for an exprobration, as the Comick ſpeaketh, I will not name thoſe great perſons, that have been made great by this good King, and that I could have ſet down, for unthankful retributours of ſuch great favours; yet in general, I would that all men knew, how they have all rewarded their deſerving Prince; for that *bleſſed man* in his εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ ſaith, *The Scots are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely tyes of nature, ſovereignty, and bounty with my Father of bleſſed memory*, but alſo *ſpecial; and late obligations of Favours, having gratified the active ſpirits among them ſo far, that I ſeemed to many, to prefer the deſires of that party, before mine own intereſt, and honour*: And *Cicero* tells us, that, *ingratitudine nihil mali non ineſt*, there is no evill that is not reſiding in an unthankful Wretch, and *Auſonius* ſaith, that *ingrato homine terra pejus nil procreat*, The earth never brought forth a viler thing, or worſer wood then an unthankful man: and could there be found beſides the *Jews*, a more unthankful people on earth, then the *Scots* have been to this, their own lawful, loving King, and bountiful Benefactour? Witneſs that monſter of men, whom the King made Lieutenant of the *Tower*, the chiefeſt Fort of all *England*, and he made himſelf the King's mortal enemy; and beſides him, witneſs a thouſand more, whom the King raiſed from the dunghil, to make them companions of Princes, and they to requite him, combined with the Parliament, fought againſt their King, to ſubdue him, and to bring him to nothing: *hoc magnum eſt, hoc mirum*; and may not this be wondered at? that the earth ſhould

The King in his εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

How lovingly King *Charles* uſed the *Scots*.

How unthankful the *Scots* are.

ſhould bring forth ſuch creatures, as are unworthy to live upon the earth? for, have they not like mortal Enemies, in a moſt hoſtile manner, invaded the King's Territories, and warred againſt him with as perfect fury, as ever *Hannibal* did againſt the *Romanes?* and we all know, or ſhould know, that no cauſes are warrantable for the undertaking of a war, if juſtice be not the ground thereof; *Juſtum autem non eſt, quod tria hæc non habet juſta; autorem, cauſam, & finem*, and juſt it cannot be, ſaith *Juſtus Lipſius*, if it hath not theſe three juſt things: A juſt *Author*, a juſt *Cauſe*, and a juſt *End*. And *Titus Livius* ſaith, *Juſtum bellum, quibus neceſſarium, & pia arma, quibus nulla, niſi in armis, relinquitur ſpes*; that war is juſt, to whom it is neceſſary, and they do rightly fall to take Arms, which have no help nor hope but in their Arms. *In eum autem, qui juſte agere, & ſatisfacere paratus eſt, nefas eſt bellum ſumere*; ſaith *Thucidides*, but it is an heinous offence to make war againſt him, that if you be wronged, is ready to do you right, and to make you ſatisfaction: and wherein I pray you could the *Scots* ſhew themſelves juſtly grieved, and *King Charles* did not moſt willingly, and beyond expectation give them, and offer them, full ſatisfaction?

Lipſius polit. lib. 5.

Tit. Livius. lib. 9.

And no War in no time for no cauſe can be juſt, that is made by Subjects againſt their King.

And what cauſe then could they pretend for this Invaſion? ſurely none at all but onely covetouſneſs, and a deſire to be enriched, either with Spoils and Plunderings, or with very fair Compoſitions, as they were by the means of their Confederates in *England*, with the Sum, as was ſaid, of three hundred thouſand pounds, a fair Sum for ſuch a foul Fact: and therefore, theſe doings muſt needs be odious, both to God, and to all good men.

And yet I will ſhew you greater Abomination of theſe abominable rebellious Creatures, for they had, as the Parliament of *England* had done likewiſe, taken their Oaths of Allegiance, and Fidelity to his Majeſty: and how have they kept their Faith, and obſerved their Oathes? did they not, being Scholars, remember what the Poet ſaith,

Non bove mactato cæleſtia Numina gaudent,
Sed quæ preſtanda eſt, & ſine teſte, fides: [id eſt]

Ovid Epiſt. 18.

That God delighteth more in obſerving Faith, and performing Promiſes, then in ſacrificing whole Oxen to him. *Nam fidem qui perdidit, nihil ultra poteſt*; for he that hath loſt his faith, hath loſt all that he hath worth any thing, and is unworthy to live among men: And would theſe men violate their ſolemn Oaths, think you? ſurely men will hardly believe it, if they did not ſee it; for a perfidious Violation of an Oath, and Covenant, is as damnable as *Athieſm*, if not worſe, becauſe this wittingly and willingly abuſeth and ſcorneth that Deity, which it neceſſarily, though unwillingly acknowledgeth; and therefore the Heathen man could adviſe us; Οὐκ ἐπορκεῖν, φοβούμενον τὴν τὸ παρὰ τῶν Θεῶν πῶσαν, καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰσχύνην, by no means to forſwear our ſelves, for fear of puniſhment from God, and ſhame among men; becauſe, as I ſaid before out of *Menander*, Θεὸν ἐπάρχων μὴ δόκει λελῆθέναι, though we may deceive men, as Perjurers do many times, yet we muſt not think that our Perjuries, and Falſities can be hid from God, whoſe peircing eyes do behold every ſecret thought, and will not ſuffer the Perjurers and Deceivers to go unpuniſhed, as it may appear by this one example, which I have picked out of many, that might be produced to the ſame purpoſe, of *Hatto*, Biſhop of *Mentz*; for *Abbas Urſbergenſis* writeth, that *Adelbert*, Count Palatine of *Franconia*, being charged to have ſlain the Emperours Son, and upon that ſuſpition, being ſtraitly beſieged by the Emperor; but the Caſtle of *Adelbert* being very ſtrong, both by nature, and by art, the Siege did no whit promiſe, either the taking of it, or the yielding up thereof; therefore *Hatto* being a near Kinſman to *Adelbert*, and deſireous to curry favour with the Emperor, employed himſelf, by cheating means, to draw

How heinous a thing it is to break our faith, and to fallifie our Oaths.

The Story of Perfidiouſneſs of *Hatto* Biſhop of *Mentz*.

draw his Coſen into the Emperour's hands, perſwading *Adelbert* to go with him unto the Emperour, and that he might boldly go without any fear of danger, he made a ſolemn Oath unto him, that, as he came ſafe out of his Caſtle, ſo, if they could not well agree, by a good Treaty, he would bring him ſafe again unto his Caſtle; whereupon *Adelbert* conſented to go with him, and went a prety way from his Caſtle; but *Hatto*, looking upon the Sun, ſaid, the Morning was well ſpent, and there was a long way to the Emperours Camp, and therefore he thought it was their beſt Courſe, to return to the Caſtle and to break their Faſt, and then they might go the better, and with more eaſe; and *Adelbert* ſuſpecting no ill, in ſo fair a Motion, yeilded to return to break their Faſt, and he courteouſly entertained his Coſen, and after Break-faſt, they rid both to the Emperours Camp; where preſently the Emperour adjudged *Adelbert* to dy; whereupon he calleth for *Hatto*, and accuſed him of Treaſon, and Perjury, except he performed his Promiſe to bring him back ſafe again into his Caſtle; whereto the Biſhop anſwered, that he was acquitted of his Oath, in that he carryed him to his Caſtle, when they returned to break their Faſt; and upon this perfideous trick the credulous Earl loſt his life, and the Emperour ſeiſed upon all his Seigniories; but for this wicked part *Hatto* could never blot out his reproach, but was ever afterwards called by the *Germans*, *Hatto the Traytor*; and as you may finde it in the *Chronological* Collections, taken out of *Petreius* his Library, God ſuffered this *Hatto* to be carried away by Devils, and to be thrown headlong into a burning pit in Mount *Gibel*, and a voice was heard in the Air, at his throwing in, crying out,

Sic peccando Ines, ſicque luendo rues.

Debito ſupplicio ſcelus luere Budæus.

Thus art thou worthily puniſhed for thy wicked deeds, ſo the *Pſalmiſt* demandeth, *Shall they eſcape for their wickedneſs?*

So heinous a ſin is a perfideous perjury, and ſo juſt is God in the Severity of his puniſhment for the ſame; and the reaſon is, becauſe every perjured perſon makes a mock of God more then moſt of other Sinners do: either denyeth his wiſdom, as not thinking him to know all things; or elſe argueth him of injuſtice, as not regarding the innocent, and conniving with the faults, and malice of the moſt falſe and wicked men, which the Lord will never endure.

Why God doth ſo ſeverely puniſh Perjury.

And yet with theſe ſweet *Scots*, theſe over zealous Saints,

Tam facile & pronum eſt ſuperos contemnere teſtes;

It is but a ſmall matter to break their faith, they make ſo ſmall account to forſwear themſelves, when they deem Oathes, but as *Lyſander*, and *Dionyſius* ſaid of them, and *Alexander* the ſixth uſed them; that they were as Toys and Rattles, whereby we deceive fools, and delude Children: for as ſoon as the Parliament had contrived their *wicked Covenant*, and ſent to the *Scots* for their conjunction, and aſſociation in this impiety, which they knew was the onely Bait to take them; they preſently ſwear, contrary to all former Oaths, and ſubſcribe unto the ſame; and accordingly to diſannul their Allegiance to the King, and to evacuate their Oaths of Fidelity to him; they join in Arms with the Parliament againſt him, to compell him, becauſe they could not perſwade him to take that *Covenant*, and thereby to forfwear himſelf, and to become as wicked as themſelves.

How the *Scots* account of Oaths.

And therefore, *Ut* Carbone *pollicenti quidpiam, & addente jus jurandum, populus* Romanus *viciſſim juravit, ſe illi non credere*; as when *Carbo* promiſed any thing, and added his Oath, ſwearing that he would perform it; the people of *Rome* in like manner, would preſently ſwear they did not believe him; even ſo when theſe men, that do thus ſlight their Oaths, do ſwear any thing, I might ſwear, that

What kind of fellow *Carbo* was.

that I will not believe them; and as the Prophet *Jeremy* ſaith of the *Jews*, *Shall not the Lord viſit them for theſe things, and ſhall not his Soul be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?*

Jer. v. 9. & 29.

And yet this is not all the Wickedneſs, and impiety of theſe men, but they do ſtill proceed from bad to worſe, from worſe to worſt of all; for as one ſaith moſt truely, to betray a Kinſman, Friend, or Confederate is contrary to all law, odious to all men, injurious to the party betrayed, and a moſt abominable impiety in the ſight of God; and *Petrarch* ſaith, *Proditore turpius nihil unquam ſol vidit, cujus obſcœnitas tanta eſt, ut & qui artificio ejus egent, execrentur artificem, & cæterorum ſcelerum famam quærunt hujus infamiam reformident*; the Sun never beheld any thing filthier then a falſe Traytor, whoſe Villany, and Treacher y is ſo great, and ſo hateful, that they which need, and love his helpe, and treacherous art, do notwithſtanding abhor, and deteſt the Traytor, and they which hunt after the ſame of other vices, do exceedingly ſhun, and fear the infamy of this vice; and the reaſon is rendred by *Cicero*, *Quia nemo ferè credit niſi ei quem fidelem putat*; becauſe no man willingly truſteth any man, but whom he thinketh, and believeth to be an honeſt, and a faithful man; and therefore, ſaith he, *Perditiſſimi hominis eſt, fallere eum, qui læſus non eſſet, niſi credidiſſet*; it is the part, and practiſe of the worſt, and vileſt Wretch in the World, to deceive, and betray that man, who had never been hurt, nor betrayed, if he had not truſted, and believed the Traytor, to be an honeſt man.

Cicero pro Roſ.

And yet when the good King, by intimation from ſome friends, underſtood he might be ſafe with theſe, his own native Subjects: who, as the King ſaith, have oft profeſſed, they fought not againſt him, but for him, as you may ſee in the 22. page of his εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ; and as his Majeſty writes, to the honourable Lord Marqueſs of *Ormond*, ſaying, that having received very good ſecurity, that he, and all that ſhould adhere to him, ſhould be ſafe, in their perſons, honours, and conſciences, in the *Scottiſh* Army, that would really, and effectually joyn with them, and imploy their armes, and forces to aſſiſt them, for the procuring of a happy peace, he reſolved on that courſe, that is, to go unto them, and thereupon, with a very great hazard of his own perſon, he adventured to paſs throughout all difficulties, and through the very Pikes of his Adverſaries, and to commit himſelf into the hands of theſe men; they very fairly, but moſt falſly, made a good Merchandiſe of his Majeſty, and ſold him to the Parliament, at a far deerer rate, then the Traytor *Judas* ſold the Saviour of the World, and the King of Kings, unto the *Jews*: and no ſuch wonder neither, becauſe *Judas* was but an Aſs to *Leſley*, who had been a Pedlar, or Merchant, as they term Pedlars in the Country, before he became Commander of an Army, and therefore he knew how to ſell his ware better then the other; though his ſin, in one reſpect was far worſe; for *Judas* repented of his treachery, and he brought *the thirty pieces of ſilver*, all that he had received, every penny, and he threw them down, *contemptu quodam*, with a kinde of disdain, and contempt, and confeſſing his fault, ſaid, *I have ſinned in betraying the Innocent Blood*: But we do not finde that either *Leſley*, or any other of theſe *Scottiſh*-Merchants, either repented them of their falſhood, and Treachery, or confeſſed their fault, or brought any part, or penny of the price, they received for their King, back again.

In his Letter, the 3. of *April* 1646.

I would all perfidious traitors would read the ſeventh Chapter of the 1. Book of *Camerar hiſt. Medit.* that ſheweth the juſt reward that perfidious Traytors deſerve, and have received for betraying their King, Countrey, or frien s.

But we finde here is in them, *morbus complicatus*, a multiplicity of all kinde of wickedneſs; Firſt, *Impiety*, Secondly, *Injuſtice*, Thirdly, *Coveteouſneſs*, Fourthly, *Perfidiouſneſs*, Fifthly, *Perjury*, Sixthly, *Treachery*, and what not? *And ſhall I not viſit for theſe things, ſaith the Lord? and ſhall not my ſoule be avenged on ſuch a Nation as this?*

The manifold ſins of the *Scots*

Yes certainly, God will viſit them, and in ſome meaſure he hath held his viſitation amongſt them already, and he hath ſent his Deputies to redreſs, and correct their abuſes, and them alſo for their abuſes; Yet you muſt know, there were, and I do know very many of them, very excellent, worthy, and brave men, moſt faithful

How juſtly God hath required the treacherous *Scots*.

faithful, and loyal to their King, and moſt religious, and zealous in the ſervice of God, among the *Scots*, both here, and in *Scotland*. And therefore whatſoever I ſay here of the *Scots*, I mean it of thoſe, that warred againſt their King, Covenanted with the Parliament, and ſold him to the Parliament, and upon theſe perfidious *Scots* he hath moſt juſtly brought his judgments, to make the Parliament, that invited them to theſe impieties, to become the inſtruments of their puniſhments, and a rod to ſcourge them, that formerly were a banquet, to feaſt them; ſo that now we may rightly ſay with *Job*, *A dreadful ſound is in their ears; and in their proſperity the deſtroyer came upon them; and though Wickedneſs was ſweet in their mouths*, when the Parliament filled their Coffers, *though they hid it under their tongues*, that is, by their Hypocriſie, fair gloſſing ſpeeches, and pretence of piety; yet, *now the meat in their bellies is turned into the gall of aſpes within them, and the riches, which they ſwallowed down*, and which they had, for betraying their King, *they vomit them up again*; *God doth caſt them out of their bellies*, yea now, they ſuck the poiſon of Aſpes, and the Viper's tongue doth ſlay them; they fly from the iron weapon, and the bow of ſteel doth ſtrike them through; and when they are about to fill their bellies, God ſhall caſt the fury of his wrath upon them, and ſhall rain it upon them while they are eating. And how long theſe their miſeries ſhall continue, he onely knoweth, that knoweth the greatneſs of their Impieties. O conſider this, all ye *that forget God*, and become not ſuch tranſgreſſors, as they were, *leſt he tears you in pieces whileſt there is none to helpe you*, and remember what *Adonibezek* ſaid, *Threeſcore, and ten Kings having their thumbs, and their great Toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table*, and now, *as I have done, ſo God hath requited me*, that is, when the Children of *Iſrael* took him, and cut off his thumbs, and his great Toes, juſt as he had done to others.

Job xx.

Judg. i. 7.

And therefore, as *Martial* ſaith of the *Lyon*, which is the Arms of *Scotland*,

Laſerat ingrato Leo perfidus ore Magiſtrum,
Auſus tam notas contaminare manus;
Sed dignas tanto perſolvit crimine pœnas,
Et qui non tulerat verbera, tela tulit.

Which Mr. *Thomas May* thus excellently tranſlates;

A treacherous Lyon hurt his keeper late,
Daring thoſe well-known hands to violate,
But for his foul offence he payd full dear,
Inſteed of ſtripes, he felt a killing Spear.

So may I ſay of the Treacherous *Scots*, that they ſoon ſmarted for their Treacherie. And when I conſider how they are now puniſhed, and plagued by their dear Brethren of our Parliament, that, not long ago, made Speeches in their commendation, and gratulory Orations, for the bleſſed union betwixt theſe two Nations, and were the firſt that ran into the ſame tranſgreſſion, and yet are now the chiefeſt inſtruments, that the Lord uſeth, for the execution of his Furie upon this perfidious and perjured people, I cannot chooſe, but cry out to God, and ſay *O Lord God, thou art wonderfull in all thy works*, and moſt wonderfull in all thy judgments, to whom Vengeance belongeth, and thy Vengeance always is moſt juſt, how unſearchable are thy ways, and thy Paths paſt finding out, how ſuddainly canſt thou turn the Wheel, and overwhelm the courſes of things, and bring to nought the devices of men, and abaſe all thoſe that walk in Pride? why then ſhould not the ſinner, that is but a Worm, and no man, a Vanity, and altogether lighter then Vanity it ſelf, tremble, for fear of thee, and be afraid of thy judgments, that are ſo often and ſo openly ſhewed in the ſight of the World? O my

And as he ſuddenly turned their mirth into heavineſs, ſo he can as ſuddenly turn our heavineſs into joy.

God, I moſt humbly pray thee, give me thy grace, that I may continually fear thee, and be ever afraid to offend thee. Amen.

CHAP. IV.

Who are meant by the long Parliament.

FIfthly, Touching the Long Parliament, I mean hereby not onely the Members, that are elected, and choſen by the Cities, and Counties of this Kingdome of *England*, together with the Barons, and Lords of the Upper Houſe, to ſit in conſultation, for to determine, and ſettle matters for the well Government of the People of this Land, and to do all other Acts, that appertain to War, and Peace, but alſo all other men, that have complyed with them, and been partakers in their proceedings, and aſſiſted them any ways, either with Men, Money, or Ammunition, as their Aſſociates, Confederates, and Approvers of their Actions, Opinions, and Concluſions, whereſoever diſperſed through out this whole Kingdom, or in any other part of the World.

The Judgments of God upon the long Parliament, two fold.

And by the Judgments of God upon theſe, or any of theſe men, I under ſtand ſome impoſed Punniſhment, as a Signal Demonſtration of his heavy Wrath, and Diſpleaſure conceived againſt them, for ſome great, and extraordinary offences, and tranſgreſſions of his will: and theſe Judgments to be powred forth upon them

are either { 1. Inchoated, or 2. Suſpended }

Firſt, The inchoated judgments of God, that are already executed, and manifeſted to the World, are to be conſidered

2. ways { 1. On the whole number, and Maſs of them in general, and ſpecially the prime, and principal part of them, that ſat, and conſulted in Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. 2. On many particular Members, and the moſt active perſons of that Parliament, and their adherents.

Firſt, For the Parliament in groſs, if I ſhould go about to expreſs, and ſet down what they have done to deſerve God's Wrath, and to pull down the Judgments of God upon their own heads, it would be a work more difficult, and a taske far heavier, then the twelve labours of *Hercules*; for if this Parliament be, as it is conceived by many, and I have, as I do moſt confidently believe, unanſwerably proved it to be, the great *Anti-Chriſt*; and the *Anti-Chriſt* is the *Beaſt*, that aſcended out of the *bottomleſs-Pit*: then certainly the Wickedneſs, and impieties of this Beaſt are ſo bottomleſs, that we cannot dive into the depth thereof.

And truly, their Plots, and Devices, their Actions, and Proceedings, during the time, were ſo Unnatural, ſo Unjuſt, ſo Ungodly, and ſo Unparallel'd in any Hiſtory; and withall ſo ſubtilley, and ſo inexplicably contrived, that I muſt needs confeſs my learning wants words to expreſs them, and my underſtanding is not ſufficient to comprehend, how many, and how vile they were, how odious unto God, and how injurious unto men; and therefore I onely deſire my reader, to take that ſatisfaction from me herein, which I have ſet down concerning their doings in the foregoing Treatiſes, that I ſet forth, of the Diſcovery of Myſteries, and the Revelation of the great *Anti-Chriſt*.

And for which doings, the Lord God hath, if not ſufficiently, yet apparently ſhewed his juſt Wrath, and Indignation againſt them, many ways.

Firſt, In the diſcovery of their ſecret, Hypocritical, and hidden under-ground Myſteries of their Iniquitie, which could not otherwiſe be ſifted out, and manifeſted, but by the omniſcient Spirit of the all-ſeeing-God.

Secondly,

Secondly, In rayſing ſo many godly men, though to many with the hazard, and to ſome with the loſs of their lives and fortunes, to oppoſe them, and with a courage, rayſed by the divine Spirit, to withſtand their wicked ways, and to uphold the true ſervice of the living God.

Thirdly, In the reducing of their chiefeſt Plots and Devices to nothing, though, out of his patience and long-ſufferings he ſuffered them for a while to proſper, and to walk on ſtill, and to proceed in their wickedneſs: for they intended, like thoſe Gyants that built the Tower of *Babel* to erect ſuch a frame of Government, in theſe Kingdomes, that they only and their Poſterity and ſucceſſours ſhould ſit at the Stern, to turn and guide the ſame, as the thirty Tyrants did for a while in *Athens*, ſo long as the *Sun* and *Moon* endureth; and to that end they deſtroyed their King, they ſuppreſſed the Biſhops, they excluded the Lords, and then framed ſuch an Engagement, as might infringebly oblige and tie all the inhabitants of theſe dominions, to adore them, for their good Maſters and Governours for ever.

But, lo, *he, that dwelleth in Heaven laughed them to ſcorne, and the Lord had them in deriſion*; for, as the Spirit of the Lord came upon *Othniel* and upon *Barak* and *Gedeon* to deſtroy the *Aramites*, *Canaanites* and *Midianites*; and as the Lord ſtired up *Sampſon*, and *David* to deſtroy the *Philiſtines*: ſo the ſame Spirit ſtirred up one even the Lord General *Cromwel* a *Philiſtine*, from among theſe *Philiſtines* and a grand Rebel out of theſe Rebel's, that did firſt ſo wiſely diſannul their *brazen* Engin, the Engagement, and then, ſeeing his opportunity, and finding how acceptable it would be to God, and beneficial to all good men, he did with an Heroical courage, diſſolve that knot, and ſcatter thoſe Parliament-men, as the Lord ſcattered the *Jews*, that were the murderers of his Son and their own King, over all the parts of this Kingdom: And thus by the juſt Judgment of God, the whol Maſs of that long Parliament, that thought to remaine as Kings for ever, became like the chaff, which the winde ſcattereth away from the face of the earth. And therefore. *Pſal.* ii. 4.

Secondly, I muſt now proceed to ſhew you the juſt Judgments of God upon the diſmembred parts of this great body, as I finde them driven by the winde of God's wrath, here, and there throughout all the parts of theſe Dominions. But I muſt confeſs, that for the particular perſons of that Parliament and their adherents, that have in a great meaſure already felt the heavy hand of God's wrath for their Tranſgreſſions, in that confederacie, it is a work beyond mans reach, either to ſet them down, or to ſhew their puniſhments; and therefore I will confine my ſelf, and as the Lord ſhewed unto *Moſes* the land of *Canaan* from the top of Mount *Nebo* afar of, which ſight muſt needs be therefore, but very partial, and imperfect, ſo will I give you a taſt, and a glimmering light of ſome judgments of God, and the juſtneſs thereof upon ſome particular men, and the more noted Members of that Parliament; and I will begin with him, that was the beginning of our trouble, the firſt diſturber of our peace, and the General of the late unhappy War, the Earl of *Eſſex*. The juſt Judgment of God upon the diſmembred members of the long Parliament.

Firſt, It was ſaid, as I remember, of *Dionyſius*, King of *Sicily*, that he was a Tyrant, begot of Tyrants, then which a worſer Character couldnot be given, and a baſer deſcription could not be made of him: ſaith *Plutarch*. But I will not ſay of this noble Lord, who in deed had a great deal of Honour in him, and carried himſelf for ought that ever I heard, like a man of Honour, and *pius inimicus*, a noble Adverſary unto the King, that he was a Traytor, begot a of Traytor; yet I muſt ſay that his Father was a favourite of Queen *Elizabeth*, and was arraigned and beheaded for Treaſon againſt the Queen, whether juſtly for his deſerts, or unjuſtly by the malice of his enemies, I will not determine, and though, her Royal Majeſty did Royally, and moſt Graciouſly reſtore this man, both to his Fathers Lands, and Honours, and King *James* confirmed the ſame, and King *Charles* more then that, made him one of his Privy Council, and Lord 1. Of the *Earl of Eſſex*.

Chamberlain of his Houſe-hold, which was, for Honour, one of the beſt Offices, as I take it in the Court, and for profit, a place worth, *viis, & modis*, near about 2000. pounds *per annum*, as I heard: and conferred many other favours upon him, and for all this, this Lord, as is conceived, out of no other cauſe, then ambition of popular praiſe, (which greedy deſire of popularity hath undone many a noble minde) or, as others think, out of a ſecret grudg, which he bare to this good King, and to King *James* his linage, for giving way to his Lady, and Wife to be divorced from him, onely *propter frigiditatem naturæ*, which all Divines, and Canoniſts do not conſent to be a ſufficient cauſe of divorce, preſently, and willingly accepted the motion of the Houſe of Commons, and commiſsion of the Parliament to become the General of all their Forces againſt the King: wherein, as *Pliny* writeth of the Aſpick, ſaying, *Conjuga ferè vagantur, nec niſi cum compare vita eſt, itaque alterutra, intercepta incredibilis alteri ultionis curâ, perſequitur interfectorem, unúmque eum in quantolibet populi agmine notitia quadam infeſtat, perrupit omnes difficultates, ut perdat eum, qui comparem perdiderat*; that he purſueth him, which hath hurt, or killed his Mate, and knows him among a multitude of men, and therefore hunteth him ſtill, and layeth for him, breaking throughout all difficulties to come at him: ſo, it may be, this Lord was ſuch as *Seneca* ſpeaks of, *qui tantùm ut noceat, cupit eſſe potens*: that accepted of his office, that he might be revenged for his diſgrace; when, notwithſtanding, King *Charles* was not the Author of his diſhonour, nor did any wayes further that divorce, and therefore ſhould not have been maligned for anothers fault.

Plinius l.b. 8. cap. 23.

Or if it was not for this cauſe, as I heard ſome confidently ſay it was, yet for what cauſe ſoever, this, or any other, and with what minde ſoever, this Lord accepted that office, as being loth to ſtain his Honour, and Ambitious to retain the Fame of an honourable Soldier, I never heard the King, nor any other of the Nobility, accuſing him, for any baſe, ignoble, and perfidious act, that he did againſt his Majeſty, other then a fair enemy, and a pious Adverſary uſeth to do; this I muſt need ſay of him, that I never heard any man ſpeak otherwiſe of him.

But how did the juſt God like of theſe his doings, how fairly ſoever carried, you may conceive by the ſucceſs, ſo far as man can judg of things; for he was worſted at *Edg-Hill*, the firſt Field that he fought, where he was fain to hide his head in the day of Battel, and the next day to retire, not without ſome Diſhonour, to *Warwick-Caſtle*; and afterwards in *Cornwal*, he was forced to abandon, and leave his whole army, and glad to take the Sea, to carry him back to the rebellious City: for which, and for ſuch other the like diſaſters, that the Parliament conceived, they that ſo ſolemny ſwore a little before, that they would live, and dy with him, do now Vote a diſpenſation of that Oath, and diſcard this unfortunate, though not unhonourable head, and chooſe another in his room; and his Lordſhip, not without ſome diſgrace, is diſrobed of his Excellency; and, leaſt this potion might, in time, through diſcontent, work ſome bitter effect, againſt them, that gave it him, as the like hath done to many other rejected, and degraded Officers, that are moſt ſenſible of diſgraces, their jealouſy produced a double paſſion, of Fear, and Hate, and theſe cauſe the Patient to think, that all remedies are too weak for the Danger; and do force them to apply more violent Phyſick, then either the quallity of the Diſeaſe, or the Conſtitution of the diſeaſed can ſuſtain; and therefore it is generally reported, and of moſt of the King's Friends, believed, they gave him a *Spaniſh*-fig, ſome *Aconites* that wrought too ſtrongly upon his Body, that it ſoon brought his head into the Grave; And thus was he rewarded for his good ſervice unto the Parliament, and the ill offices he did againſt his King, God in juſtice ſuffering the People, that magnified him, to deſtroy him, which is the Common fruit of Popularity,

The Earl of *Eſſex* ſuſpected to have been poyſoned.

Secondly, The next perſons that I ſhall inſtance are Sir *John Hotham*, and his

2. Sir *John Hotham* and his Son.

his Son with him; whom I shall put both together, because both were in the same fault of disloyalty, to the King, and both tasted of the same sauce, and suffered the like punishment. This man was the first that so unjustly, and so insolently durst presume to enter into *Hull*, the King's own proper Town, and there to seize upon the King's Magazine, and his own peculiar goods, and when the King came in his own person to require admission into the same, he very undutifully, and uncivilly, to say no worse, refused to receive him in, but kept him out, with unseemly terms of denial, and, as they say, with a great deal of Scorn, and Contempt.

And how did the just God approve of these unjust doings? You may guess by the subsequent punishment, which both the Father, and his Son have undergone And truly I cannot think of their punishment, but I must remember the Story, that you may finde in *Herodotus* touching *Hermotimus*, and *Pamonius*: for *Hermotimus* taken Prisoner in War, was sold unto *Pamonus*, that was a base Merchant, and which made a Trade of very dishoneſt gain; for, seeing that gelded Youths, were much more set by for all manner of services among the *Barbarians*, then those that were ungelded, as *Xenophon* alledgeth *Cyrus* to have therefore committed the keeping of his body rather to *Eunuchs*, then to others, this base Merchant bought all the fair Boys, that he could get for money, in all Ports, and Faires, where he went to buy them, and then gelding them, he went to *Sardis*, or *Ephesus*, and sold them again, almost for their weight in gold; therefore he used *Hermotimus* after the same manner, and they sold him to one, that among other gifts presented him to King *Xerxes*, with whom, in success of time, he grew into greater credit then all the other *Eunuchs*; and *Xerxes*, making War upon the *Gracians*, took *Hermotimus* with him, who was sent upon some business to the *Isle* of *Chios*, where finding his old friend *Pamonius*, he took acquaintance with him, and recounted unto him the great happiness, and the great benefits he enjoyed, by his adventure, and the good that *Pamonius* had done him; and therefore promised, that, if he, and all his Family would remove to *Sardis*, he would enrich him with much wealth, and advance him to great honour; which offer, the Covetous, and Ambitious Merchant willingly accepted, and soon transported himself, with his Wife, and Children, and all his whole family thither; to whom *Hermotimus*, when he had him within his power, said, O thou the most Wicked of all men, that usest the vilest, and most detestable Traffick, that can possibly be devised: what hurt, or displeasure didst thou ever receive at my hands, or through my means, that of a man, am now made of thee, to be neither Man, nor Woman? Didst thou think that the Gods were Ignorant of thy Practise, and doest thou not now see, how that they, doing right, and justice unto all, have most justly delivered thee, as a most wicked Wretch, into mine hands, that thou mayest finde the just punishment, which thy wickedness hath deserved: so he caused his four Sons to be presently brought into his presence, and compelled the miserable Father to geld them all with his own hands, and then he forced the distressed Children to geld their own Father.

Herodot. lib. 8.

The Story of *Hermotimus*, and *Pamonius*.

The great price of *Eunuchs*.

The just Judgment of God upon *Pamonius*.

So when Sir *Hotham*, and his Son, had most disloyally played their part, in the House of Commons, against the King, and then more egregiously, by seizing upon *Hull*, and with very undecent usage, and reviling terms, denying the King entrance into his own Town, as I said before, had shewed themselves to be, as they were, arrant rebels, and stiff Traytors, the Parliament, within awhile after, finding, that these false fellowes had played foul with them likewise, and repenting them of their former Wickedness, or rather, as I conceive corrupted with the greedy desire of some great reward, promised by some of the King's Friends, that knew how to catch ambitious Worldings, had resolved to comply with his Majesty, and to deliver his Town, and Magazine unto him, they, like *Hermotimus*, having most cunningly gotten them into their hands, wrought the Son, in hope to get pardon for himself, to accuse, and to betray his Father; and then,

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with the like Subtlety, and for the like hope, they brought the Father to accuſe his Son: and ſo being both found guilty, and condemned, they chopped of both their Heads, as the juſt reward of their former Wickedneſs; God now rendring unto them what they had before ſo well deſerved, and ſuffering them willingly, and wickedly to do that to each other, which *Pamonius*, and his Sons did moſt unwillingly, to be the Authors, and inſtruments of each others puniſhment: which ſhould be a warning to all Transgreſſors, to fear the *Vengeance* of *Allmighty God.*

3. The Lord *Brooks.*

Thirdly, The next Member of the Long Parliament, that I ſhall ſet down in my Catalogue of diſloyal Subjects, is the Lord *Brooks*; a man, whoſe former life, and Converſation (which I knew by his own penitent Epiſtles and Letters, that, from beyond the Seas, he wrote to his Uncle Sir *Fulk Grevil*, afterwards Lord *Brooks*, who ſhewed them unto me) was very looſe, and diſſolute; and how, in a ſhort time, by ſome ſtrange Converſion, far unlike Saint *Paul's*, he paſſed from one extream to another, from a very diſſolute Youth, to a moſt reſolute Saint, I know not: but out of many remarkable things, written of him immediately after his death, I ſhall onely ſet down here theſe few particulars.

Four remarkable things concerning the Lord *Brooks.*

1. First, That, as in his former looſeneſs, he wholly neglected the Commands and grave Counſels of his Uncle Sir *Fulke Grevil*, that was his Governour, *& loco Parentis*, his Maintainer, and upon my Knowledge a very bountiful Maintainer of him too; ſo afterwards in his too much preciſeneſs, he did in like manner wholly reject his Duty, and Obedience to his King, that was *Pater Patriæ*, and a very gracious King to him too; yea, he became a very obſtinate, violent, and a moſt virulent Oppoſer of his King; as if he could not be a Saint in the Service of God, except he became as a rebel to oppoſe his King: but ſo it is moſt commonly ſeen, that they, which are undutyful to their Parents and Governors, will ſeldom prove faithful to their Kings or Princes.

2. Secondly, I obſerved that out of his ſuperabundant zeal, which he pretended to God's Honour, he extremely hated, and perſecuted the Governours of God's Church, and the chief Upholders of God's Service, the reverend *Biſhops*, and and all the grave and learned *Doctours* of God's word; and he was no leſs a Profaner of God's Houſe, which is the material Temple, and the place, *where God's Honour dwelleth*, while the Saints are Pilgrims in the Wilderneſs of this World.

3. Thirdly, It is not unknown to moſt that knew him, that he could not endure to have this Epithete, and Title of *Saint*, to be given either to *Evangeliſt*, or *Apoſtle*; and eſpecially to any other departed Saint or Servant of God; as Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Ambroſe*, and the like, though he could not deny them to be with God in Heaven; as if the Saints in Heaven, for fear of *Idolatry* or *Superſtition*, were not to be acknowledged for Saints now on earth, but that this Sanctity muſt be appropriated onely to themſelves, that are ſuch furious *Zelots* againſt the reverend eſteem we bear to the Saints in Heaven, though we neither invocate them for help, nor adore the beſt of them with the Church of *Rome*, no more then they: but knowing, that not one is in Heaven, but he is a Saint, we give this Title of Saint to them, of whom we doubt not of their being bleſſed with God.

4. Fourthly, He had another property, no leſs injurious to himſelf, and the Servants of God on earth, then the former was to the Saints in Heaven; for that excellent Prayer in our *Letany*, and the holy deſire of God's Servants, that it would pleaſe God to *deliver* them *from ſudden Death*, which all good Divines, and faithfull Servants of *God* did ever acknowledge for a temporary Judgement of God, and therefore prayed, that, whenſoever it pleaſed him to call for their Souls out of this earthly Tabernacle, he would be pleaſed to grant them ſome time and ſpace to call upon him, for the *forgiveneſs* of their Sins, and to commend their Souls into his Hands, and ſo forth. Yet this Lord could not away with the Prayer, nor abide to hear of this Petition; but would have every man,

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at all times to be ſo prepared for death, that he needed not at any time to pray againſt ſudden death; and we ſay likewiſe, that every man ought to expect death in every place, and to do his beſt endeavour to be prepared for death at all times; yet, that neither this Lord, nor the beſt Saint on earth can be ſo well prepared at any time, but that he ought, as he hath need, to pray for pardon of the Defects, and Imperfection of his Preparation; and therefore to pray for time to make that Prayer, and then, as for time to diſpoſe, and fit himſelf for God, and to make his peace with him through *Chriſt*, ſo to ſet his Houſe in order, as the *Prophet* ſaith to *Ezechias*, and to ſettle his Eſtate among thoſe, that depend upon him: which hath been ever held to be, as it is indeed, a Bleſſing, and a great favour granted from God, to preſerve love, and to continue peace, and amity amongſt a man's Children, and the reſt of his Friends and Poſterity.

But here in this Lord we may behold, and adore the Judgment of the juſt God, how that as *Goliah*'s Head was cut off with his own Sword, ſo, *Judicium ſuum ſuper caput ſuum*, this man's Judgment and his practice fell upon his own head, and the Stone, that he threw at another, lighted upon his own Pate: for in the Proſecution of his hate againſt his *King*, as a juſt reward of that Service, his Lordſhip being in *Litchfield* on Saint *Chad*'s day, the Founder of that Church, while he viewed the College, or Cloſe, as they tearm it, and Church of Saint *Chad*, to batter them down with his Canons, for the Fidelity and Allegiance of that Fraternity unto their King, being all harneſſed, *Cap-a-pe*, from top to toe, as he lifted up his Helmet to ſee the ſame more clearly, behold you, and ſee the juſt hand of God directing the hand of a youth, that was a *Prebend*'s Son, with a Fowling-Piece, to hit him juſt in the eye; that, as formerly he could not ſee the truth, ſo now he could ſee nothing, but fell ſuddenly dead, and never ſpake word, no, not ſo much as, *Lord have mercy upon me*: ſo the Lord God ſhewed himſelf juſt, and righteous in his Judgments, and holy in all his ways; and let all the Sons of men acknowledge the ſame, and all wicked men fear his Juſtice.

Fourthly The next man, that I ſhall bring upon the Stage to anſwer at the Bar of Juſtice, is Maſter *John Pym*, a man, that was in an Office of great truſt, and of much profit, and gain under the King: and becauſe, as the Proverb goeth, *Much would have more*, his Covetousneſs egged forward by his Ambition to be great, ſnatching at more then was juſt, laid him open to loſe what was due, and to be deprived of his place, that was ſo good. Then he, like the unjuſt Steward ſpoken of in the Goſpel, took unjuſter Courſes againſt his Maſter; for he not onely adviſed with himſelf to detain more of his Maſter's goods in his hands, and to deceive him of ſo much, as might well enable him to live well, and in good ſort, as his falſe fellow-Steward, that *Chriſt* ſpeakes of, had ſhewed him the way before, but as after Ages grew more ſubtle, ſo they became more wicked, then the former times, even ſo this unjuſt, and unthankful Servant became more wicked then before: for now he layeth up ſuch hatred, and malice againſt his King, and ſealeth it in the depth of his Heart, wherein the ſame boyled like new Wine, that wanted vent, ſo that, it was like meat, and drink to an hungry Stomach, for him to finde any Opportunity to broach the ſame againſt the King. And the Long Parliament, that conſiſted of very many diſcontented Perſons, and men both diſaffected to his Majeſty, and diſtaſting his preſent Government, made him a fair way to lay open all his Malice; and what he formerly vented in his private Diſcourſe by retail, he doth it publickly now in groſs, and he doth it to the full: and having a tongue apt to ſpeak, and not unskilful in the art of Rhetorick, he begins firſt to make his Oration againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, as knowing, that whatſoever evil was proved or conceived againſt him, the ſame reflected moſt upon the King; then, after the taking of this great Earl, and prudent Counſellour of the King, out of the way, making more bitter Invectives againſt his Majeſty, then ever *Cicero*'s *Philippicks* were againſt *Marcus Antonius*

Fourth Man.

The Authour's Prayer, after he had finiſhed the Reparation of the Chancel, and Quire of the Cathedral Church of Kilkenny.

O Eternal, Almighty, and moſt merciful Lord God, that haſt created all things by thy Power, governeſt them by thy Wiſdom, and preſerveſt them by thy Goodneſs, and haſt diſpoſed all thy Creatures to be for the Service of man, the Sun to give him light by day, and the Moon by night, the Earth to feed him, and the Angels of Heaven to attend him, that he daſh not his foot againſt a Stone; for all which great love, and bounty of thine towards man, thou requireſt no more, but that he ſhould be thankful unto thee, and praiſe thee for thy goodneſs, and declare the wonders, that thou doeſt for the Children of men; and, as *Moſes* ſaith, what doth the Lord our God require of us, but to fear the Lord our God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to ſerve the Lord our God with all our hearts, and with all our ſouls, and to keep his Commandments, and Statutes, which he commanded us for our good: for the diſcharging of which duties, and the performance of our Service unto the Lord our God, though, as Saint *Stephen* ſaith, the moſt High dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, when as the heaven, and the heaven of heavens cannot contain him, which is above the heavens, and below the earth, and filleth all places, and beyond all places with his Preſence; yet our fore-Fathers moſt religiouſly, according to the Preſident, that King *Solomon* left us, and the good Examples, that the Primitive Chriſtians gave us, have erected Oratories, and built Temples, and Churches, where the Saints, and Servants of God might meet, to praiſe the Lord for his manifold mercies; to beg his favour, and graces, to help, and to ſupply their wants, and neceſſities; to underſtand his Will, and to know his Commands, and to do all other the beſt Service, that they could do, to the Lord their God; and to that onely end they have ſet them apart, and alienated them from all ſecular, and prophane uſes, dedicated them wholly for God's Service, and conſecrated them by Prayers to be Sanctuaries for them, and their Poſterities to ſerve, and to honour God in.

But, O Lord our God, we confeſs, and with grief, and ſorrow of heart we do confeſs, that we have ſinned with our Fathers, and with our Teachers, that have mis-taught us, to do amiſs, and to deal wickedly, to prophane thoſe thy Sanctuaries; to deſtroy thy Temples, and to make thoſe houſes of thee, our God, to become Dens of Thieves, Cages of unclean Birds, Stables for our Horſes, and the Receptacles of other bruit, and fouler Beaſts; and as the Prophet ſaith of the Heathen, ſo we may truly ſay of our ſelves, Thy holy Temples have we defiled, and made thy Churches heaps of Stones, the Monuments of thy Martyrs we have thrown down, and the dead Bodies of thy Servants we have given to be meat unto the Fowls of the Air, and the fleſh of thy Saints unto the Beaſts of the Field.

And, for this our great Wickedneſs, we are become an open ſhame to our Enemies, and a very ſcorn, and deriſion unto them, that are round about us; and we do confeſs, that we have juſtly, and moſt juſtly deſerved all the evils, that are come upon us, and we ſay with *Ezra*, that thou our God hath puniſhed us leſs, then our Iniquities deſerve.

A Prayer.

Yet thou, O Lord God, like a moſt gracious Father, didſt not ſuffer thy wrath to burn like fire, to encreaſe more and more, and to continue, as our Iniquities continued, but in the midſt of thy Judgments thou haſt remembred thy mercies, and commanded thy deſtroying Angel to put up his Sword, and to puniſh us no more, but to turn our heavineſs into joy, by rooting out our Oppreſſors, and the Depravers of thy Service, and reſtoring to us our moſt gracious King; for which great Bleſſings, and ineſtimable favours of thine, O gracious God, we laud, and praiſe thy glorious Name, and we will thank thee, and magnifie thee for ever.

And now, O Lord, ſeeing we are taught by thy holy Prophet, that Holyneſs becometh thy Houſe for ever; and thou haſt commanded thy people of *Iſrael*, that they ſhould keep their Tents, and Habitations holy, and clean, leſt thou, that can'ſt abide no impurity in thy ſight, ſhouldſt depart from them; which was a Type to ſignifie unto us, how much more holy, and clean, thou would'ſt have us to preſerve thy Houſe, where thy Service is celebrated, thy Name magnified, and thy Preſence promiſed to be aſſiſtant unto thy Saints: we do therefore in all humility beg of thee, and from the bottom of our hearts beſeech thee, to blot out, and pardon all the Abuſes, Prophaneneſs, and Wickedneſs, that hath been done in, and againſt this Houſe: and we pray thee to accept of theſe our Prayers, and Supplications unto thee, to ſanctifie the ſame, and to make it a fit place for thy Service; and ſo to preſerve it an holy Tabernacle for thy Majeſty, to be preſent with thy Saints, to have thy Name magnified, thy people inſtructed, and their Petitions preſented unto thee; and, when they do pray unto thee in this place, do thou hear them out of thy holy Heaven, and let thine Eyes be open towards this Houſe, night and day, even towards this place, of which thou haſt ſaid, My Name ſhall be there; and thy dear Son, and our bleſſed Saviour, *Jeſus Chriſt*, hath ſaid, Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, I will be there in the midſt of them; and this Houſe, being erected for the gathering together of thy Saints, dedicated for thy Service, and by our Prayers conſecrated for thy Worſhip; we do moſt humbly beſeech thee to be preſent amongſt us, to hear our Prayers, to grant our Requeſts, and to give us ſtrength, and enable us through thy Grace to finiſh the Reparation of this Houſe with Joy, and to thy Glory, which with ſuch Alacrity we have begun, and we pray thee likewiſe to guide us by thy bleſſed Spirit to walk according to thy Will, that our ſins may not provoke thee, to ſuffer the Sectaries, and the Enemies of thy truth, and the Depravers of thy divine Service to prophane the ſame any more; grant this O bleſſed Lord for *Jeſus Chriſt* his ſake, to whom be all Glory, and Dominion for ever and ever. *Amen.*

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